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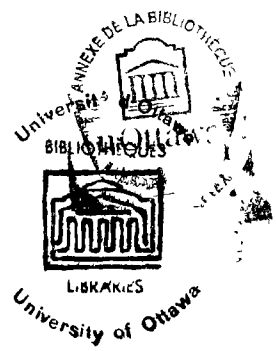
The Trend towards Convergence of Development in African and European Cultures, with particular reference to resultant modifications of African Culture.

.....

Thesis for D. Phil. degree,

by

Harold Jowitt, C.M.G., M.Ed., H.E.D., B.A.



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THE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM.

APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM.

The excuse for any study dealing with the obvious, must be that it is the obvious which is frequently overlooked or disregarded, and this for a variety of interesting reasons which will usually repay examination.

The present study concerns data of which there is embarrassing abundance, the difficulty being one of selecting rather than of obtaining relevant illustrations.

Throughout the centuries culture contact has resulted in the convergence of culture, i.e. in historical change. In South Africa, for reasons which the psychologist can best explain, there is a reluctance to turn to earlier times, or to other territories, for evidence which might convince or convict.

It is maintained by the writer that so far as Africans are concerned, "development along their own lines" is neither possible nor desirable, and that however undesirable may be considered his assimilation of much of our culture, the process is steadily gaining momentum, and cannot be arrested.

Of many implications, one is that the Africans should no longer be regarded as performing antiquities who should doff their ceremonial and picturesque garb for the labour market, and don it again for a royal visit.

Another is that in a country where Europeans and Africans are so inter-dependent, it is unreasonable to suppose that the latter must be self-sufficient, but not the former. Thus even though there may be territorial and social divisions, so long as there is a common Government and an advancing tide of economic inter-dependence, a community of interests must arise, and these together with consequentially shared experiences must influence African development along lines which converge steadily towards our own. To a much lesser degree our own culture also will be affected.

With political boundaries that do not coincide with linguistic, ethnical, or ethnological divisions, and across which there is an unbroken shuttle-service of both 'races', the more liberal policy and practice of one African territory must influence profoundly the outlook of the Africans next door, or next door

but one, so that where disparity of treatment exists regarding the assimilation of culture and the enjoyment of resultant privileges, the disequilibrium will operate towards the restoration of inter-territorial equilibrium in these respects.

Cognizance will therefore be taken of parallel situations and cognate developments elsewhere in Africa, some from British, and some from dependencies under other colonial powers. From these it should be clear that there can be no racial demarcation of cultural territory, but that, given a liberally disposed administration, the tempo of culture-change will quicken. On the other hand it is probable that in South Africa, where reactionary racial views are perhaps more widely held, and given more trenchant expression, with more apparent, but only apparent justification, than elsewhere in the Continent, convergence towards European culture, and the cross-fertilization of cultures, are proceeding more rapidly, and inevitably so, than in the less industrialized dependencies of smaller European population.

In various territories contiguous to, or more distant from the Union, to which they are perhaps related ethically, economically and politically, the convergence is largely the result of declared policy, whilst in South Africa it is largely in spite of it, being brought about by economic pressure, the establishment of major and secondary industries, and resultant urbanization, mostly in spite of contrary legislation and political utterances.

A significant difference between the convergence which takes place with the co-operation of the governing 'race', and that which takes place in spite of dominant opposition, is to be found in the degree of racial feeling engendered. By identifying themselves more closely with the process, therefore, the Europeans who are prone to decry the undesirable results of culture-contact, can reduce the degree of undesirability.

If the ruling European who has created the contact, and who for his own ends has ensured that it is maintained at every point where the labour of the African may contribute to his own enrichment or comfort, if he should then demand, and through relevant legislation try to enforce the latter to remain at its

in outlook and culture, he is not only demanding the impossible, but is introducing seeds of decay within his own social organism. Before turning to the evidence from many fields that this is to demand the impossible, for we can neither recall nor perpetuate the past, a few basic considerations will be examined. Thus if in the sweep of the centuries we discover that the same process has occurred again and again, we may be the more readily disposed to accept the probability of its recurrence here and now.

Granted that it has happened not infrequently in the past, however, it may be well to turn to the 'racial' differences confronting us, since it is contended by our statesmen and politicians, as well as by their constituents, that for some presumably esoteric reason our situation is unique, and hence that, whether at U.N.O. or elsewhere, those who expect us to come to common terms with our different 'racial' groups, are most unreasonable.

Moreover, if it should be decided that the anthropologists are right who claim that 'race' and culture are not congruent, we are left to explain why 'racial' attitudes are so strongly entrenched, and whether or not, despite the goodwill of so many, they must irrevocably remain to prevent the reforms which all desire.

Should this obstacle be overcome, reassurance may still be needed concerning the limitations of African intelligence, for if this were to prove decisive, it would reveal the futility of most betterment programmes.

Having dealt with these preliminary considerations, an attempt will be made to study the political, cultural, economic, and religious aspects, taking cross sections through each to show their relevance to convergent culture.

Inevitably certain principles will be examined, for, although so often disregarded by those who prefer facts, they assist towards coherence. To take an illustration, pertinent to this brief survey, it is held that political power does not constitute moral authority, but undoubtedly implies inescapable moral responsibility.

Although it is beyond the scope of the thesis to attempt

a synthesis, to predict any future pattern produced by the blending of diverse cultural features, or to advance any integrated programme of reform, an attempt will be made to summarise the main findings and conclusions reached, and to show their unity, actual or potential.

Should it be necessary to make clear that the writer does not hold that all European culture is good for the African, and that all African culture is bad for him, it may be well to record the view that in some quarters there has been too little reverence for much that has been good in his past, and too great a haste to remove it, that we have allowed our voracious economic system relentlessly to tear in shreds much of the fabric of tribal life, before establishing adequate safeguards, and that although it is probably true to hold that a knowledge of African customs and beliefs does not entitle one to prophesy concerning, still less to limit the African's development, it is also true to hold that without such knowledge grave errors of judgment and in practice may be committed.

I hold it true, nevertheless, that today the changing culture of the African no longer provides the means for handing on to succeeding generations the inherent values of his earlier culture. I hold it true that African culture is inevitably converging towards European culture, the intertwining threads steadily producing new patterns and new tones in the fabric of tribal and of detribalized life.

I believe that these changing patterns and the forces they represent are becoming so dominant, that no efforts, whether by government or non-government agencies, which attempt to arrest the process can prevent tribalism from becoming an anachronism in one country after another.

Whatever may be urged to the contrary, I am convinced that it is no easy matter to control either the degree or the rate of convergence, although this remains a major responsibility, surrendered whenever the process is unduly accelerated or unduly retarded. Of the two evils, nevertheless, I am constrained to

believe that undue retardation is infinitely the worse.

Moreover I believe that the African cannot be kept out of the civilization we complacently call "ours", and that would be extremely bad for us, and for him, if he were kept out of it. At the same time I hold that we are not thereby justified in ignoring his past, in ignoring the present-day social milieu of the majority, in assuming that civilization is always synonymous with good, or in being contemptuous of the fact that when we with-hold the good, he is attracted by spurious counterfeits.

On the other hand, we are custodians of values so good, that unless we are prepared to lose them, they must be shared increasingly, even with the African.

In the meantime the surface of our national waters is troubled by the disturbing eddies of party-politics, and by the turbulent waves of racial resentments, obscuring the fact that below the surface, the current of non-European development moves irresistibly towards its larger destiny.

In brief, this study is a small contribution towards the view, that our choice, if choice there be, lies between common culture or common chaos.

PART ONE.

BASIC CONSIDERATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL PARALLELS.

In his book on "The Making of Europe", Christopher Dawson writes:-

> "One of the great merits of history is that it takes us out of ourselves - away from obvious and accepted facts - and discovers a reality that otherwise would be unknown to us. There is a real value in steeping our minds in an age entirely different from that which we know; a world different but no less real - indeed more real, for what we call 'the modern world' is the world of a generation, while a culture like that of the Byzantine or the Carolingian world has a life of centuries". ≠≠

In South Africa we suffer from parochialism in place and time, so that, could we but admit it, we might obtain valuable guidance, as Dawson suggests, from the great corrective of history.

In the introductory pages it is implied that to many Europeans in the Union, the traditional pattern of 'race'-relations is ultimate and unchangeable, inexorably so, for it consists of a rigidly enforced master-servant relationship, admitting neither the possibility nor the desirability of any other. Hence as Godfrey and Monica Wilson pointed out in their "Analysis of Social Change",

> "If the emphasis be on an immediate and parochial past, it will be exclusiveness and conservatism that is fostered, rather than that awareness of the unity and continuity of civilization which breeds adaptability". +

In the degree to which this is true, it would seem desirable in South Africa, to concentrate less often on the historically recent subjugation of Native by European peoples in this Territory, and more frequently on the meeting of different cultures in times more remote.

In area after area, studies of Neolithic man have revealed marked results of culture contact in this and in other continents, East Africa being prolific in such examples many centuries before the advent of the European in Kenya led to the delimitation of the "White Highlands".

Of interest is an article dated November 21st, 1946, in "The Listener", in which it is claimed by Stuart Piggott, the archaeologist, that the Druids may have some claim to association

≠≠ Op. Cit. p. xix

+ Op. cit. p. 168

with Stonehenge in a final phase only of its long history. The following excerpts give a picture of the migration of peoples into Britain, and the convergence of cultures there, thousands of years ago.

> "Round about 2000 B.C. the population of Salisbury Plain, and of the south English chalk uplands as a whole, largely consisted of primitive agricultural communities, engaged in cattle breeding and corn growing, and using stone tools - axes for tree-felling, arrow heads for hunting, and so forth. Apart from the fact that these folk buried their dead in collective tombs under large mounds of earth or stone - long barrows - we know little or nothing of their religious observances.
>
> These earliest British agriculturists - the neolithic people - were themselves immigrants from north France. In the couple of centuries following 2000 B.C. further immigrations or invasions took place, mainly from Holland and the Rhineland but probably partly from Brittany as well.
>
> These new invaders are known as the Beaker people, from a very distinct pottery vessel they used, which was often buried with the dead. The archaeological evidence suggests a different social pattern from that of the Neolithic folk-burials are no longer collective, but individual, and often under a large, round mound, sometimes with a stone battle-axe or metal dagger, as well as the pottery beaker. These look very like the graves of chieftains, and the evidence from Britain and the Continent all implies the forceful and swift movement of small bands, invading and colonising one region after another.
>
> There were a number of cultural strains in the Beaker folk as they arrived in Britain.....barrow-builders and users of battle-axes, whose remote ancestry goes back to the Russian steppes, as well as elements from Spain and from central Europe. In Holland, these Beaker people built elaborate burial structures under barrows and within circular settings of upright timbers - perhaps some of them roofed originally - and similar tombs have been found in Britain".

Piggott shows, in the brief compass of the above quotation, from what a wide geographical range were drawn our ancestors, and how, within a very short space of time, as culture succeeded culture, so culture influenced culture. He describes how the timber work of the early Beaker people, within a circular area enclosed by a ditch, paved the way for the related but more advanced culture of Stonehenge.

> "The largest stones are sarsens, brought from north Wiltshire where they still strew the downs, and where they were used at the beginning of the Bronze Age to build the great Beaker monument of Avebury. Traditions of craftsmanship may have lingered in this region..... But at Stonehenge the sarsens are dressed to shape, and lintelled with well-cut blocks held by mortise-and-tenon joints. This is not stonemason's craft, it is that of the carpenter. The earliest truly architectural conception with dressed stone in northern Europe - Stonehenge - betrays the wooden prototypes from which it was adapted". ##

Ibid.

By the same token, given further knowledge, Zimbabwe would in all probability prove as evidential of cultural influences directly or indirectly brought to bear upon its African builders.

According to Piggott the first shrine (the circle of wooden posts inside a bank and ditch), was about twenty generations old, when, in the full Bronze Age the great stone re-construction began. That in the meantime great cultural development had taken place may be judged from the next quotation:-

> "I would suggest a date nearer 1400 B.C. for the re-consecration of the already ancient holy site and the building on it of the stone temple in the manner of traditional wooden shrines, but enormously enlarged, and conceived as a real piece of architecture, with surprisingly subtle proportions.. Continuity of religious tradition is shown by this, whatever heresies about cremation may have been introduced from over the Channel". ≠≠

Reverting to the Beaker culture in Britain, these people by encouraging the trade in, and later by manufacturing bronze implements, formed the vanguard of the Bronze Age. But since copper and tin, the ingredients of bronze, are found only in Ireland and in West Britain, trade had to be established between these areas and those of the chalk areas of Wessex where the Beaker settlers lived. They accordingly used the routes marked out by their predecessors of the late Neolothic Age, but since they colonised as far as Orkney they established metal-traders' routes all over Britain to meet the growing need for bronze.

From Brittany came the Dorset invaders to win petty kingdoms in Wessex. Of their dynasties we read that they grew in power and influence, and, to quote again:-

> "Trade connections were established in all directions. Irish gold and bronze, Yorkshire jet, Danish amber, cloak-pins made by central European metal-workers, and even glazed blue beads from the Eastern Mediterranean found their way into Wessex trade marts, exchanged perhaps for corn, hides and wool. This Wessex culture of the Bronze Age, as it is called, dominated at least southern Britain up to the Thames, with colonies beyond in East Anglia. Westwards it stretched to Cornwall and South Wales, east to the borders of Sussex.
>
> Not only in the political and economic spheres was it supreme, however, for the change in burial rite from inhumation to cremation at this time, must imply some powerful religious influences at work..". ≠≠

These interesting examples illustrate that cultural impacts and consequential changes, which we can now regard in historical

≠≠ Ibid.

perspective, were of frequent occurrence and of far-reaching significance in Britain's Bronze Age, thousands of years ago. In years to come the same process, with local differences, will be given truer perspective than we can now accord, in South Africa's Gold (not Golden) Age.

It seemed fitting to turn to early Britain for our first illustrations, since she has played so important a part in the colonising of Africa, and is still contributing so vitally to the convergence of cultures we are examining. Apart from any constitutional link, which in times of crisis may appear tenuous or strongly forged, according to the viewpoint of the citizen concerned, this claim is valid for South Africa also. It would have been possible to examine later historical changes in Britain, in order to show our heritage from the various 'racial' groups who so richly contributed thereto, for there is a wealth of evidence concerning this. Space forbids, however, and so it may be preferable to consider instead a few of the origins of Western culture, since it is so often impressed upon us that it is European civilization, which, at all costs must be preserved undefiled, that is, which must be preserved againstpollution by lesser breeds, who it is averred would contaminate it, if allowed to share it.

According to Christopher Dawson, Europe has no natural unity, and anthropologically has been described as "a medley of races", which must be a little disturbing to those who take pride in the thought of a culture pure and undefiled, deriving from untainted 'Nordic' or 'Aryan' stock.

In prehistoric times it had no cultural unity whatsoever, but was

> "the meeting place of a number of different streams of culture, which had their origin, for the most part, in the higher civilizations of the ancient East, and were transmitted to the West by trade and colonization, or by a slow process of culture contact". ≠≠

The acceptance of any debt to the East, however ancient, must be humiliating to many.

The Mediterranean, the Danube, the Atlantic and the Baltic,

≠≠ Op. Cit. p. 1

were the main channels of diffusion, and Dawson emphasises that our science, philosophy, literature, art, political thought, and conceptions of law and of free political institutions, were derived from the Greeks, and that, "Apart from Hellinism, European civilization and even the European idea of man, would be inconceivable".

The mission of Rome was to act as intermediary between the Greek civilization of the Eastern Mediterranean, and the barbaric peoples of the Western, the initiative and military genius of Julius Caesar helping to incorporate continental Europe in the Mediterranean cultural unity.

Thus we read that:- "It was the act of Rome that dragged Western Europe out of its barbaric isolation". We read also that:-

> "Henceforward for more than four hundred years, Central and Western Europe was submitted to a process of progressive Romanization which affected every side of life, and formed an enduring basis for the later development of European civilization".
>
> "At first sight it is the military aspect of Rome's work which is most impressive, but the civil process of urbanization is even more important in the history of culture.
>
> It was Rome's chief mission to introduce the city into continental Europe, and with the city came the idea of citizenship, and the civic tradition which had been the greatest creation of the Mediterranean culture". ≠≠

It would appear that some of our civic pride in the larger cities of the Union may have its origin in the Italy which many of our troops associate with its recent military history, and its deceptive colonial facade in Africa, but also with its own enduring culture.

awson further claims that

> In the majority of cases, however, the urbanization of new lands was carried out by re-organizing the existing Celtic tribal communities on the model of an Italian municipality, or by attaching the more backward tribal territories to a town that already existed. In this way there was created a regular hierarchy of communities reaching from the barbaric tribe or populus at one end of the scale, through the provincial city and the municipality with Latin rights, up to the citizen colony at the other.
>
> Thus a continual process of assimilation and levelling up went on throughout the Empire, by which client states were converted into provinces, provincial cities into colonies, and citizen rights were granted to provincials". ++

It is interesting to read of the consequences of this liberal policy:-

≠≠ Ibid. p. 6 ++ Ibid. p. 5 - 7.

> "During the first two centuries of the Empire, this system led to an extraordinary rapid development of urban life and economic prosperity in the new provinces. In Gaul and Spain not only external forms of civic life, but the social and intellectual culture of the Roman-Hellenistic world were diffused throughout the country, while on the Rhine and the Danube there was an equally rapid development of agricultural colonisation and commercial prosperity.
>
> Even the outlying regions, such as Britain and Dacia, shared in the general prosperity and became initiated into the higher civilization of the Mediterranean world. The whole empire was bound together socially by common culture, and materially by the vast system of roads which rendered communications easier and safer than at any time before the seventeenth century".##

declined in error

The correlation between diffusion of culture including common laws, the development of urban life, and economic prosperity, is rich in significance.

On the other hand it is claimed that the chief reason for the decline of this urban civilization was that it was essentially the civilization of a leisured class and was never completely assimilated by the subject populations. For Africa in general and for South Africa in particular, this sounds a manifest note of warning, since for all its virtues and pretensions, the system was one of exploitation. An expanding empire paid its way, each new war resulting in fresh territories to urbanize and in fresh supplies of cheap slave labour. As the period of expansion came to an end, however, the economic balance was destroyed.

Although, during the war, Britain renounced any further territorial claims in Africa, and has already honoured the spirit of this declaration by submitting to UNO draft proposals for her mandated African territories, and by introducing liberal reforms for the legislatures of other dependencies, relevant to the warning just associated with Roman expansion in territory and in exploitation, may be the Union's designs on South-West Africa, and possibly, her ill-concealed longing for Naboth's vineyard - the High Commission Territories.

Egypt had never been annexed by the Republic, but had been acquired by Augustus as the personal dominion of the Emperor, after which it was administered by imperial officials. The society thus taken over from the Ptolemies and the Pharaohs, embodied, according to Professor Rostovtzeff, the most complete system of state socialism known to the ancient world. Dawson's

Ibid. p. 8.

description, nevertheless, reminds one at various points of South Africa, when he writes:-

> "The administration of the vast imperial estates, the development of the official hierarchy, the regime of tribute in kind and of forced services, above all the fixation of status in the hereditary guilds, and the binding of the cultivator to his holding, and the craftsman and trader to his calling, were already fully developed institutions in Egypt centuries before they came to be applied to the rest of the Empire". ≠≠

The point of the quotation, however, is not directed against the Union, but serves rather to illustrate that the economic organization of Egypt, built upon the centralizing and nationalising of agricultural and industrial production, and so essentially different from that of Rome, under Diocletian and his successors and through cultural change became an essential part of the imperial system. Even then there was no intention of destroying civic liberty, their ideal being expressed by Marcus Aurelius, in Long's translation, as

> "the ideal of a polity in which there is the same law for all, a polity administered with regard to equal rights and equal freedom of speech, and the ideal of a kingly government which respects most of all the freedom of the governed".

Herein are lessons for the Europeans in Africa, whose Western culture derives from many sources, for neither they themselves nor their immediate forbears have been responsible for it; they hold no patent rights over it and possess no copyright. Consistent with this would be the readier recognition that in this inheritance the African is undoubtedly a beneficiary, even though collaterally. Consistent also would be the finding, that according to the generosity of such recognition, there must follow a commensurate increase in the inheritance to be shared, for such sharing would mean that our civilization must grow, for its frontiers would remain indeterminate, and would be advanced by an accretion of African talent, the extent of which cannot be predicted. Synchronously there would be the stimulation and further development of European talent. Should this be regarded as academic theorising, and in the name of realism should it be considered impracticable to allow the African to enjoy cultural freedom, economic opportunity, justice and fullness of life,

≠≠ Ibid. p. 13.

rather than poverty, ignorance, suffering and disease, in order that our economic order may thereby be miraculously preserved, it may be well to turn briefly to one further parallel from history.

The devastation of Italy under Hannibal is described by Toynbee, in his "Study of History" (Somervell's Abridgement of Vols. I-VI), in the following words:-

> "The devastated arable lands of Southern Italy were transformed partly into pasture-lands and partly into vineyards and olive orchards, and the new rural economy, planting and stock breeding alike, was worked by slave labour.....This revolutionary change from subsistence farming to cash-crop farming, and from husbandry to the application of servile man-power, undoubtedly increased for a time the monetary value of the produce of the land; but this was more than offset by the social evils it entailed - the depopulation of the countryside and the congregation of a pauper proletariat of ex-peasants in the towns".

There is a very familiar ring about the above, for principles have not changed since Hannibal's day. Unfortunately its very familiarity tends to weaken the force of its inherent warning, so full of cogency, and to strengthen the over-riding claims of self-interest.

And so one could cite from the history of cultures endless examples of convergence from the time of our first forbears. This does not connote unbroken progress from protoplasm to atomic bombs, for constant change does not imply constant growth towards perfection. But it does reveal that through contact, direct and indirect, apparently autonomous cultures exert influences which result in change in content, in structure and in relationship, and that in certain situations such change appears inevitable.

General Smuts coined the phrase "Mankind is once more on the move". So far as the Union is concerned, his speeches frequently suggest that he really means something like this:-

> "The dominant race is once more on the move. There are signs that the subject race also shows movement in the same direction, but in the interests of both it is clearly essential that in spite of any protestations we may have made to the contrary elsewhere, this should be discouraged, the direction deflected so that any Africans on the march may by-pass European columns, and the pace slowed down to a rate prescribed by legislation - disabling, not enabling".

Whether such an interpretation be justified or not, no no South African Canute can make the advancing tide of cultural

change recede from the shores of our Native Territories, for by comparison the Gulf Stream lacks potency in its onward sweep. Before concluding this chapter, lest it should be thought to end on a political note, a brief paragraph may be devoted more generally to the diffusion of culture, for the double purpose of showing how much we owe to it, and of emphasising, nevertheless, that one cannot endorse such extreme anthropological theorising as that postulated by Perry, in his "Children of the Sun", to the effect that there was a world-wide diffusion of Egyptaic civilization.

Toynbee in his magnum opus, already quoted, writes:-

> "Now it is, of course, true, that diffusion is a method by which many techniques, aptitudes, institutions, and ideas, from the alphabet to Singer's Sewing machines, have been communicated by one society to another.
> Diffusion accounts for the present ubiquity of the far-Eastern beverage, tea, the Arabic beverage, coffee, the Central American beverage, cocoa, the Amazonian material, rubber, the Central American practice of smoking tobacco, the Sumerian practice of duodecimal reckoning as exemplified in our shilling, the so-called Arabic numerals which perhaps came originally from Hindustan, and so on". *

He then adds a note of great importance:-

> "But in any case civilizations are not, in spite of the perverted notions of modern materialism, built of such bricks as these"....."While giving diffusion

---

Op. Cit. p. 40

* In similar fashion Ruth Benedict shows how essential corner-stones of our civilization are the invention of other races.

"Perhaps we describe this civilization of ours as built on steel and gunpowder. But steel was invented either in India or Turkestan, and gunpowder in China. Perhaps we prefer to identify our Western culture by its printing presses and literateness. But paper and printing were both borrowed from China. Our economic life with its great concentration of population is based on the cultivation of grains and of animals which are Neolithic inventions from Asia; corn and tobacco were first domesticated by the American Indian.

Our control of nature is overwhelmingly dependent on mathematical calculations. But the so-calledArabic system of notation which is essential to all complicated mathematics was unknown in Europe in the Roman era; it was invented in Asia and introduced to our civilization by the Moors. Algebra.... was also borrowed... from Asiatic peoples.

Wherever we look the truth is forced upon us that many different races have contributed to the growth of our culture and that when we hold culture as the constant, race is variable. The white race once was the borrower"....."The lesson of history is that pre-eminence in cultural achievement has passed from one race to another; it has embraced not whole 'races', but certain fragments of an ethnic group which were for certain historical reasons favourably situated at the moment..... It has happened in Mesopotamia, in China, in India, in Egypt, in Greece, in Rome and in England".

Race and Racism pp. 12-13

> its due, it is necessary to emphasise the part that has been played in human history by original creation. And we may remind ourselves that the spark or germ of original creation may burst into flame or flower in any manifestation of life, in virtue of the principle of the uniformity of nature". ≠≠

Relevant too is the following quotation from "Primitive Man: His Essential Quest" by J. Murphy:-

> "The resemblances in man's ideas and practices are chiefly traceable to the similarity in structure of the human brain everywhere, and in the consequent nature of his mind".

This is expressed somewhat differently by Einstein, who in his book "Historical Change", reveals a complementary truth when he writes:-

> "As a process of nature, change means something that is inherent to life, and is in fact inseparable from existence. The great distinction between the human species and all other forms of life is that only in man can change be produced by a receptiveness to ideas, so that in this way it becomes a conscious act emanating from the will". ++

In later sections it should be made apparent that the African is receptive to new ideas, and that both his intelligence and will are brought to bear upon his assimilation of new culture, the acquisition of which, therefore, is not merely the result of environment or of determinism.

This invites the co-operation of our own intelligence and good will.

≠≠ loc. cit.

++ op. cit. p. 5

Chapter II.

RACE AND RACE ATTITUDES.

In the introductory section dealing with the Approach to the Problem, it was agreed that for our purpose it was desirable to study the implications both of 'race' and of 'racial' attitudes.

These have engaged the attention of so many accredited anthropologists and psychologists, that it seems almost superfluous to quote from the wealth of material available. Not to do so, on the other hand, would be to ignore evidence, the significance of which in relation to our study, it is impossible to over-estimate. Hence, although so familiar to the student, it will be freely drawn upon.

Ruth Benedict in her challenging book "Race and Racism" (Routledge), distinguishes between the scientific study of racial differences, and racism, which she describes as an unproved assumption of the biological and perpetual superiority of one human group over another. In Africa it is racism which is overworked in the service of our colour-caste system.

Racism she describes as a creation of our time.

> 'It is a new way of separating the sheep from the goats. The parable in the New Testament separated mankind as individuals; on the one hand those who had done good, and on the other those who had done evil. The new way divides them by hereditary bodily characteristics - shape of the head, skin colour, nose form, hair texture, colour of the eyes - and those who have certain hall-marks are known by these signs to be weaklings and incapable of civilization, and those with the opposite are the hope of the world.
> Racism is the new Calvinism which asserts that one group has the stigmata of superiority and the other has those of inferiority". ≠≠

For the individual, therefore, racism means that:-

> "damnation or salvation in this world is determined at conception; an individual's good life cannot tip the balance in his favour, and he cannot live a bad life if his physical type is of the right sort.
> By virtue of birth alone, each member of the 'race' is high caste, and rightly claims his place in the sun at the expense of men of other 'races'. He need not base his pride upon personal achievement nor upon virtue; he was born high caste".

So far as the attitude and, indeed, conviction of the majority of Europeans in South Africa, in Southern Rhodesia, and in Kenya,

≠≠ Op. Cit. p. 2

are concerned, there is a pathetic ring of truth about these statements - so much so that, although it would not be considered good form to emphasise their truth, neither would it be regarded as good form to call it in question.

It is not surprising, therefore, to read, in consequence, that

> "The racialists have re-written history to provide the scion of such a race with a long and glamorous group ancestry, as gratifying as an individual coat of arms, and they assure him that the strength and vigour of his race are immutable and guaranteed by the laws of Nature. He must, however, guard this pure blood from contamination by that of lesser breeds, lest degeneration follow and his race lose its supremacy". ≠≠

This is simply the doctrine of the Herrenvolk, so constantly re-affirmed in South Africa, and so tragically followed in Nazi Germany. It is a doctrine to which practically the whole world is exposed today, and concerning which we must inevitably take sides for or against much of the history of the future depending upon our decision.

In the first century B.C. Cicero, writing to Atticus, said:-

> "Do not obtain your slaves from Britain, because they are so stupid and so utterly incapable of being taught that they are not fit to form a part of the household of Athens". ++

In the eleventh century A.D., after over a thousand years of further European development, according to Hogben's book, "Genetic Principles in Medicine and Social Service", Toledo, a Moorish savant, proclaimed that:-

> "Races north of the Pyrenees are of so cold temperament and never reach maturity; they are of great stature and of a white colour. But they lack all sharpness of wit and penetration of intellect." ++

May we assume that these findings refer to the ancestors of the two dominant races of South Africa? If so, should they not, perhaps, be a little more guarded when they indulge in generalizations about the African? (During the last session of the South African Parliament, there have been many protests against the use of the term "Africans", instead of "Natives", a fact which might have been appropriately reserved for the later section on "Race Attitudes". Toynbee has an interesting comment to make on exactly this, although written long before the local instances

≠≠ Ibid. pp 2-3 ++ Ibid. p. 5.

occurred. He says - "When we Westerners call people 'Natives', we implicitly take the cultural colour out of our perception of them. We see them as wild animals infesting the country in which we happen to come across them, as part of the local flora and fauna and not as men of like passions with ourselves." ≠≠ The operative word is "implicitly". Of the implications of this nomenclature in South Africa, this would tend to be an over-statement, for by the vast majority the word "native" is regarded as the correlative of "European". Nevertheless it is interesting that exception is taken to the correlativity of the word "African").

To revert to the popularly accepted hall-marks of 'race', Ruth Benedict states simply that:-

> "In all modern science there is no field where authorities differ more than in the classifications of human races. Some have separated races on the basis of geographical distribution, some on the basis of skin colour, some on the basis of cephalic index, some on a combination of several traits. Some have divided mankind into three races, some into seventeen, some into thirty-four". ++

Of all biometric measurements the cephalic index is the most common in physical anthropology, in consequence of which many disparaging and unscientific statements have been made, and are still being made, regarding the innate mental inferiority of the African. It is the quotient obtained by dividing the greatest breadth of the head by its length, and some tribes and people all over the world have high indices and others low, but, according to Ruth Benedict

> "The cephalic index does not serve to distinguish the White race from the Mongoloid nor from the Negro, nor has it any constant value for any primary race". ××

In other words narrow heads are found among primitive people and among cultivated Western Europeans, and neither the broad nor the narrow have a monopoly of ability, virtue, or outstanding destiny, and so should disappear, but survives alas, another unscientific and unfavourable generalization.

Similarly skin colour of itself, as a scientific criterion of primary races, is of very limited value; dark eyes are common to all human races, and throughout no ethnic group have been found special types of eye colour such as blueness. In the same

≠≠ Op. Cit. p. 3[illegible]. ++ Ibid. p. 1[illegible]. ×× Ibid. p. 97.

way dark hair, like dark eyes, does not serve to define race, since it is so widely distributed, and even blond hair is not found uniformly through any ethnic group.

Experience in blood transfusion led to the discovery that at least four blood types could be differentiated, a finding full of hope for students of race, and of even stronger hope for racists. Concerning this the following statement from "Race and Racism" is full of interest:-

> ....."blood types are strictly hereditary and very stable; any individual having a blood type "A", for example, must have had one or both parents whose blood type was 'A'. Therefore when different blood types are present in any population it is one of the surest signs of mixed ancestry.
>
> But even such isolated races as the aboriginal Australians have a high percentage of blood group 'A', which is that most characteristic of Western Europe. And high percentages of blood group 'B', that most characteristic of India and Eastern Asia, are found throughout Europe.
>
> The evidence from the study of blood groups emphasizes in the strongest possible manner the great amount of biological mixture that must have taken place from the earliest times". ≠≠

The complex composite 'racial' history of many parts of the world is a familiar theme, for everywhere there is multiple ancestry, brought about through centuries of migration, so that, to put it mildly, they talk glibly who speak of the common ancestry of Germans, or Frenchmen, or of the European stock of South Africa.

During the early glacial periods, Neanderthal Man entered Europe from Asia, occupying a great part of it, and from the beginning of historical time the migrations of his successors gradually covered the earth. To take France as an example of the composite blending of various stocks and cultures, the land was occupied in the Old Store Age by people who had drifted across Southern Asia, Northern Africa and Spain. In the Neolithic Age came many branches of the Mediterranean 'race' and early Alpines. Then followed Celtic invasions and those from Denmark, succeeded by the Vandals, the Visigoths, the Franks, the Goths and the Huns.

It seems clear that the term "French Race" possesses as little meaning, biologically, as the term "White Race" in

≠≠ Ibid. p. 27-8.

South Africa or elsewhere. Little wonder that Professor Linton in his "Study of Man", should state that every civilized group of which we have record has been a hybrid group.

These references to multiple ancestry arose from the evidence supplied by the blood-groups. Ashley Montagu who recently added a new chapter on this subject, to his stimulating book, entitled "Man's Most Dangerous Myth — The Fallacy of Race", writes:-

> "The blood of all human beings is in every respect the same, with only one exception, that is, in the agglutinating properties of the blood which yields four blood groups. But these agglutinating properties and the four blood groups are present in all varieties of men.....There are no known or demonstrable differences in the character of the blood of the different peoples. In that sense the Biblical obiter dictum that the Lord 'hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth' is literally true.
>
> Scientists have for many years attempted to discover whether or not any differences exist in the blood of different peoples, but the results of such investigations have always been the same, no difference has been discovered.
>
> In short, it cannot be too emphatically or too often repeated that in every respect the blood of all human beings is identical, no matter to what class, group, nation, or ethnic group they belong." +

The blood myth, so ardently propagated in the extravagant Nazi claims of Alfred Rosenberg, from time to time receives kindred impassioned support in South Africa, where one can well imagine, that when under a comprehensive national health scheme sufficient blood donors are found to meet any demands that may be made, it will cause scientifically established truth to be disregarded, and assurances will be sought and received in Parliament regarding the strict segregation of blood.

Where self-interest rules, economic-materialism holds sway, and a fear complex engenders 'racial' animosities and irrational convictions, it is extremely difficult to convince that all mankind is a single species, physically and psycho-physically. Before turning to the consideration of race-attitudes, however, it may be helpful to review some of Ruth Benedict's findings:-

> "There are Whites who are darker than some Negroids; dark hair and eyes are common among all races; the same cephalic index is found in groups of the most diverse races; similar hair form is found among ethnic groups as distinct as native Australians and Western Europeans; blood groups do not define races.". ++

.....

+ P 188.

++ Op. Cit. p. 28

If we are agreed that 'race' and culture are not congruent, and that there is no scientific justification whatever for using one as a symbol for the other, still less for citing irrelevant ethnic facts in support of exploitation, we still need to examine 'race' attitudes in order to determine whether they are intrinsically and irrevocably destined to perpetuate racial strife.

In a recently published comprehensive survey, entitled "Racial Pride and Prejudice", Dr. Dingwall describes the operation of the colour-bar and its various manifestations, in the United States of America, Great Britain, the Union of South Africa, British Colonies and Protectorates in Africa, French, Belgian and Portuguese Africa, the West Indies, in India and the East, as well as in Australia and New Zealand. He deals also with racial prejudice in the U.S.S.R., with anti-semitism, and with cognate phenomena. If conflicts between 'racial' groups are so world-wide, is this not a fact to be accepted as incontrovertible, and if so, need it be regarded seriously in terms of our relations with the African?

That it cannot be regarded lightly may be judged from the alarming growth of aggressive and violent acts perpetrated by irresponsible Europeans against Africans, which are reported almost daily in the South African press.

In the "Star", Johannesburg, of August 15th, 1947, it was reported that the Mayor, Mr. James Gray, had convened a meeting to be held in the City Hall on September 5th, to discuss the formation of a committee on race relations. This action had been taken, according to the news item, as the result of a memorandum submitted to him, stating that racial friction between Europeans and non-Europeans is growing, and urging immediate action to trace and eliminate the causes.

Because it so clearly illustrates reprehensible conduct born of undesirable attitudes, the article is quoted very fully below:-

"MAYOR CALLS MEETING TO DISCUSS RACE RELATIONS.

ASSAULTS ON NATIVES CAUSE CONCERN."

Under the above heading, and after the preamble already referred

to, came the following item:-

"Assaults on Natives, often unprovoked or for the flimsiest reason, by certain types of European men in the city and suburbs, on railway platforms and sometimes on trains are damaging race relations and doing harm to the Union.

The police are alive to the position and urge Natives concerned to make reports of any such assaults in order that a watch may be kept in areas particularly affected.

The death of a Native this week through assault by unidentified Europeans because he was 'too well dressed' has focused attention on the position. The police were unable to obtain a statement from this Native, who never really recovered consciousness. Another European is said to have witnessed the assault but has so far not come forward to assist the police.

HOOLIGANS

The men concerned in striking Natives, pushing them off the pavement, and otherwise ill-treating them are generally of the uneducated or hooligan type. Although there are many more police to-day patrolling the city and suburbs than formerly assaults still take place.

The Native feels that it is useless to go and complain at the police station as he cannot by then identify the men responsible. Nevertheless, the police urge that such reports should be made.

These incidents arouse general resentment but the average individual's reluctance to be drawn into dispute often allows such assaults to pass without interference.

One woman states that she saw a European man hitting a Native in the street without any apparent cause. She tried to stop him by catching his arm but he shook her off. She tried to find a policeman but without success.

TRAIN INCIDENT

An unpleasant incident was reported to the Star in a letter from a reader. A blind Cape Coloured musician with one of his fellow-bandsmen went to the railway station to catch a train. It pulled in just as they got to the platform and they only just managed to get into a compartment which happened to be reserved for Europeans.

The companion of the blind man apologised to the occupants and asked to be allowed to walk through. One of the Europeans is alleged to have hit the man, who then complained that his companion was blind. The European refused to believe this and gave the man a push.

'This sort of treatment of Coloureds, Natives and Indians is becoming more and more common,' concludes the letter.

Another case is reported concerning a Native who was walking along the platform at a station and who glanced into a compartment. A European man in it is alleged to have got up and struck the Native.

'In President Street you can often see quarrelsome individuals trying to pick disputes with Natives,' said one citizen, discussing the position to-day.

The Railway Police are paying special attention to the matter of assaults on Natives on railway property. During the six months of the year they investigated seven complaints of assaults by Europeans on Natives, but only one conviction resulted. In

> that case the man was tried by a magistrate and was fined £3 or 14 days. He was a railway worker at Kazerne goods yards.
>
> There were also seven complaints of assaults by Railway police on Natives during the period, but investigation failed to substantiate them. It was easier to finalise complaints of assaults by Natives on Natives on railway property; there were twenty cases, of which nine resulted in convictions.
>
> While cases of assault are not frequent in the city and suburbs, and few are reported to the police, there are enough of them to warrant a watch being kept by the authorities.
>
> Some three or four months ago there were a few cases in the northern suburbs of Europeans in cars stopping to strike passing Natives with their fists and with sticks. The C.I.D. investigated this and kept a close look-out in the area."

The Memorandum which led to this press publicity, and to the co-operative action of the Mayor so readily given, made constructive proposals for remedial action, following early investigation. It claimed that:-

> "If the daily evidence of racial friction in shops, public offices, public vehicles, and on the pavements is to be eliminated, a change of behaviour arising out of mutual respect is essential".

It ended on the note that public enlightenment was imperative, since without the maximum of publicity being given to the scheme, little improvement in racial relationship could be expected.

In pondering upon these deliberate, cowardly and provocative assaults, and the race attitudes they unfortunately manifest, compensatory attitudes should not be overlooked. Thus we learn that the assaults "cause concern"; that some of those who shared this concern were moved to draft a memorandum calling upon the Mayor to take immediate action; that the latter, recognizing the urgency of the need, readily concurred; that the police are anxious to co-operate; that European witnesses occasionally come forward; that other Europeans from time to time offer a helping hand, and lastly, but of vital significance, that such accounts are now a regular feature of the more responsible press.

It has been wisely said that to understand race persecution we need to investigate persecution, not 'race', and similarly

to understand race conflict we should study the causes of conflict in any group, or between groups, rather than 'race', for such causes are involved, in Johannesburg or anywhere else in the world, in outbreaks of race prejudice. This may appear question-begging. It just means, however, that if from our society we root out those discriminations based on 'race' or creed or colour, which perpetuate starvation in the midst of abundance, unemployment in spite of economic opportunity, ignorance and primitive standards amid surrounding culture, the denial of training facilities and of skill acquired in spite of it, although skilled workers in their thousands are needed, or perpetual preventible suffering and disease, — if such discriminations were to disappear, with them would disappear also 'race' persecution and conflict.

In the meantime, having considered a few recently authenticated cases of racial hooliganism, we would do well to seek the diagnosis of a professor of psychology regarding such anti-social outbursts.

Professor MacCrone of the University of Johannesburg, the author of a most valuable study of the psychology and psychopathology of 'race' prejudice in South Africa*, spoke in his 1947 Hoernlé Memorial Lecture at Capetown, on "Group Conflicts and Race Prejudice". Because of its importance his lecture will be drawn upon freely in this section.

'Race' prejudices, highly charged with emotion, he said, undoubtedly exist, function in characteristic ways according to identifiable conditions, and play an enormous part in determining our behaviour, i.e. in determining not only our actions, but also the way in which we think and feel about others. He contended that:-

> ...."we here in South Africa cannot forever go on living in what I have just called this happy hunting ground for every possible kind of race and colour prejudice; but, which, with stricter adherence to psychological truth or reality, may be more adequately described as our dream world of racial illusions, a kind of fools' paradise.
> For whether we like it or not, we shall from now on have to reckon with what, to many of us, is the startling fact that we form an integral part of a new kind of world that has become

* "Race Attitudes in South Africa".

> profoundly aware of the problems arising out of human relations, that has become racially self-conscious and sensitive about any kind of racial discrimination to a quite unprecedented degree, and that has become articulate and vocal and highly critical wherever it has reason to believe that such racial discrimination may be practised." ≠≠

He adds that we cannot segregate ourselves from the real world, however much we might wish to do so, and that:-

> "we may try to avoid the reality by refusing to recognise the revolutionary change that has come over the world, while continuing to cherish those racial prejudices that we have inherited from an age that has long since vanished, or is in the process of vanishing, from the rest of the world.
>
> Such a course, it seems to me, can only end in a tragic breakdown of our whole social system which may be postponed for a while by defiant gestures, but which cannot, in the long run, be averted." ≠≠

In a later chapter we shall study such political schools of thought as segregation, separatism, and isolation or narrow nationalism. Here one may be permitted the remark that in South Africa the number is legion of those who strive with pathetic futility, to segregate the Natives within the Union, the Union from the rest of the world, and this world from the next.

As an alternative to the breakdown of our social system, MacCrone believes that a more rational choice is offered to us.

> "And that is to bring about those changes within ourselves, in our own mental attitudes and ways of thinking and feeling about matters racial, that will enable us to make the necessary readjustments to a changing world-order so far as the relations between the races within this country, or elsewhere, are concerned.
>
> For if we can succeed in discarding, or even modifying, our existing race prejudices that have continued to exist as forms of cultural lag, we shall have removed one of the main obstacles in the way of coming to terms with the demands of the real world in which we live today." ≠≠

That each political party shrinks from coming to terms at all commensurate with the demands of "the real world" today, and that extra-territorial relationships with UNO and with India typify race relations within the Union, are significant of unresolved conflicts and prejudices, as well as of the degree to which, in consequence, our standards are weighed in the balance and found wanting.

≠≠ I.C.

Of interest here is Professor MacCrone's view, with which one must agree, that "the individual's race prejudices are not dependant upon personal experiences", since, being a group phenomenon such prejudice can only appear in the individual as a member of a particular racial group. Thus, as we are all well aware:-

> .."there often is a marked contradiction between an individual's behaviour in his individual or personal capacity, and the same individual's behaviour in his group capacity, so far as members of other groups or races are concerned". ≠≠

This is fully developed in McDougall's "Group Mind", and is periodically demonstrated on such occasions as election meetings, a politician's speeches before his own party in the House, or before his constituents during the recess, strikes, race riots, and lynching parties. Fortunately there is the corresponding strengthening of resolve, of fortitude and of altruistic endeavour, promoted by the influence of such groups as churches, university seminars, joint councils, welfare societies, and the Institute of Race Relations.

MacCrone states that:-

> "If, as I think can ultimately be shown to be the case, every form, or nearly every form, of group prejudice, including, of course, race prejudice, turns out to be a pathological phenomenon, a form of group neurosis, it will naturally not appear to be such to the individual members of the group themselves". ≠≠

This appears to demand sympathy for the racist, since he must be regarded as a neurotic and therefore, we may not be justified in passing judgment upon him. On the other hand we must be alive to the danger that if the number should grow whose abnormality is considered normality by the criteria of his group, race conflict produced by 'race' prejudice may come to be regarded as the norm for relations between the different ethnic groups in South Africa. And lest the European should tend to say that it is just too bad, but that nothing can be done about it, it might be helpful to remember that conduct of this nature, however rationalized about, will not remain unilateral, but will react violently against his own group.

≠≠ Ibid.

According to MacCrone another implication is:-

> ".....that race and other group prejudices are a group phenomenon, by which I mean that they have been acquired over a period of time and hence have a history behind them, that they are shared in common by all the members of the group, that they are indoctrinated or communicated, often at an early age, by the processes of imitation, sympathy, and suggestibility within the group, that they are socially approved of and enforced by social sanctions, and that finally, any departure from them on the part of any individual member will give rise to inter-individual as well as intra-individual conflicts". ≠≠

This raises various points of importance, the chief of which is that concerning indoctrination. At first sight this would appear somewhat inconsistent with MacCrone's earlier statement that race prejudices continue to exist "as forms of cultural lag", since on the surface this would suggest support for the racists who would prefer to think that such attitudes are handed down in the germ plasm, whilst indoctrination refers rather to the communication of prejudices by the process described. The answer to this, of course, is that there is social rather than biological inheritance.

It follows that a very grave responsibility rests upon all, on both sides of the colour-bar, but particularly upon those who lead or greatly influence opinion, i.e. upon political, religious, educational, judicial, industrial and tribal leaders, as well as upon the parents of all communities, and upon the editors of newspapers, whatever their medium. The responsibility derives from the fact that if race prejudices be not hereditarily transmissible, and the scientific evidence is solidly opposed to such an assumption, the racial prejudices between British and Dutch, Jew and Gentile, European and African, and European and Asian, would die out in a single generation, unless kept alive and indoctrinated.

That this takes place "often at an early age" is all the more tragic, for at a later age the resistance to suggestion and the more careful weighing of evidence, resulting in individual judgment, would have fuller play. As it is we have the slaughter of the innocents, and the perpetuation of prejudice and conflict throughout our legislative, economic

≠≠. Ibid.

and social systems.

Moreover such prejudices are socially approved and enforced by social sanctions, because of which it is natural that they should be socially learned. They are ready made and culturally accepted outlets for different forms of hostility and frustration. It follows that they are socially directed — misdirected would be the truer term.

Ashley Montagu draws attention to the fact that:-

> ....."in our own society" (he speaks of America, but there can be no shadow of a doubt regarding the South African parallel), "the regrettable discovery has been made that by utilising the physical and cultural differences which exist between groups and individuals, it is a relatively simple matter to disguise the motives and evade the consequences of one's own conduct by attributing existing and potential evils to the conduct of some other group, or to utilize those differences for the most ignoble political purposes. Thus, by setting groups of people against one another, attention is diverted from the real sources of evil."[11]

This is a clear example of the widespread misdirection of the sense of frustration and aggressiveness by one group against another. The same writer quotes a familiar parallel from pagan Rome, where so frequently the persecution of the Christian minority was merely used as a device to sidetrack attention from the real causes of corruption within the state.

> Said Tertullian:- "if the Tiber rose to the walls of the city, if the inundation of the Nile failed to give the fields enough water, if the heavens did not send rain, if an earthquake occurred, if famine threatened, if pestilence raged, the cry resounded 'Throw the Christians to the lions' ". +

And so in South Africa, when politicians are tackled about the preservation of "White" civilisation, when party capital can be made, when agricultural or financial policy comes under fire, when mining shares slump, when industrial depression sets in, when poverty increases urban migration, accentuating squatting through continued neglect, and synchronising with urban crime, when at UNO or in India our race-relations are flood-lit, and when at home the Natives Representative Council adjourns as a mild protest against what it considers to be

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[11] "Man's Most Dangerous Myth - the Fallacy of Race" p. 81 (Columbia University Press).

+ Ibid loc. cit

racially inspired ineptitude, — on occasions such as these a similar cry resounds, and is rarely ignored:- "Throw the non-Europeans to the lions", coupled with which may often be heard the refrain "And the Jews as well", or "And the Asiatics".

In addition to membership of a group, race prejudice requires also that there must be awareness on the part of the individual of the differences that exist between his own and other groups.

> "For once the individual becomes aware of these group differences, then, and only then, does he become group conscious; and we have, arising in the field of the individual, that fundamental distinction between the in-group, his own group, the we-group, the group with which he has identified himself, or 'ons mense', on the one hand, and the out-group, the alien group, the others-group, the group of those who don't belong, or who are 'uitlanders' on the other. It does seem that this distinction between in-group and out-group is quite universal, that it will never wholly disappear, and that it provides the matrix within which every kind of groupprejudice of which we know develops.
> I myself do not see how it can be otherwise since, so long as mankind is differentiated into groups of various kinds-national, religious, ethnic-cultural or racial, class, sex and so on — it will always be the case that the individual will grow up as a member of a particular group, that he will feel himself to be more at home in some one group rather than in some other.....(MacCrone. op. cit.)

But although the significance of the first part of the above paragraph is clear, it may be well to qualify the second part by admitting that some of the groups quoted, if history and common humanity be any guide, will tend to disappear. Thus there can be national unity in spite of ethnic differences, the growth of Christianity among the Africans is already appreciably reducing religious differences, and the convergence and cross-fertilization of cultures will as steadily reduce other cultural differences. Granted this, wider groupings will occur and the greater coherence will render less acute the present tensions between 'race' and 'race' or class and class.

Although, therefore, as MacCrone postulates, the members of a group may develop a sense of group-belongingness, and with it a sense of group exclusiveness, the widening of group membership would increase the former and decrease the latter, and, as contended earlier in this study, ethnic differences

are not decisive, and therefore have neither present nor enduring validity in determining some of the more important groupings.

In his lecture, moreover, he referred to the fact that increasing recognition was being accorded to the view that there is a close and dynamic relationship between the type of personality, (including traits and social attitudes), and the type of culture in which the individual personality develops, and to the further view that over and above the variable constituents or personality, innate and acquired, there is "a kind of basic personality structure which is culturally conditioned, and therefore common to all the members of a particular culture."

Of these two views the second is the more difficult to follow, since social attitudes are communicable and, therefore, obviously influenced by culture, whilst personality, as I conceive it, being that which is understood by the "I", the "self", is incommunicable, remaining essentially the same throughout life, and therefore cannot be "culturally conditioned" or "common to all the members of a particular culture".

Granted the truth of this second view, which he regards as probable, the Professor continues:-

> ....."it would follow that our race prejudices, as a part of our total personality, are culturally conditioned not merely in the sense that they form part of the social heritage of the group, but in a deeper sense, that they are one of the ways in which the culture of the group finds dynamic expression in the individual personality." ≠≠

This has already been commented upon, but what immediately follows is of no little importance, for he says:-

> "In that case it would seem that race prejudices, like wars and other forms of group hostility, are endemic in our kind of society and could only be finally eradicated, not by pious exhortations and appeals to the 'Four Freedoms', but by drastic changes in every one of its major inter-locking cultural institutions, such as its family and educational systems, its economic system, and its religious system". ≠≠

One agrees readily about the "Four Freedoms", or any other number, but as for the rest I would submit that this is merely the challenge confronting us to introduce far-reaching

≠≠ Ibid.

changes in our attitudes and consequential actions, whether in education, economics, religion, social and industrial relations, or government, and to integrate them in a new non-political order, the Kingdom of Right Relationships. This I believe without accepting any hypothesis about a commonly shared and environmentally conditioned basic personality. That Professor MacCrone speaks about possible changes producing final eradication, clearly reveals that if more fully developed, his argument would not enlist determinism in support of 'race' prejudice. Those who, nevertheless, might be tempted to conclude that, within a common culture, basic personality is conditioned, may take solace from the thought that if admitted to a richer culture, the basic personality of our Africans might be re-conditioned.

That, as the lecturer affirmed, our multi-racial society has congealed into a colour-caste system, consisting of an upper White caste, and a lower Black caste, most would agree, the difference between this caste system and the social stratification of many other countries being, that in theirs migration from one social stratum to another is made possible by the acquisition of economic power, but that in the Union such acquisition is almost entirely restricted to the Europeans on grounds of colour, legally imposed barriers operating against the economic, and consequentially, against the social advancement of non-Europeans. Herein lies the basic cause of most of our racism, and of the animosities and hatreds, frictions and frustrations, poverty and despair, suffering and conflict, to which it gives painful birth.

Of this situation MacCrone said:-

> ..."domination by the upper caste has evoked not submission but resistance on the part of the dominated caste,..the skin colour or caste barrier has become a boundary line of contention between conflicting groups...the distinction between in-group and out-group has given rise to a state of tension or disequilibrium in the social field". ##

That contention and resistance would be evoked, and unless policy be radically altered will gain serious momentum, is hardly to be wondered at. Nevertheless it is worthy of note that it illustrates a common psychology resulting in co[illegible]

Op. Cit.

emotions, rather than reactions differentiated according to 'race'. Had not this been the case he could not have arrived at the following interesting obiter dicta:-

> "race prejudices are.....also a form of defence mechanism by means of which the individual members strive to protect or defend the interests of the group with which they have most closely identified themselves, against the threats of an alien group or out-group. If they are members of an upper or dominating caste group, then, as in our society, they will regard the reaction to domination in the form of resistance or a refusal to submit by members of the lower or dominated caste, as a threat to the status quo, to their security as a dominating group, to their own power and prestige and the enjoyment of the privileges of a ruling caste.
> If they are members of a lower or dominated caste group, then, as in our society, they will regard domination by members of the upper caste as a threat to their legitimate aspirations, as a form of discrimination, exploitation and oppression, as an attempt to keep them in a permanent position of inferiority and subjection, and to deny them the opportunities for an improvement in status whether in the social, the political, or the economic field." ≠≠

Applied to the situation in many parts of Africa this helps to explain aggressive action taken by the Europeans in defence of the status quo, and by the Africans in defence of their natural wish to have it altered. This leads to the admission that change is imperative, an admission which is steadily gaining recognition, "if the mounting tension inherent in the social system, which is as packed with jarring racial elements and as racked by inner contradictions and frustrations as any in the world, is not to lead to a crisis or breakdown in the system itself".

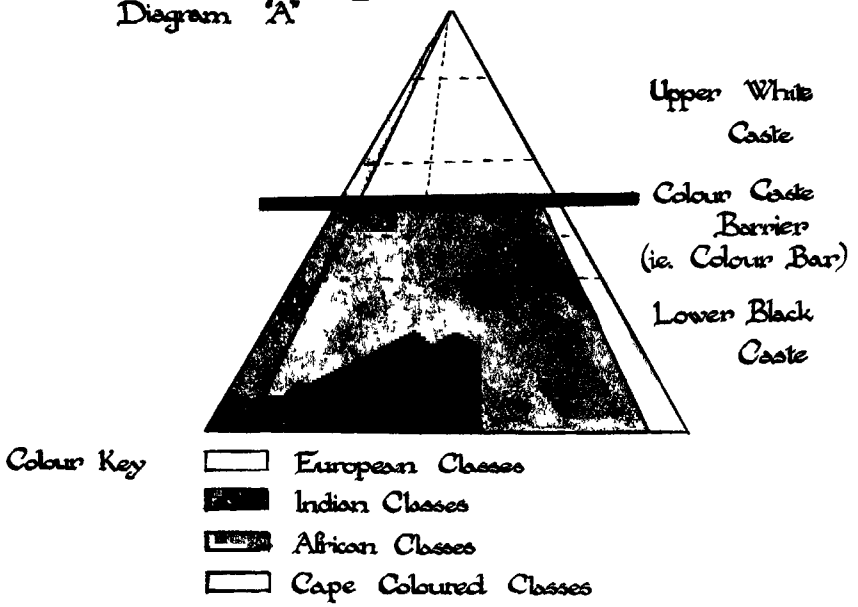
It is self-evident that undesirable convergent development, derived from 'race' prejudices, accompanying emotions, the employment of defence mechanism and resultant aggressive action, is at work. It is equally evident that the change described as imperative if the crisisis to be avoided, must also assist convergence, which, by implication, should be desirable.

To illustrate the colour-caste society of South Africa, Professor MacCrone drew a diagram in pyramid form, which I take the liberty of reproducing , and of altering by using

≠≠ Ibid.

different tints for the various sections, to assist clarity.

Diagram 'A'



The key to the above is briefly this. The heavy horizontal bar bisecting the pyramid into two unequal segments, is the colour-caste barrier or colour bar, below which is what MacCrone describes as the lower black caste (four-fifths of the population), and above which is the upper white caste (the remaining fifth). Of this, he says that it possesses "maximum impermeability, since no element can cross this barrier from one caste area to another; in other words, the colour caste system is a closed system".
Each caste area is divided by horizontal lines, into upper, middle and lower classes. That these lines are broken indicates that within the caste we have an open system, so that class distinctions can be surmounted.

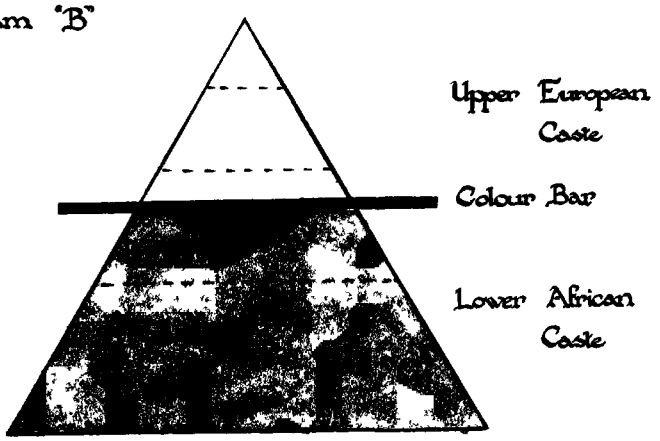
In the upper segment the small triangle to the left represents the Jewish, the centre triangle the English-speaking, and the triangle to the right, the Afrikaans-speaking group. The dotted line between the last two suggests that the barrier can be crossed more easily than that between the Jew and Gentile.

In the lower segment the purple area represents the Indian, the brown the African, and the orange the Cape-Coloured groups.

For the sake of simplification, since our study is primarily concerned with the manner in which European culture

impinges on African, the diagram is now reproduced, but is confined to these two 'races', although one should not lose sight of the fact that the other ethnic groups omitted also impinge upon the African and modify his culture, directly or indirectly.

Diagram "B"



Colour Key — European Classes; African Classes

At the end of his lecture although MacCrone had made clear that it was not incumbent upon him to suggest solutions, had this to add.

> "But it seems clear to me, in the light of our analysis, that no proposed solution will bring any relief that does not bring about some change in the way in which our multi-racial society is at present bisected by the skin colour or caste barrier. I do not consider that it is either desirable or necessary or practicable to abolish this caste barrier. On the contrary." He proceeded:- "but it should be possible, and I certainly think it is both desirable and necessary, to permit a substantial improvement in the opportunities and status of members of the lower caste. You may recall that in that triangle that I asked you to visualize, the existing colour barrier was represented by a heavy line bisecting the figure and drawn parallel to the base line.
>
> What I am proposing as a sine qua non of any successful solution is that this line, while continuing to bisect the figure, will be allowed to tilt upwards towards one end.
>
> In practice, this means that the qualified or educated or civilized non-European, whether African, Cape Coloured, or Indian, who enjoys a superior class status in his own caste, will not forever be treated, from the cradle to the grave, as if he were a member of an inferior caste, on a par with all its other members and with a status inferior to that of the meanest or lowest class white.
>
> For, unless this class of non-European in particular, is able to enjoy not only a superior class status within his own caste group but an improved caste status within our own multi-racial society as well, there is no hope, so fas as I can see, of any real improvement in the racial situation in this country".##

I find it a little disappointing, and something in the nature of

Op. Cit',

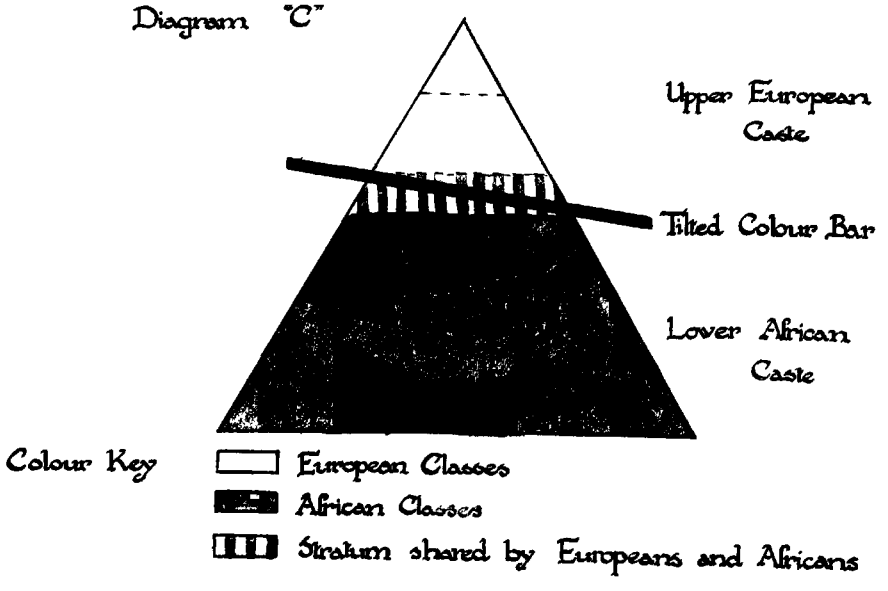
anti-climax, after so penetrating a lecture, for this to represent the consummation of reform, and regret that the lecturer, having proposed this readjustment as a sine qua non of a successful solution, did not develop his theme further, to show its implications.

One realises how popular a pastime is the prediction of the future from pyramids, and how prone to error, just as one appreciates the limitations of any diagram, for although intended to illustrate certain points, it may, rather unjustly, be criticised for obscuring or omitting others. Nevertheless, in the present instance, one could have wished that Professor MacCrone had supplied a further diagram to embody his proposal for a tilted caste barrier, or colour bar, which according to him must continue to bisect the figure, for he supplies no guidance concerning the degree of tilt, and hence none regarding its upper limit.

Presumably, and rather distressingly, wherever placed, it would retain, to use his own terminology, "maximum impermeability," which suggests the re-introduction of an impassable barrier based on colour and 'race' prejudice, and the revival of all the tensions and conflicts, at a so-called higher level.

In the absence of guidance, I infer that the following diagram may approximate to the readjusted position proposed:-

Diagram "C"



My only further comment on the above would be that it portrays

by the means of more liberal policy, the admission of the professional and other comparable classes of non-Europeans, to parity of status with that accorded to the lowest class of Europeans, and reveals at the same time that this is the limit of reasonable concession to the aspirations of the former, since further alteration to the status quo would not be tolerated by the latter.

My final quotation from MacCrone, to whom this chapter shows I am so much indebted, even though I have had the temerity to indulge in occasional criticism, is this:-

> "Quite a number of the Bantu have, of course, assimilated European culture, as represented by the Europeans in this country, and more will continue to do so.
> But while the Negro is, or can only become, an American in a black instead of a white skin, in this country the Bantu, taken by and large, are not, and never will become, culturally speaking, merely blackskinned Europeans. Their own cultural roots are too strongly entrenched for anything like that to happen and even if they were all, as the saying goes, to absorb European culture (and that is not likely to happen, in any case, for a very long time), they would only do so in a way that reflected their own cultural background". ≠≠

So there it is. Although an excerpt from a lecture on "Group Conflicts and Race Prejudice", which has combined scholarship and liberal outlook to advance the cause of the African, and which, by analyzing race prejudice will contribute towards the reduction of group conflicts, is assumes somewhat surprisingly:-

(a) that although the Negro must inevitably assimilate American culture, the great majority of the Bantu can never assimilate European culture;

(b) that the reason for this, apparently, is that their own culture is so deeply rooted, and granting

(c) that, the impossible, even if after a very long time the majority were to absorb our culture, it would continue to reflect their own.

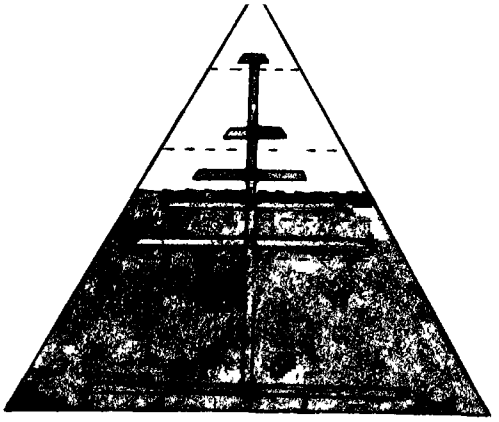
If culture were 'racially' circumscribed, and it can hardly be that if race itself is a myth, and if culture were a matter of heredity, and we have unimpeachable authority that it is not, and if the Africans composing any reasonably homogeneous ethnic group were immune from the impact of our culture, which is untenable, then these assumptions would be entitled to a higher degree of acceptance then, upon the evidence at our disposal we can accord. In saying this one is mindful of, but

≠≠ Ibid.

not unduly impressed by, the difference in the proportions between the Whites and Negroes in America and the parallel groups here; one readily accepts the fact that it will be a considerable time before the majority of Africans assimilate our culture, and one appreciates that the resultant of culture contact will derive from both cultures, in which connection it seems reasonable to suppose that it will be the contemporary constituents, rather than those of the historic past, which will converge and compete, and from which a synthesis will arise. Is it unreasonable to suppose that towards this the contribution of the dominant 'race' will prove dominant? The tide of economic change, which will be discussed later, renders it inevitable, moreover, apart from any other considerations.

Having commented upon the pyramid drawn by Professor MacCrone, and upon the readjustments in the diagram which his proposals would apparently introduce, in equity it seems necessary to suggest an alternative, which, although admittedly assured of derision and hostility in many quarters, would seem to offer the only possible solution if we introduce more time-thinking than space-thinking, and combine with it a more liberal faith than that limited to racial externals and our own dividends. In brief the time has come, in my opinion when we must cease placing the emphasis upon devising a system or social order, which is so static that everyone stands in his proper place and relationship, and nothing can be more static than an arbitrarily imposed and legally enforced colour bar. Hence in the diagram which follows it is not tilted but removed.

Diagram "D"



Colour Key
European Classes
African Classes
Ascending Africans

It will be noted that the conventional social strata remain, namely the upper, middle and lower classes, both for the European and for the African, not to defend their perpetuation, but to be realist, remembering, however, that being open, transfer from one class to another involves no insurmountable difficulty.

The more important feature is that green, the colour of growth, is introduced to show, by its branching, that the African, with the elimination of the colour bar, may have the opportunity, previously denied, of ascending from one caste to another. This does not imply that, given this opportunity, each who begins will continue the ascent, for as shown many will find their level in a lower stratum than those who climb beyond, whilst those who do will be able to claim the right to live decently at a higher level and be respected for it, without being humiliated for their endeavour or achievement. And yet of all doctrines in the Union, this is regarded as the most sinister. Instead it is considered more patriotic to deny civil liberties and coveted opportunities to the non-Europeans, to fasten fear upon them, and to breed 'race' conflict.

One is told with reason that great numbers of Africans are not ready for full citizenship. This is undeniable and is provided for in the last diagram, but as has been so trenchantly said of similar groups of Negroes:-

> "The social conditions which perpetuate their poverty and ignorance must be remedied before anyone can judge what kind of citizens they might be in other more favourable circumstances."

Earlier reference was made to misdirected aggression on each side of the colour bar, to which one may now add that as pointed out by Ashley Montagu and others, the attack upon urgent social problems demanding early solution offers a much more satisfactory outlet for aggressiveness than does any attack upon human beings. Need it be said that opportunities for 'racial' co-operation, in the making of such attacks, would be increased beyond present imagining if only the colour-bar were courageously removed.

.....

One may be excused for ending this chapter on a note of 'racial' harmony for which purpose I select the following extract from the Governor's speech at the opening of the Legislative Council, Uganda, on 3rd December, 1946:-

> "In Uganda we have, and mercifully have had for many years, something which is very precious, something which, in today's world of turmoil and hatreds and suspicions, is also very rare. We have still in Uganda friendship and harmony between the different races..... But the influences which create racial strife and hatred, and which destroy happiness by destroying friendship and trust, are very insidious; they do not always show their mark of Cain; so often they are things so small in themselves, unguarded remarks, petty discourtesies, intemperate public speeches, unfounded suspicions, mischievous rumours. But like weeds they creep in and unless they are rooted out they soon smother with their rank growth all that is good and clean and healthy, leaving only suffering and misery and fear. They must be rooted out; and each must do his share. Racial harmony is something which needs to be cultivated. It will not thrive on neglect; it needs work and sacrifice. But even more it needs courtesy, forbearance and the recognition of the other man's point of view.
>
> The three races, European, Asian and African, are here in Uganda. That is an inescapable fact, although it may be regretted by some few, some foolish few, for each race has made a worthy contribution to the prosperity and happiness of Uganda and there is still a worthy contribution that each can make; and seeing that we, the three races, are here is it not better that this trinity of races should be one of unity rather than of disunity?"

.....

@ Sir John Hathorn Hall, K.C.M.G., D.S.O., etc.

CHAPTER III.

AFRICAN INTELLIGENCE.

It was agreed that if 'race' prejudice and other obstacles could be surmounted, but if, on the other hand, serious limits to African intelligence were scientifically demonstrated, the latter would be decisive, for they would reveal the futility of most betterment programmes.

At the 1934 New Education Fellowship Conference held in Johannesburg, but international in composition, Dr. M.L. Fick, Psychologist on the staff of the Bureau for Educational and Social Research in South Africa, read a paper on "The Educability of the South African Native", which brought the chill of depression to many of the educational delegates to the African section.

Among them there were those who considered that at the outset they had already been handled somewhat roughly during a symposium of distinguished anthropologists, who appeared alternatively to have derided or patronised their efforts for the harm done or the ineptitude shown. After displaying commendable resilience, however, and after regaining an encouraging measure of confidence and even enthusiasm through the interchange of views and experience, they were drenched with Dr. Fick's icy discovery, inter alia, that at about the chronological age of 14, the mental difference between European and African pupils, amounted to from 4 to 5 years. To the credulous or the benumbed it seemed that the authorities had conspired to prove that their results were specious and their labours vain.

The less credulous had heard of similar findings, subsequently refuted, in various parts of the world, and decided that recourse neither to suicide, nor to resignation, was, as yet, a matter of honour.

In 1939 Dr. Fick's book, embodying his findings, was published by the South African Council for Educational and Social Research. In the same year Dr. Biesheuvel set to work to examine this monograph, to verify its fundamental assumptions of intelligence testing in its application to 'racial'

comparisons deduced therefrom.

After delays due to military service and other causes, the results were published under the title of "African Intelligence' in 1943, (South African Institute of Race Relations), being subsidised by the same Council, and constituting a devastating attack upon the earlier findings.

For reasons which are closely argued, Dr. Biesheuvel challenged Dr. Fick on every one of his main issues, deciding that the tests were unsuitable because of the cultural handicaps of the African children, and because inadequate proportions were taken to achieve parity between the attitudes of both 'racial' groups to the test situation.

Environmental factors also were inadequately controlled; the experimental group chosen was not considered representative of the African population, nor did the investigation cover the whole growth of intelligence, (for neither African nor European intelligence necessarily ceases at the age of 14), and the suggestion was advanced that the African pupils tested should be credited with 30 points in the intelligence quotient, — bringing their total quotient to 100, — because of these handicaps.

The comprehensive nature of Dr. Biesheuvel's analysis may be judged from the following quotation:-

> "It is the purpose of this book first of all to state clearly, in the light of all the available data, to what extent the growth and measurement of intelligence can be determined by factors other than heredity. These factors will be studied under the following headings:- Cultural Milieu, Home Environment, School Environment, Nutrition, and Temperament.
>
> Thereafter the situation of the South African population will be studied with reference to each of these factors, and the possibility of using the control group technique will be examined".

As a summary of his conclusions an extract may be cited from a review in "African Affairs" (October, 1944). It reads:-

> "One cannot equate by environment an African with a European group, without selecting unrepresentative samples. A true Bantu sample should consiste of about 2,000 subjects of both sexes, between the ages of 1 and 20, preferably both tribal and de-tribalised, and representing a number of tribes and economic classes.
>
> But it is impossible at present to include tribal

> Africans in the test. Too little is known of their attitude to the test situation, and of their home environment,
>
> Their tests ,too, would be different from European and detribalised Africans' tests. In addition, since the tests would have to be individual, the size of the sample would be a deterrent. Thus the only scientific approach possible to this vital question would be partial, and no basis for inter-racial comparison.
>
> In any case, even if you could get an adequate African sample, it would be impossible to find an equally representative European control group subject to similar influences of environment; there is no really adequate test available at the moment; the educational environment cannot be controlled; and finally we can never be sure that a difference in test-intelligence is not due to a qualitative difference in the intellectual process, or to a difference in temperament".

The review then quotes from the author the following far-reaching conclusion, which should not be over-looked when claims are advanced by investigators, or by their followers, however conscientious, to correlate 'race' and intelligence in the light of results obtained from intelligence testing. In view of its importance Dr. Biesheuvel's main inference is reproduced in capitals:-

> "THE TREND OF THE ARGUMENT DEVELOPED, POINTS INEVITABLY TO ONE CONCLUSION: THAT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, AND BY MEANS OF THE USUAL TECHNIQUES, THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE INTELLECTUAL CAPACITIES OF AFRICANS AND EUROPEANS CANNOT BE SCIENTIFICALLY DETERMINED."

.....

Since in South Africa it has been held that "unconscious racial attitudes may underlie the most scrupulous scientific investigations", it may be well to turn to an example of co-ordinated medical research in East Africa, and to its subsequent appraisal by medical authorities.

In 1933 and 1934 articles in the press gave publicity to the investigations of Dr. Gordon of Mathari, and Dr. Vint, Government Pathologist, Kenya, supplemented by intelligence tests carried out by Dr. Oliver in connection with East African Natives.

The investigators appeared to have established that in comparison with that of the average European, the African brain is smaller, lighter, relatively lacking in grey matter, and with nerve cells in certain areas less differentiated. They appear to have established, moreover, that the mental

development of the average educated African adult was merely equal to that of European children of 10.5 years, and, more disturbing still that "Cases of 'dementia praecox' occur only among Natives who have received some kind of European education" (See South Africa, December 29, 1933.)

It was then advocated that there should be "a complete anthropological survey, both physical and cultural" before the lines of Native policy are laid down, and presumably before one proceeds with formal education of any kind. Should such a view gain acceptance, we must, to be consistent, ensure the complete isolation of the African from any contact with European administration until the formula derived from the survey guarantee him immunity against the devastating effects of any cultural assimilation, a self-denying ordinance we need not anticipate with undue concern.

The Leader in the Lancet of February 17, 1934, commenting on these findings, although admitting that the work done was of a very high order, issued a warning against unscientific deductions; speaking of the differences in brain volume wrote that "the data should not be interpreted with too much zeal", and of other differences found, claimed that they were not significant in terms of cortical function. The Lancet continued:-

> "Commenting on Dr. Gordon's plea that the Kenya Native, with his brain capacity of 1.316c.cm should be protected from the harmful influences of the Europeans with a cranial content of 1,481, Professor J.B.S. Haldane remarks that the average cranial capacity of a group of male Eskimos was 1.563 c.cm. 'Charity begins at home' he says, 'so let us hope that if the Natives of Kenya are to be protected from European education, steps will be taken at the same time to safeguard Europe from the disintegrating effects of Eskimo culture, which may well prove too complex for beings of a smaller mental capacity' ".

In this connection one could cite that the people of the Aurignacian age possessed one-sixth more brain than the modern European, or supply instances of many a genius with a brain no larger than that of a Bushman. Mental activity is not quantitative and presumably the output from one cell is not necessarily equal to that of another, nor can mental ability be judged from the size of one's hat.

In an article in the Rhodesia Herald, of March 15th, 1934,

Dr. Galloway wrote:-

> "Vint has evidence which suggests that the weight of the Native brain not only does not remain stationary after puberty but decreases in weight after middle age".

That this does not effectively clinch another cherished slogan appears from the Lancet comment:-

> "The normal European brain also decreases in weight progressively after the age of fourteen without any corresponding mental regression".

In the South African Medical Journal of May 10th, 1934, Dr. H.A. Moffat, F.R.C.S., upon his return from the Dar-es-Salaam Medical Conference, where Dr. Vint gave an abstract of his paper, made clear that the latter had stated that the findings were purely anatomical, and that he, personally, drew no conclusions as to the mental capacity or educability of the African.

Dr. Moffat then added the following significant warning:-

> "There is a very real danger of the uninstructed laity, some of them gladly, ignorantly seizing upon the facts which might be construed to read that the African is built and will remain inferior in mental capacity to the European. Such inference is premature, and apparently negatives by our own experience".

No case is strengthened by adducing poor reasons in support, and the opposition to African development will not be stengthened by unwarranted assumptions from biological measurements, microscopic examinations, or so-called intelligence tests.

Those who in spite of the weighty statements made by the Lancet, the delicious commentary of Professor Haldane, and the sound warning issued by Dr. Moffat, may still be influenced by Dr. Oliver's 'finding' that 85% of African adults are below the average mental level of the European school boy, should remember that if we apply the same mathematics to the 1946 South African Census figures, it follows that 15%, or no fewer than 1,170, 827 Africans, are endowed with mental ability equal to or greater than that of the average European school boy. It would seem to follow that the constituency which might co-operate intelligently in measures jointly designed for the general well-being of the community, is still large enough to justify the effort.

In the meantime, throughout the Continent the African remains intelligent in spite of intelligence tests, and continues to

demonstrate that he has the competence fittingly to contribute to the economic, administrative, cultural and spiritual life of his own land.

On this charge the prisoner at the bar is not convicted, for ample and irrebuttable evidence concerning this continues to pour in from unimpeachable witnesses in every African territory, leading one to believe, with Toynbee, that "The so-called racial explanations of differences in human performance and achievement, is either ineptitude or a fraud". [1]

To this Ashley Montagu adds:- "Surely, it should at this late date be evident that intelligence, by whatever standard it is measured, is always a function of cultural experience as well as of inherent quality". It should be evident in South Africa, but generally it is not, the vital reason being, that owing to [2] 'race' prejudice, the African is so largely denied the cultural experience which would convincingly demonstrate what the European prefers not to know.

Ruth Benedict also can help us here, and at the same time assist us to dispose of the almost inevitable refrain when any notable African achievement is discussed, to the effect that it is of course, exceptional, when she writes:-

> "The results of racial tests are believed today to show that hereditary aptitude is not distributed by races, and that when environmental conditions for different groups become similar, average achievement also becomes similar.
>
> Individual differences will still remain in all races, but the results indicate that any programme which proposes to increase human achievement will attain its ends by providing adequate and continued opportunity for any individual without regard to race and colour". [3]
>
> (Underlining mine)

The paragraph which I have underlined lends encouragement to those who, on the evidence before them, as well as from a conviction that 'racial' barriers to opportunity must be thrown down, give ready co-operation rather than cynicism when betterment programmes are proposed; it offers a valuable empirical means of testing

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1. "A Study of History" Vol. 1. p. 245. (Oxford University Press).
2. "Man's Most Dangerous Myth - The Fallacy of Race". (Columbia).
3. "Race and Racism". (Routlerge). p. 75.

one's faith in African development, and incidentally may serve as a supporting commentary upon the last diagram in the preceding chapter. And so far as the present chapter is concerned, the following excerpt from the record of the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association in December, 1938, may be considered a relevant note upon which to end:-

> "There is no evidence for the existence of an inborn Jewish or German or Italian mentality. Furthermore there is no indication that the members of any group are rendered incapable by their biological heredity of completely acquiring the culture of the community in which they live".....".....Certainly no individual should be.....treated as an inferior merely because of his membership in one human group rather than another. Here in America we have clear indications of the manner in which members of different racial and national groups have combined to create a common culture".

South African papers please copy.

.....

CHAPTER IV.

NOTE ON ENVIRONMENT.

Owing to the expansion of Western society over the world during the last four centuries, and the contacts, often unfriendly, made in consequence with those of different culture and physique, over-emphasis was easily given to the notion of superior and inferior biological types.

On the other hand, as Toynbee points out, when the Ancient Greeks penetrated as traders and colonists, although their surrounding world was smaller, it contained a wider diversity of cultures than of physical types. Hence the Greeks, being unable to account for these differences of culture by means of the doctrine of biological inheritance, resorted by way of explanation to differences of habitat, soil and climate.

In his "Introduction to Cultural Anthropology", Lowie writes:-

> "Since biological change occurs slowly and cultural changes occur in every generation, it is futile to try to explain the fleeting phenomena of culture by a racial constant. We can often explain them in terms of contact with other peoples, of individual genius, of geography, but not by racial differences".

In South Africa the doctrine of the superior and inferior biological types, differentiated according to race, still dominates thought and action, for although at times a European living on the more bracing high-veld may speak disparagingly about the "Natal fever", which is supposed to infect the members of his 'race' who live in that Province, it is appreciated that where climatic and other environmental factors do not prevent European achievement, they can hardly be quoted as valid reasons for with-holding support from the African.

Lewis Einstein wrote:-

> "It is only reasonable to assume that a favourable temperature is conducive to obtaining the best results for human activity, but it hardly follows from such a truism that a civilization will always take the line of certain isotherms".....A recent writer on this subject..... has suggested the possibility of a vast, amelioration for the human race, owing to the new power to regulate temperature by air conditioning".....Is it to be expected that the struggle for life will always go in favour of the nation that possesses the best radiators"? @

@ "Historical Change", pp. 54-5

Among the lessons that this might perhaps convey to some of our politicians wouldbe, that in future the segregationists should scrupulously observe isotherms in determining land apportionment, and that no philanthropist or commercial agency should be allowed to air-condition Zulu kraals.

Of the Negroes brought as slaves from the West Coast to America, many had previously shared in elaborate political organisations, had enjoyed the pomp of court, had known great market centres, had been associated with a fairly wide economic life, with tribute collected from a wide area, and had acknowledged the jurisdiction of a legal system. Their culture included moreover, a rich variety of folk tales, rhythmic dances, woodcarving and other crafts.

Through their new environment, with its radically altered conditions, they were stripped of such former culture, as though it had never existed.

Because of this, Ruth Benedict affirms that:-

> "Radical and rapid changes in mental and emotional behaviour, whether we consider them to be in the direction of progress or of deterioration, give the lie to the racist's contention that the patterns are eternal and are biologically perpetuated. They are reversed with the reversal in social conditions and demands". @

With this finding we are in complete agreement, for to no human group, whether European or African, is the triumph of achievement transmitted from one generation to the next. Moreover to those who consider that there will still be found a 'racially' satisfying solution to the unknowns in the "nature v nurture" equation, I would suggest that it might be helpful to admit God into environment as well as into heredity. To do so would be the end of spatial-thinking, and static, because predetermined, 'race' relations in Africa.

Granted this, to common climatic and other environmental factors, it should be possible to add to an increasing degree, common economic and social conditions, thus providing parity of opportunity, instead of stratifying from birth, privileges rigidly determined according to colour.

.....

@ "Race and Racism". p. 85

In Africa, as elsewhere, environmental conditions may cause some groups to be isolated for a longer period than others, and to live on a smaller cultural scale, but the relative influence of local conditions diminishes as control of the material environment increases. Succeeding chapters will illustrate this. In the meantime it may suffice to mention as a single example the profound influence on cultural change brought to bear upon the African through the development and growing integration of promotive health measures.

One may venture the thought, also, that environmental, and in consequence cultural change, in one area, may affect very considerably another very far distant. For this there need be no contiguity. Thus the provision of more water for lower Egypt by the construction of the Jebel Aulia dam thirty miles above Khartoum, displaced 70,000 families 3,000 miles away. If there is to be a further increase in the volume of water reaching Egypt in early summer, the necessary measures must be taken outside this country by dams to control the waters of Lake Tana in Ethiopia, by canalising a stretch of the Nile in the Sudan, by building a dam at Nimule in Uganda or by enlarging Lake Albert, so that agricultural development in the Nile Delta would have repercussions as far as the Congo. ¢

In somewhat similar manner European colonists have influenced Europe as well as the colonies; the recent formation in England of an Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, will steadily promote university studies for Africans at Achimota in the Gold Coast, Yaba in Nigeria, Gordon College in the Sudan, and Makerere in Uganda; the research work at North Carolina University will bear fruit in many parts of this Continent, and the importation of migratory labour into the mines of the Rand will continue to produce devastating changes in remote tribes and villages from the tropics to the Transkei.

¢ Vide article by L. James in the "New Statesman and Nation", November 2nd, 1946.

When we speak of environmental influences brought to bear upon the African, therefore, we should remember that today this process is not confined to the limits of his immediate horizon; when we add that what he will become depends upon what potentialities his environment will call forth, we need to remember it again, and when we decide that advances in civilization are not the result of biological factors or of environment, acting separately, but in their relationship, it needs to be remembered yet again.

At the same time social approval is a dynamic influence, and social disapproval a powerful deterrent, for him and this means the approval of a multi-racial society. Most of all he has a claim upon us there — a claim for guidance, understanding and encouragement — for more tolerance is not nearly enough since it implies a superior and grudging acceptance of a position which is reluctantly condoned or conceded, rather than a recognition of a human right on the one side, and of a human obligation on the other.

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PART II

POLITICAL ASPECTS

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT AS AGENT IN CULTURAL CHANGE.

Two world wars have been waged in all their diabolical intensity, and with catastrophic results from which it will take a very long time to recover, largely because of the clash between theories regarding the state and the individual.

During those wars there were very critical clashes in South Africa also concerning the part which her citizens should play, and after having played a conspicuously honourable part, which an influential section would still deride, the vast majority of European electors of all parties, remain firmly convinced that the party in power, inherits ipso facto the ultimate authority in society, authority enabling it to plan the design which all must accept, and to re-define with unquestionable inviolability, the legal postulates which support our multi-racial society, — which seems, to say the least of it, a little doubtful.

Within the narrow compass of this chapter, although this erroneous view must receive brief attention, it is clearly impossible to refute it as it so clearly deserves. The purpose is rather to refer to the degree in which any government in power must be a very active and influential agent in promoting cultural change, however reactionary its "Native" policy, (which means its general policy), may be. It follows that no attempt is made to predict future forms of government, for apart from the fact that to do this would be to attempt the impossible, even if it came within one's terms of reference, is the fact that no one form is possible of acceptance as the goal for the widely differing African territories.

Since political boundaries do not coincide with ethnical frontiers, and since in consequence peoples of different languages, tribes, customs and standards of living, are brought under the central control of an alien power, it follows unavoidably that synchronously with the establishment of government must be the setting in motion of varied change-creating processes in the culture of the 'indigenous' inhabitants.

In an article by Mr. Paul Sauer, M.P. Chief Whip of the Nationalist Party and a member of its Head Executive, in the Cape Times, April 30th, 1947, with reference to this lack of homogeneity, he wrote:-

> ....."it must be realised that the Natives consist of four main ethnical groups, the 'Nguni, Sotho, Venda, and Tonga-Shangana, with racial differences as great as those between the German, the Frenchman, or the Russian and Englishman. A sound native policy must take cognisance of this difference and herein lies one of the greatest distinctions between the policy of the National and other parties".

When considering Native Law in a later chapter, reference to Julius Lewin's recently published book will reveal that the customary law of most tribes is still unrecorded; that it is dangerous to crystallize customs in which change has become desirable; that it has become impossible to apply Native Law to Natives, and common law to Europeans, and that formidable difficulties constantly arise from the conflict of tribal laws.

Lord Hailey's "African Survey" gives the number of African languages as over 700, which Dr. Ida Ward regards as a too conservative estimate. In this context she writes:-

> ....."we are apt to consider the continent of Africa as one entity, and to expect a unity or a possibility of unity which we should not dream of looking for in Europe.
> In no aspect is the diversity of Africa better illustrated than in language, and in no aspect, perhaps, are the implications of this diversity so little understood". *

When Mr. Sauer emphasises as an important distinction between his party and others in the Union, that policy must be differentiated according to ethnical variations, he offers no practical illustration of how this could be done. So far as legal segregation is concerned Lewin describes it as completely illusory, and nowhere in Lord Hailey's monumental work nor in Dr. Ward's plea for the encouragement of the main vernaculars, is there advanced any suggestion that linguistic segregation is more practicable. The only approximation I have met to Mr. Sauer's academic political theorising, was from a zealous anthropologist who advocated that political boundaries in

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* "Language & the African". An essay in Fabian Colonial Essays. P. 131.

Africa should be readjusted to coincide with types of hoe cultivation.

Whether under the party system of South Africa or Southern Rhodesia, the British Crown Colony system in her African dependencies the federal system of French West Africa, the Colonial Charter system of the Belgian Congo or of the Portuguese Colonies, or the system obtaining in mandated territories, however readjusted since the passing of the Permanent Mandates Commission and the League of Nations, under any of these systems applied in any territory, African culture is converging irresistibly towards that of the dominant 'race'. This must be so, whether one thinks of the legislature, the administration, the judiciary, the treasury, the police and defence forces, or the activities of the social and other departments; whether one considers the policies promoted by the colonial hierarchy, the integration of consequential action, publicity work in connection with welfare propaganda or even extra-territorial contacts. All combine in their impact which no tribal culture can withstand.

Almost every law placed in the statute book attests this, even though it should be of a repressive nature, and it may well be that many undesirable effects of culture contact (e.g. the condition of the squatters' camps near Johannesburg,) since they indicate the omission of legislative or administrative safeguards, or of laissez-faire or ineptitude, or of 'passing the buck' to the municipalities, are also to a large extent the responsibility of the party in power, which, with the opposition, nevertheless decries them.

In passing, one may mention, too, the influence of government as the employer of Africans in the public services. The South African Railways and Harbours, as at 31st March, 1946, employed 73,185 non-Europeans, of whom nearly 63,000 are Natives. The wage bill for this non-European staff amounted to £651,748 for the month of March alone, so that from this one Department, the amount of money circulated in wages for the non-Europeans (inclusive of cost of living, overtime etc) amounted to nearly 8 million pounds during a single financial year, the spending of which in itself

would make serious inroads on indigenous culture.

Consistent with declared policy in the Union, the General Manager's Office, which kindly supplied me with the above information, added that:-

> "Non-Europeans are employed mainly as ordinary labourers, but approximately 6.2% serve in various 'better class work' positions, such as boss boys, boiler attendants, commissionaires, cooks at compounds, hostels and in maintenance gangs, interpreters, messengers, survey boys, police (constables and sergeants), etc".

It is common knowledge that Africans hold responsible positions in many other African territories, and although developments have taken place since Lord Hailey wrote his Survey, the following excerpts illustrate the extent to which this policy has been adopted:-

> "In Nigeria there were, in 1938, thirty-seven higher appointments, with maximum salaries of £400-£720, including fourteen medical officers, one police magistrate, four assistant secretaries, and three technical officers.
> In the Gold Coast, Africans with a university degree are eligible for posts on equal terms with Europeans. In 1938 there were forty-three African appointments, including a Puisne Judge and Solicitor-General, the Assistant Secretary for Native Affairs, and eleven medical and ten technical officers. In Sierra Leone higher appointments numbered twenty in 1938, including the Senior Medical Officer and five others, one Assistant Treasurer, and one technical officer".

Whether this policy is considered at all relevant to parallel policy in the Union and without turning to the East African Dependencies, or drawing upon the wealth of data for subordinate staff, or upon comparable data for other colonial powers, the above excerpt throws further light upon government as the employer, and suggests for consideration that within each country concerned, there must be a considerable infiltration of European culture from the top, as well as beyond the political borders of the employing government.

From this must flow far-reaching effects upon prevocational and vocational training for Africans, effects upon the money voted for its fabric and maintenance, upon its content, its objectives, and its output. For the training of Africans to hold responsible positions in government service, or outside it, more adequate

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/. "An African Survey". P. 235.

provision for secondary education must be made, which, with cognate data, will receive closer consideration in the chapter dealing with education. Here it is introduced as an important by-product of the policy, so essentially developing, of the employment of Africans in the public services, the principle, with resultant culture change, being the same even though they are recruited for technical services restricted to 'their own areas', or on behalf of their own people living in white areas. Lord Hailey claimed that:-

> "Great Britain, in fostering the system of indirect rule, is promoting a wide-spread agency of local self-government for which a place will eventually have to be found in the political organisation of the colonies." 2.

Of this he also wrote:-

> "Many thinkers have also contended that the institutions created under indirect rule, rather than the higher ranks, of the administrative service, provide the true field for higher service by Africans. Here, however, the field must necessarily be limited by the fact that many of the tribal authorities would not welcome the services of Africans not belonging to their own tribe". 1.

The first excerpt is consistent with the increasing recognition in South Africa of the necessity to admit the African to local consultative bodies, both urban and rural, although there is a lag in appointing him to executive bodies. The second implies that development schemes controlled by Native authorities will at the outset be retarded until narrow 'national' prejudices being overcome, 'foreign' Natives of the qualifications desired, are employed, and it suggests that concurrently, a stimulus will be supplied to ensure appropriate training for members of their own tribe. In other words here are further examples of the convergence of cultures, brought about by government.

Of the consultative bodies established by the Union Government the most im portant is the Natives Representative Council to which fuller reference will later be made, and which has no parallel in any of the African Crown Colonies. In the present context, even though when established it may have been regarded as

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2. Op cit. p.253.
1. Op cit. p.259.

separatist in composition and function, whilst serving as a liaison between African and European opinion, and in spite of the present deadlock which has sent it into prolonged recess, being so widely representative, it is correspondingly influencing cultural change at an appreciably high level.

Hailey, in comparing the outlook of the British and of the French concerning the future of their respective colonies, points out that the former give to political rights and freedom in commercial relations, the importance attached by the latter to legal and social status. He continues:-

> "The greatest boon which the British can hold out to a subject people is self-government; the best that the French can envisage for them is admission, in such measure as conditions permit, to the social and cultural institutions of French civilization. All the social activities of the administration are co-ordinated with a logical precision to that end; and it is fully in keeping with that position that the colony should be held liable to contribute to the military resources of France and, when no treaty or other obligations forbid, should be brought within her commercial economy.". 2.

This study does not call for a comparative appraisal of these different objectives, although it may be suggested that the two have many more points in common than would at first appear. It is worth noting,however, that although either would receive short shrift in South Africa, and would in any event be regarded as entirely beyond the range of possible applicability, each of necessity is based upon culture contact and change. Moreover, since the number of Africans affected in Britain's African Dependencies (excluding the Union and Southern Rhodesia), and in French African Colonies, is between 60 and 70 millions, (or probably half the African population of the Continent), to which we must add another 22 millions or so if we include Belgian and Portuguese possessions, cumulatively such dynamic forces of cultural change must of necessity have great repercussions among the indigenous population groups of the Union. Not without significance in this connection is the following note taken from the concluding paragraph of the "Report of the Native Affairs Commission, for the Year, 1945-46" (U.G. 14- '47):-

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2. Op cit p. 253.

"In concluding this brief summary, the Commission desires to draw attention to the great developments that are taking place in Native Administration in African Territories beyond the Union, not only within the Empire group, but also in the vast territories administered by other European countries.

Last year, the British Parliament voted a sum of £120,000,000 for colonial development, and an extensive programme is being proceeded with in the African colonies and protectorates, which includes the foundation of universities and technical institutions, the reclamation of Native areas, improvements in housing, the stimulation of industries, the encouragement of trades unions and the general expansion of welfare and other services.

THESE DEVELOPMENTS ARE BRINGING ABOUT CHANGES IN NATIVE OUTLOOK THAT MUST ULTIMATELY SPREAD THEIR INFLUENCE TO THE UNION." (Capitals mine)

There was undoubtedly a liberal motive behind the paragraph quoted, a paragraph which must have proved unpopular among many of the members of Parliament for whom the Report was primarily written. But many of those who would resist its main implication, which is that cultural changes directed by the governments of countries thousands of miles away, must contribute to parallel changes here, in spite of entrenched isolationism, would take refuge behind the slogan that, whatever may be done elsewhere, are going to provide for the Native within our planned economy. Admitting that there are many liberally disposed individuals who mean well when they have handed over their power-of-attorney to the State in this connection, it may be well to ascertain whether, in fact, this discharges their obligation. As Hayek says in his thought-provoking book "The Road to Serfdom":-

'Planning owes its popularity largely to the fact that everybody desires, of course, that we should handle our common problems as rationally as possible, and that in doing so we should use as much foresight as we can command".†

So far so good. It is nevertheless undesirable that for the African, or for any other 'race', there should be the central direction of all his activities according to an official blue print, and it should be clear that there cannot be wise and foresighted planning for the European in a multi-racial society, if accompanied by unwise and shortsighted planning for the African.

Although he was not considering Africa when he wrote, the following statement might easily have been conceived in relation to our own post-war planning in one territory after another:-

"One cannot.....create a kind of 'Tennessee Valley Authority'

† p.'26.

> for the Danube Basin without thereby determining for many years to come the relative rate of progress of the different races inhabiting the area, or without subordinating all their individual aspirations and wishes to this task". +

The greater the magnitude and detail of any approved long range planning, however liberal in intention, the more essential would it be to prevent the State from exercising tyranical or irresponsible power over the individual.

Whether the blueprint be large or small in scale and conception, and whether it be, as it should be, a co-operative scheme to which the African has contributed and which will be re-designed from time to time in the light of experience and of changing conditions, or whether it is a unilateral scheme drawn up by the governors for the governed, it must follow as the night the day, that any attempts to conform to it must be attempts to control cultural change. Otherwise a photographic reproduction of the status quo would suffice.

Those who, flying in the face of evidence, or from their political critics, declare that "the Native should develop along his own lines", shou ld presumably let him draw his own blue print, but the fact that this would concede him admission to a skilled occupation may be one of the reasons why so simple a slogan is not made effective. Then there are those who say that "the Native should <u>be developed</u> along his own lines". This describes a refreshingly passive process in which there is no active participatio by the African, but his inert acceptance of measurable development, swallowed in carefully calculated tabloid doses to a European prescription, although in some mystic way the result will ensure development along the Native's own lines, in the direction and for the distance pre-determined by the European. If any blue print be drawn of this — presumably in Prussian blue — it should bear the European's signature, for the creation would be his, as also the related specifications.

In the preliminary pages dealing with the approach to our problem, the belief was recorded that political power does not constitute moral authority but undoubtedly implies inescapable moral responsibility. This is introduced here because of its

+ Ibid p. 168

bearing upon government action, and will briefly be re-introduced when considering the religious aspect of culture contact.

Having described democracy as a means or utilitarian device for safeguarding internal peace and individual freedom, Hayek admits that it is by no means infallible, and that it is conceivable that "under the government of a very homogeneous and doctrinaire majority, democratic government might be as oppressive as the worst dictatorship." Speaking of the fashionable concentration on democracy as the main value threatened, he says:-

> "It is largely responsible for the misleading and unfounded belief that so long as the ultimate source of power is the will of the majority, the power cannot be arbitrary" +

He rightly holds that there is no justification for this belief, and further that unless democratic power be limited, it will become arbitrary. This will be referred to again later. Here I would but submit that no political party can afford to disregard its implied warning. Even a despotic African chief knew that his powers were limited, and the freedom of the individual African should be promoted by a democratic government.

Whatever the policy of the party in power in South Africa, the convergence of cultures will proceed with results of varying desirability, but the more arbitrarily power is exercised over the subject 'race', the greater will be the travesty of democracy, and of natural law, and the more sinister will be the threads of oppression and of 'race' prejudice and hatred, woven into the fabric of destiny.

In Cape Town, as in other parliamentary assemblies, there is general agreement regarding the desirability of planning, but very little agreement concerning the ends the plan is to serve. The use of such slogans as "common welfare", or "re-construction", too frequently conceals the truer motive of upholding civilization for the white man by means of an increased measure of control for the black. As soon as the plan emerges from the realm of slogans into that of action, precision is demanded, thus affording the opposition, as well as critics within the party ranks, the opportunity of concentrating upon targets instead of upon objectives.

At times of crisis such as that provided by the unwelcome

+ Ibid. p 52.

broadsides delivered from UNO, the tables are turned, for then the attack does not differentiate between party and party, but regardless of each, is delivered against the perpetuation and aggravation of inequitable inter-racial conditions. And then, on the eve of elections, by each party there is an over-protestation of liberal non-racial attitude on the one hand, and of a clear determination on the other, to preserve white supremacy, the only apparent exception being the Communist Party which is admittedly less racial, and less interested in white supremacy.

Before ending this section, which was intended to show how in various ways any government in Africa must be an active agent of cultural change, there are three points which merit attention.

The first is that it is obviously unsound for the individual citizen to become tolerant towards abuse or injustice, and to consider it the responsibility of the State to set things right. The second is that the really vital things cannot be delegated to the politicians who have solicited our vote or to economists in their service, and the third that we must either employ a considerable force in keeping down the rank and file, or else ensure that a much fairer share, not only of the wealth produced, but also of the good things of life, is made available for the African population, than has previously been the case.

There are other points of course, some of which will be touched upon later. In the meantime it is hoped that sufficient has been written to demonstrate, that whatever may be the nature or bona-fides of an alien government in an African territory, it must inevitably promote radical changes in culture, which with equal inevitability will tend towards the acceptance by the African of European culture.

.....

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH LAW AND JUSTICE.

Lord Hailey points out that problems such as those which have arisen in Africa in consequence of the introduction of a system of law mainly based on European concepts, are by no means new, since, "they have occurred whenever conquering or colonizing nations have faced the need for regulating the legal relations of mixed populations, or for integrating into a legal system the customary law of more primitive peoples". 1.

Speaking of the diffusion of law in the Roman Empire, he writes:-

> "At the outset, Rome attempted to confine the operation of her legal system to those who had in her provinces the status of citizens; the 'subjects' were left to the operation of their own courts where such existed, as in Sicily or Greece, or to regulation by tribal custom in more backward areas.
> Gradually, however, Rome had to face the action of the forces she was bringing into play. In the more civilized areas there was a large growth in the numbers admitted to citizenship, and an increasing tendency for the administration to pervade the whole public life of the province; in the more backward, some remedy had to be found for the repugnance between tribal observances and civilized concepts".....
> "In the third century A.D. the legal distinction between citizens and aliens vanished with the grant of full citizenship to all subjects of the Empire." 2.

Clearly, although contrasts in culture were as decisively drawn in the early Roman as in the British Empires, producing parallel problems, legal segregation was not for long regarded as the solution. Equally clear is the fact that irresistibly the legal, judicial and penal systems of African territories, through their joint action, must increasingly become a potent agent of cultural change. Relevant too is the contention that "..the chief problem of Rome was one of assimilation, and the Latin mind has tended to regard identity of legal rights as a more important element in assimilation than equality of political powers".

For the purpose of this study, I cannot do better than quote extensively from "Studies in African Native Law", by Julius Lewin, Senior Lecturer in Native Law and Administration in the University of the Witwatersrand, who for many years has made this his major interest, particularly in its bearing upon race-relations.

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1. "An African Survey" p.261
2. Op.cit. do

In his preface the author refers to the prevailing uncertainty in these matters, in the following terms:-

> "The place that Native Law occupies in the legal system of South Africa is so uncertain that its problems are more complex than those which lawyers normally face.
> Moreover these problems arise in every branch of Native law; not only in the law of persons with its questions of marriage, guardianship, or inheritance, but also in contract or delict, and in the innumerable questions of court practice and procedure; and above all, they involve conflict of laws."

The above prepares one for the frank admissions which follow concerning the fact that even today, after so much research in other directions, the customary law of most tribes remains wholly unrecorded and that "the gaps in our knowledge of tribal law are particularly large in the field of constitutional or public law, i.e. the powers of the chief and his relation to his council and tribe, and in inheritance, in delicts, and in the law of procedure". It prepares one,also,for confusion inevitable to conflict, and for the urgent need for reform.

Sir Alan Pim, having stated of Bechuanaland in 1933, that the compilation of tribal customary law had become a matter of great urgency, since the older counsellors would soon die out, added:-

> "Whether a common standard is possible for all the tribes, or whether tribal variations would have to be allowed for, it is not possible to say.....The chief danger is that its compilation might tend to crystallize a custom in which change had become desirable."

The significance of the principle enunciated above, can hardly be over-emphasized. It can only be 'race' prejudice allied to self-interest, which enables so many Europeans to express pride in the development of their culture, (development which must derive from 'national' genius), and concurrently to re-iterate, ad nauseam, the dictum that the African must retain his old customs, i.e. he must take a pride in their unchanging maintenance, (reflecting by implication upon his 'racial' limitations). To this doctrine the South African legal system vainly subscribes.

Lewin agrees, that, as in the case of any other living body of law, Native law is not static, but is even now changing rapidly. Even as far back as in the South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5, the opinion was expressed that "the object of improving Native law, and, as far as may be, assimilating it with the ordinary

Colonial law should be kept in view as the ultimate goal". Because of conflict between social ideas as well as of legal principles, Lewin says that cases are of frequent occurrence which disclose deep conflict between Native law and common law.

> "The status of women, to mention only one notable instance, is known to be in a condition hardly less chaotic because the legal theories now followed do not fit the facts of the contemporary scene." 1

It is the contemporary scene which provides the cross section through convergent cultures, and which points unmistakeably to the closer convergence of tomorrow.

Having stated that in South Africa the study of Native Law has been influenced by the anthropological approach, Lewin adds:-

> "In time the work of the anthropologists created a mental climate that encouraged a new respect for Native customs, and above all for Native Laws. And so, in the year 1927, Parliament gave a qualified recognition to Native law throughout the Union".....(recognition which he claims created a whole set of new and formidable problems.)
>
> The Native Administration Act established courts of Native Commissioners to hear all civil cases between Natives. It conferred on Native Commissioners hearing cases 'involving questions of customs followed by Natives' a discretion whether they would 'decide such questions according to Native law applying to such customs', but it was also 'provided that such Native law shall not be opposed to the principles of public policy or natural justice, and further that it shall not be lawful for any court to declare that the custom of lobolo or bogadi or other similar custom was repugnant to such principles.'". 2

The following comment is revealing, in this connection:-

> ....."No doubt we may credit anthropology with having so impressed the legislators and the administrators that they showed every intention of making the practical recognition of Native law take a form as close as may be to its tribal form and substance.
>
> The purpose of the Legislature is clear. It intended to establish a triple series of courts - Cheif's Courts, Native Commissioners' Courts, and Native Appeal Courts - in which the spirit of justice rather than the letter of the law would prevail. It hoped to reduce to a bare minimum the formalities and technicalities".....
>
> "The intention was admirable; how has it been realised? Well, as soon as we enter the realm of the court itself, the influence of anthropology flies out of the window while the lawyers with measured tread come in at the door." 3

He then mentions the many rules laid down for the hearing of cases in all courts, the fact that such rules had nevertheless

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1 Op cit. p. 12.
2 Op cit. p. 14.
3 Op cit. p. 15.

proved most inadequate, and the advent of attorneys and advocates.

Apparently the large majority of cases in Native Commissioners' Courts in the Union are conducted by attorneys on both sides, whilst in the Native Appeal Court it is rare for a litigant to argue his own case. The procedure described in the next excerpt is obviously not an illustration of a static survival, calculated to petrify Native law:-

> ....."litigation, especially by semi-literate people emerging into the modern world, is a sufficiently complex affair to require rules for its efficient conduct. Complexity and rules inevitably bring attorneys into court and raise the cost of litigation. If we want to give the Natives an opportunity to litigate both efficiently and cheaply we must therefore recognise that legal aid is an essential service. Yet it is one they can ill afford. Consequently only by organizing it as a social service can the State achieve its avowed object for the Natives." 4

If, following the implication of the concluding lines of the last paragraph, the State were to organise legal aid for Africans as an essential social service, the resultant benefits it would be impossible to measure, but, concurrently, neither would it be possible to estimate the additional influence this would exert upon culture change. It is nevertheless a good example of a dilemma which would disappear if results of benefit to the community were accorded more importance than the academic preservatio of the inter-racial status quo - academic, because such preservation can never be achieved. Hence the author can state categorically that:-

> "Two of the chief aims of the Native Administration Act were to simplify legal proceedings for Natives and to reduce their cost. It has lamentably failed to accomplish either of these purposes." 1

In opening the first session of the Transvaal Native Appeal Court, the President announced that:- "The background of all Native law is the tribal system". That Lewin differs profoundly may be judged from the following statement, which, because of its importance, I have reproduced in capitals:-

> "WHATEVER MAY HAVE BEEN THE POSITION IN THE PAST, THE BACKGROUND OF NATIVE LAW TODAY IS NOT SIMPLY THE TRIBAL SYSTEM BUT THE VASTLY MORE COMPLICATED SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN WHICH THE NATIVES NOW FIND THEMSELVES. My contention

4 Op cit. pp. 20/21.
1 Op cit. p. 20.

here requires little emphasis. EVERYONE WHO RESPECTS STUBBORN FACTS KNOWS THAT, FOR GOOD OR ILL WE HAVE DRAWN THE NATIVES TO A VARYING BUT SUBSTANTIAL DEGREE INTO THE INTRICATE NETWORK THAT WE CALL OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THE SOCIAL PROCESS THAT ANTHROPOLOGISTS CALL 'CULTURE CONTACT' HAS DEVELOPED A PACE IN THE LAST TWENTY YEARS AND NONE BUT THOSE WHO BLIND THEMSELVES TO THE MOST POWERFUL SOCIAL FORCES IN OUR MIDST CAN SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT THIS PROCESS WILL CONTINUE, AT LEAST FOR A TIME AS FAR AHEAD AS PRACTICAL MEN CAN SEE. NOWHERE IS THE PROCESS MORE VIVIDLY REFLECTED THAN IN THE SPECIAL COURTS TO WHICH NATIVES BRING THEIR LEGAL DISPUTES." 2

And yet, as quoted early in the last chapter, Mr. Sauer, can affirm, without supporting detail, that unlike that of other parties, the Native policy of his own would be based, not only on 'racial' but on ethnical differences. God forbid that the African should be the subject of amateur legal experimentation in this direction.

As instances of common causes of action from transactions and forms of relationships adopted from the Europeans, Lewin mentions money lent, goods sold, services rendered, the possession or ownership claimed of bicycles, musical instruments or furniture, claims arising out of insurance policies, and various kinds of contracts.

Stating that the Native Appeal Court "has recently shown a strong tendency to favour the application of Native law to the exclusion of the common law" he adds the significant opinion:- "I greatly fear that this tendency derives from the idea of 'legal segregation', and from a desire to preserve at all costs as much of 'pure' Native law as it can". He then cites the fantastic results of this "dubious tendency", from the Case of Mdutywa v Mvingwa. (Prentice-Hall 6th April 1940. R. 36.). It offers such a striking instance of the lengths to which we may be carried, when once we espouse the cause of the development-along-his-own-lines theory, that I reproduce verbatim:-

> "A plaintiff claimed damages for the killing of his stallion by defendant's cow. Under Pondo custom damages are payable for injuries done by bulls, but according to the Native assessors, from time immemorial no damages have been paid for injuries caused by cows on common pasture land.
> The Court accordingly decided that the plaintiff could not succeed in his action for damages, refusing 'to allow common law to oust Native law'. Its judgment is tantamount to holding that where a cause of action is known to the

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2 Op cit. p. 21.

Common law but not to Native custom, the plaintiff must fail, and this in spite of the fact that the Act plainly gives the court a discretion whether it will apply common law or Native law in cases involving Native custom.

Notice what this implies. If a few months later a cow belonging to the unsuccessful plaintiff in the above case were to injure a stallion belonging not to another Native but to a European, the latter could obtain damages under the Common law.

So we have this position; when a black man's stallion is injured by a black man's cow, there is no legal redress available to the injured party because Native custom applies; when, however, a white man's stallion is injured by a black man's cow, there is legal redress available to the injured party because the Common law applies." 1

For Lewin's comments on this I propose to employ capitals by way of emphasis.

"THE WHOLE TENDENCY I HAVE ILLUSTRATED IS DESIGNED TO KEEP NATIVES UNDER NATIVE LAW AND ONLY WITH GREAT RELUCTANCE TO ALLOW THEM TO SHARE RIGHTS OF ACTION AVAILABLE TO ALL EUROPEANS UNDER COMMON LAW.

THIS TENDENCY APPEARS TO BE INSPIRED BY AN IDEAL OF 'PURE' NATIVE LAW WHICH I BELIEVE TO BE AN ILLUSION". 2

I agree wholeheartedly that any tendency of this kind must, in the long run, be frustrated by social and economic forces. Why buttress what must collapse?

Two historical examples are quoted, one from England and one from the Cape, both meaningful for our purpose.

"If the Anglo-Saxons - he writes - had, after the Norman Conquest, been able to keep their laws free from Norman influence, they would have succeeded only in retarding the social and legal growth of their country. In point of fact, however, English law at that time came deeply and beneficially under the influence of Norman ideas and practices"..... 3

"Although the British, when they took over the Cape in 1806, agreed to maintain existing judicial institutions, they found these to be inadequate, particularly to cope with the new and growing commerce". 4

The second example above leads to the legal reforms of 1828, and to a very significant inference:-

"Where the economic relations of people of different races are close and continuous, I do not believe it possible or practicable to apply one body of law to one race and another to the other race.

It would have been absurd to suppose in 1828 the English law could be applied to English speaking people in S. Africa, and Roman Dutch law to Dutch speaking people.

FOR THE SAME REASONS WE CANNOT TODAY SIMPLY APPLY NATIVE LAW TO NATIVES AND COMMON LAW TO EUROPEANS". 1

Reverting once more to Mr. Sauer's school of thought, there is no

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1 Op cit. pp. 22/23.
2 Op cit. p. 24.
3 Op cit. p. 24. 4 Op cit. p. 25. 1 Op cit. p.25.

little weight in Lewin's claim that today there is only a slight body of law common to all the Bantu tribes of the Union, in consequence of which, because of the innumerable daily inter-tribal transactions, formidable legal difficulties arise.

> "A Xhosa man, for instance, might enter into a customary union with a Sotho woman.....In a dispute between them, which law should the court apply - Xhosa or Sotho?
> The answer may be neither, because it may be affected by the law prevailing in the place where the parties to the agreement were living. They might for instance, be living among Tembu people in the Transkei". 2

This propounds a neat problem for those who, in facile fashion, say that they would take cognizance of ethnical differences. Should they wish to concentrate upon one more complicated, they might ponder over the following statement by Professor Lestrade regarding the variations in the distribution of the 'bogadi' (lobolo) cattle, among the BaHurutse tribe of the Marico district:-

> "There is an area of about three hundred square miles, and at places separated from each other by no more than fifteen to twenty miles, three distinct and contradictory and exclusive systems of distribution exist, each the age-hallowed and inviolable custom of the particular tribe which practises it".

Comment would seem superfluous at this stage, except to add that, as many must admit, one of the most powerful, and as some would strongly contend, the most powerful of the social forces operating to re-integrate, where so many others operate to disintegrate, is Christianity. Whenever a Native in the Union marries by Christian or civil rites, he is married under the common law. It follows that common and Native law remain "closely interwoven in the sphere of family relations, which is still the most important branch of Native law. This.....is alone enough to dispose of the pretension that common and Native law can be developed side by side as entirely distinct legal systems". 3

On this basic issue one other quotation deserves the emphasis of capitals:-

> "IT IS TIME TO RECOGNISE THE FACT THAT NATIVE LAW HAS NO FUTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA AS A SYSTEM SEPARATE FROM THE COMMON LAW OF THE LAND. IT IS TIME FOR THAT ANCIENT TERM, THE

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2 Op cit. p.68
3 Op cit. p.29

COMMON LAW, TO ACQUIRE A NEW AND RICHER SIGNIFICANCE AS THE LAW APPLICABLE ALIKE TO EUROPEANS AND NATIVES IN THE COMMON COUNTRY OF WHITE AND BLACK". 1

.....

In view of the ground already covered, the above finding would appear conclusive, in which event the official conception of law and justice in relation to crime and punishment, and to what is termed "Native policy", clearly stands in need of radical amendment which, in turn, would lead to reforms, the beneficial influence of which could hardly be over-estimated.

To admit this, however, would be to admit also that grave harm has been done for a considerable period, that miscarriages of justice derive from the fact that it is 'racially' administered, and that, by attaching penal sanctions to petty offences against administrative requirements, we have abused our power and defeated our own ends. Being reluctant to make such admissions which would transfer culpability to our own shoulders, with retrospective effect, it is natural to dwell on the thought that the application of English criminal law and procedure to very backward, if not primitive tribes, must incur formidable difficulties and perhaps invite disaster, and hence that one must expect justice to be more easily dispensed in Native courts, as in the case of territories which retain them in pursuance of the policy of indirect rule.

This would hardly overcome the dilemma that by our insistence that the African should be recruited for our economic needs, and that he must contribute, directly, indirectly, and increasingly, to our revenue, we have assumed responsibility for the ordering of his life, (and with this responsibility the corresponding liability and cannot disregard the need to see that just laws are promulgated for all sections of the community, and that they are administered equitably. Nevertheless it may be consoling to keep this in the background, well covered with ineffective camouflage of our own designing.

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1 Op cit. p.48

In tribal courts the emphasis was invariably placed on following precedent, for the chief was not expected to depart from traditional custom. It would seem clear, therefore, that amid the kaleidoscopic changes of today, immemorial custom must prove a totally inadequate guide, for in their bearing upon litigation there are no tribal precedents to quote.

Lewin describes the informality of the old tribal courts, where the chief and his councillors sat under a tree, and where anyone, even passing strangers, could contribute to the discussion, ask questions, or make suggestions to the judges. There wereno rules of evidence and nothing was excluded on the grounds of irrelevance. However idyllic this may seem, no-one could seriously advocate its present day observance, still less its retention for the rapidly developing African society of tomorrow. Hence it is not a matter for surprise or undue regret that wide modifications in scope, composition and procedure, now characterize the Native courts in the various Crown Colony dependencies, as well as in the Union. Of this Lewin writes:-

> "Traditional law and custom will be found less and less able to cope with problems wholly new to, and different from its familiar conceptions.....If the work of Native courts is not to suffer under this strain, we should take active steps to prepare them for it." +

That flexibility has been found essential, and that in consequence radical culture change has followed, may be observed in every African territory.

Each tribe had its tribunal or tribunals for the settling of disputes, but obviously they had no established custom regarding agreements of sale or hire, interest payments and other contractual relations based on cash economy. The same courts today deal, not only with these matters, but with many other new civil issues, with many minor criminal issues, and with a great number of statutory offences which derive from ordinances drafted by an alien government. In Southern Nigeria and elsewhere the courts have the responsibility of regulating the rights of individual cultivators to 'communal' land, or equating bride wealth in terms of cash instead of cattle.

In Nigeria, the law has conferred on 17 courts full powers in all criminal causes, subject to confirmation by the Governor before death sentences are carried out.

+ Op Cit p 101.

In Kenya, Native tribunals exercise their powers within the jurisdiction accorded them under warrant by the Provincial Commissioner concerned, but such jurisdiction on the criminal side does not extend beyond petty offences.

In Buganda there was appointed some years ago a European Judicial Adviser, who holds the very important post of legal liaison officer between the Buganda Native Government, and the Protectorate Government.

The criminal jurisdiction of the Native courts in Buganda is much wider than that of Kenya, and sentences up to four years can be imposed.

Although there is much diversity in practice, therefore, and no case for uniformity where conditions vary so much, the influence of the European system and government is everywhere and at all levels apparent. Another example of this, is, that in many countries Native courts are empowered to punish offences in matters of health, improved cultivation or forestry, since such offences are breaches of specific ordinances.

Gradually, too, there has been an expansion of Native appellate courts, and in the great majority of territories the appeals are made to higher official courts, directly under European administration Thus in Uganda appeals lie from the final Native Appellate Court to the High Court; in Kenya to the District Commissioner's Court and thence to the Provincial Commissioner's Court; in Tanganyika to the Governor through the Provincial Commissioner; in Northern Rhodesia through the District Commissioner and the Provincial Commissioner to the Supreme Court, and in Nyasaland to the District Commissioner's Court and thence to the High Court. .x.

Moreover in these dependencies with the exception of Buganda, the Europeans examine court records and review findings. This was abandoned in Buganda (not in Uganda generally), in 1940, where the reduction of the revisory powers of the administrative officers implies that in these matters their tutelage of the Africans is more advanced.

In the Gold Coast courses of training for court clerks have been established, and elsewhere there are appearing professional African pleaders, who may temporarily assist the reconciliation

.x. In addition co-ordination has been effected by the establishment of East and West African Courts of Appeal, from the decisions of the local High or Supreme Courts.
See Mailey. op. cit. p.285.

of traditional usage with modern needs, although traditional usage in the majority of cases has little survival value, and any attempt to bolster up an archaic tribal system within an expanding society, is doomed to failure. In this connection comfort may be taken, if needed, from the thought that in bygone times law was frequently effective in relatively small groups -- a few thousand only --, and as pointed out by Godfrey and Monica Wilson, even where the groups were much larger,....."investigation often reveals an absence of political unity, the constituent chiefdoms recognizing no common legal authority, and war being endemic among them." @

Of vital interest in connection with many of these issues in their application to South Africa will, of course, be the report of the Lansdown Commission when available, since it is understood that this important and voluminous document which is so eagerly awaited, is now in the hands of the Minister of Justice. A leader in the Natal Daily News, of July 28th, 1947, refers inter alia to one recommendation which has relevance in connection with the paragraph above concerning appellate courts:-

> "As for the Commission's proposal that Native High Courts should be abolished, we feel disposed to support it.
> Not only is a colour distinction in this matter repugnant to most people's feelings, but we welcome any step that breaks down differences in practice between Natal and the rest of the Union.".

The policy of racial separation has kept the administration of Native law separate also, against which, apparently, there is now a reaction by the Lansdown Commission which is given press support. Fuller comment must await the report itself.

After having referrred to the wide divergence of policy between the liberal tradition of the Cape, which made no 'racial' distinction, and the Natal system with its codified Native law, ¤ Dr. Lucy Mair

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@ "The Analysis of Social Change". p. 6.

¤ It is significant that in Natal, the African who would understand his own 'Native' law today, would need to go to a European lawyer who has specialised in the Code, and who would probably have difficulty nevertheless in its interpretation or application. Lord Hailey wrote:- "It is generally agreed that the codification in Natal, with its promulgation in 1891, has tended in the absence of periodic revisions to deprive native law of that elasticity in adaption which alone can enable it to meet the needs of a changing society".

Op. cit. p. 309.

in her admirable book "Native Policies in Africa", said:-

> "In the Cape every effort was made to reduce the authority of the Native chiefs. Their judicial powers, of course, vanished in a system where the European Magistrate's was the only competent court. Their authority over land was destroyed where land was given out in individual tenure." .x.

Of Natal she added that:-

> "The idea that to call the Governor General the 'Supreme Chief' would create a relationship between him and the Natives comparable to that between them and their own chiefs, and provide a ground for claiming acquiescence in all new orders imposed by the European authority, seems too childish to be credible.....yet this absurd fiction which had also been adopted in the Transvaal and was extended to the O.F.S. in 1907, was confirmed in the 'Native Administration Act of 1927'. An amending act of 1929 has defined the powers of the Supreme Chief in all the Provinces as being such powers as are vested in him in Natal.
>
> The definition in the amended Natal Native Code begs the question, since under it the Supreme Chief's powers include 'all powers, authorities, functions, rights, immunities and privileges which, according to the laws, customs and usages of Natives are exercised, or enjoyed by any Supreme or Paramount Native Chief'" @

It is universally assumed by Europeans, that such powers include the right to issue orders of any kind, and to claim unquestioning obedience concerning them. Also consistent with the definition would it apparently be for the Governor General to exercise the doubtful privilege of polygamy, and to call upon the tribesmen to provide the lobola for his chief wife, whom they, of course, would select.

Nevertheless this is not cited as an instance of the effect of African upon European culture, since in the present context this might be interpreted as lèse-majesté.

Less controversial would be the finding that in the Union, as elsewhere, European concepts and procedure are increasingly modifying traditional legal observances. This holds good, moreover, of territories under other colonial powers. Thus in the French colonies the system of "justice francaise" is administered by professional courts, based as closely as circumstances permit on the French model, and even the "tribunaux indigenes" are framed on

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.x. Since the magistrates took over the judicial functions of the chiefs, the Natal system, no less than that of the Cape, aimed at reducing the power of the latter.
Mr. Justice Beaumont pointed out in 1904 that "Every Act dealing with Natives that is passed, more or less undermines the authority of these chiefs".
(Quoted by Dr. Hair. op. cit.,)

the European rather than on the African pattern.

In the Belgian Congo there is a co-ordinated system of professional, police, and district courts, revisionary power being vested in the "Parquet", which corresponds somewhat to the Crown Law Office of the British Colonial dependencies, augmented by administrative officers. Recognition is given to Native courts also, supervised by the "Parquet" and on questions of fact, by an Administrator.

Of the position in the mandated territory of Ruanda-Urundi, Lord Hailey writes:-

> ....."two grades of courts are recognized, the 'tribunaux de chefferie' and 'tribunaux regionaux'. Supervision of their work lies not with the judiciary, but with the local administrative official, who may attend any native court and advise the judge, may review any sentence on appeal, or on his own initiative, and is required to quash any sentence which is contrary to public morals." [4]

In brief, across Africa from east to west, and north to south, the administration of justice is a powerful agent of cultural change. This was inevitable, and consequential problems cannot be solved merely by using Native tribunals, for of decisive importance is the inescapable challenge that we should meet the altered needs of a changing society.

According to modern conceptions the process of law cannot be merely authoritarian, since ".....it obtains its most effective sanctions not from imposed obedience, but by evoking some answering contribution from those to whom it is applied."

For many years, however, repeated attention has been called to the evidence which is unfortunately so abundant, that in South Africa we are manufacturing criminals at an appalling rate.

General Smuts, as Minister of Justice admitted over 10 years ago that the criminal system created an undue proportion of statutory Native offenders, the figures given in the 1937 Official Year Book then including 70,957 for the illegal possession of native liquor, 63,149 for breaches of the Pass Laws, and 63,072 under the Native Taxation Act.

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[4] op. cit. p. 294
[5] idem. p.264.

"In 1943 the number of convictions of Africans for all crimes and offences was 544,397, of which 24,599 were for 'serious crime'. Offences against laws specially affecting Africans included:-

Native Pass Laws	53,787
Illegal possession of Native Liquor	100,093
Natives (Urban Areas) Act	33,217
Native Taxation Act	21,425
Native Labour Registration Act	20,546

More than three fourths of the African convictions are in respect of offences which are commonly called 'statutory offences' but would be better described as 'petty offences', and should not ordinarily involve imprisonment." @

Concerning this fantastic and highly unsatisfactory situation, comments carrying weight are the following, extracted from the Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives (1942) of which Mr. D.L.Smit, then Secretary for Native Affairs, was Chairman:-

"305. These statistics indicate the tremendous price which the country is paying in respect of these laws, for apart from the actual cost of administration there is the vast loss of labour due to detention during arrest and imprisonment. Fines paid constitute a drain on the Natives income, which it has been shewn he can ill afford.

Apart from these considerations the harrassing and constant interference with the freedom of movement of Natives gives rise to the burning sense of grievance and injustice which has an unsettling effect on the Native population as a whole.

The application of these laws also has the undesirable feature of introducing large numbers of Natives to the machinery of criminal law and makes many become familiar at an early age with prison.

306. These laws create technical offences which involve little or no moral opprobrium. The Committee has reached the conclusion that rather than perpetuate the state of affairs described above, it would be better to face the abolition of the pass laws. It considers that in the meantime instructions should be issued to authorized officers to enforce the pass laws only when there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that some other offence has been or is about to be committed." &

So there it is — a powerful indictment by an authoritative committee, headed by the Secretary of Native Affairs, which is self-explanatory, and which clearly reveals undesirable and far-reaching changes in our inter-'racial' society, through our misguided authoritarian conception of the law when applied to the African.

Dr. F.E.T. Krause, former Judge-President of the Free State, in a recent address in Pretoria on the "Lot of the Black Man in South Africa", was reported in the 'Star', of Johannesburg, in

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@ Vide "Findings of the Penal Reform Conference", 1945, by J.D. Rheinallt-Jones in "Crime and the Community". S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1946. p.55.

& op cit. p.55.

the following terms:-

> '"The black man.....is a prisoner in the land of his birth, even though he does not happen to be detained behind iron bars or locked up in an unhygienic and over-crowded prison cell".
>
> Repressive legislation was the order of the day. Racial discrimination was the white man's settled policy, and as the Native had but limited representation in the legislature dominated by the political party system, the economic and other interests of the white man were of paramount importance and were conclusive."....."Referring specifically to the disabilities of the Natives in South Africa, Dr. Krause said the present pass law system, based on regulations, had departed entirely from the objects for which the system was created, and had become an insidious taxing machine to burden the native with an expenditure he was economically unable to bear'.
>
> "Some years ago I stated that the raw, unsophisticated and honest Native, entering an urban area would generally, within 24 hours find himself in prison. Contraventions of these pass regulations are one of the most fruitful sources of filling our prisons with persons who are not criminal in the true sense of the term. The pass does not protect the native. It is a convenient form of exploiting him. The European is not protected — only the revenue benefits at the expense of the underpaid and undernourished native."@
>
> (Underlining mine)

The second part of this further indictment is consistent with a parallel claim by Lewin:-

> "To take only the sets of laws and regulations already mentioned — the pass laws, the urban areas legislation, the liquor laws and the like, & these alone constitute an immense range of possible offences, a range so broad that NO AFRICAN CAN BE SURE AT ANY TIME THAT HE IS NOT COMMITTING A LEGAL OFFENCE.
>
> I MAKE BOLD TO SAY THAT THE LEGAL POSITION TODAY IS SUCH THAT THE POLICE CAN ARREST ANY AFRICAN WALKING DOWN THE MAIN STREETS OF JOHANNESBURG, AT ANY TIME OF THE DAY OR NIGHT, AND ANY COMPETENT PROSECUTOR WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY WHATEVER IN FINDING SOME OFFENCE WITH WHICH HE COULD BE CHARGED.
>
> The fact is that it is impossible for the ordinary African, who cannot even read, let alone understand the language of the laws affecting his daily life and work, to observe all of them". @
>
> (Capitals mine)

Should it be thought that these two authorities have allowed their feeling to over colour their evidence, a suspicion which in view of their repute, their training and experience, would not withstand examination, there is corroborative significance behind the fact that every weekend 2,000 Natives are arrested on the Rand, and as Lewin so trenchantly says:-

> "When this is done, or when the notorious section 17 of the old Urban areas Act is applied to hundreds of men who are virtually imprisoned without proper trial; or when people are removed without ceremony as illegal tenants from lands they have squatted on for many years, then law loses all its meaning or sense for the ordinary man.

@ op. cit. p. 81.

> Moreover the uncertainty, insecurity and confusion that results in Men's minds, infects their whole attitude to law and order, including criminal law". X

To many Europeans in the Union facts such as these are most disquieting. Need it be said that to the Africans they are more disquieting still?

Recently it was officially revealed that the South African daily average prison population of 26,000 is double that of Britain. In view of the ground already traversed, we require no initiation into the esoteric mysteries of law to discover the reason for this appalling disproportion, having regard to population differences. But this quantitative aspect has value in supplementing the qualitative, when we attempt to assess the influence exerted upon tribal culture, as well as upon 'race' attitudes and conflicts, by this civilising impact; an impact conveniently forgotten when, any reduction of 'racial' differentiation being threatened, the rallying cry goes up that at all costs white civilization must be preserved.

The "Sunday Tribune" of August 10th, 1947, indulged in a little gentle satire in its sub-leader, when, referring to the shock administered to the public by the above disclosure, it said:-

> "It is possible, however, that public disquiet was quickly allayed onlearning that there has been no sudden steep rise in the amount of serious crime, but that the great majority of the prisoners are Natives who have to go to jail because they cannot, out of their wages, pay the fines imposed".

The question remains ——— in spite of the loss of revenue involved by the introduction of overdue reform, must they "have to go to jail"? If they must, both 'races' will reap the whirlwind, and our convergence will be complete.

.....

Although open to the charge of re-iteration, the following sub-leader from the Johannesburg 'Star' of March 21st, 1947, entitled "Making Enemies of Africans", is reproduced verbatim, since it so admirably illustrates the repugnant features of the pass system and of its many undesirable by-products:-

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X op cit. p.82.

"In its last report, the Department of Native Affairs referred to a growth of "sullen resentment" among Africans. Everyone knows that one of the chief causes of this resentment is a pass system which fills the prisons with the unwary and ignorant innocent, and more often than not fails to apprehend criminals. The criminal knows how the pass system works - or fails to work - and is thoroughly equipped to evade it. The majority of Africans fall foul of it because they do not understand it. This is not surprising, since few Europeans understand it either. One of the most repugnant features of the pass system, to which attention has been drawn by no less a person than the Director of Prisons, is that the cells are crammed almost daily with Africans who have committed what is essentially a technical offence, on a par with parking in a no parking area. For this they are summarily arrested and fined. But before they are fined they usually spend at least a night in gaol; and in this way criminals are created. If it were deliberately planned to turn friendly and peaceful Africans into sworn enemies of white society, no better implement for the purpose could be chosen than the pass system.

Passes have a long history, but their chief function nowadays is supposed to be to keep the great influx of natives to the towns within limits. It is perfectly obvious that they have failed to do this, and the fact should be recognised. The problem will certainly not be solved by making an already cumbersome system still more complicated. Natives entering towns must have a pass to seek work, or a service contract to show they have work, or a permit from the municipality allowing them to be in the town for some other purpose, such as visiting relatives. This applies to South African natives; Africans from outside the Union must also have an immigration permit, and do not now get this unless they agree to work on farms and not come into the towns at all. That is the theory. In practice, many Africans are arrested who are in employment, and often the employer pays the inevitable fine. Thus the pass system has three aspects. It leads to the summary arrest of thousands of innocent persons "picked up" in the streets - a degrading spectacle more suited to a totalitarian dictatorship than a professed democracy. It is laughed at by the majority of real criminals, who find it full of loopholes. And it is not free of the suspicion of being an involuntary taxing machine fed by the contributions of bewildered and illiterate Africans, and of European employers who usually prefer to pay their servant's fine without asking too many questions rather than be deprived of his services. The pass system gives the maximum amount of irritation to everyone, including the police, and yields the minimum amount of benefit to anyone. It should not be beyond the collective intelligence of a civilized country to devise something less manifestly unjust and also more workable."

The above leader testifies to the goodwill of the responsible press. Its content suggests that we are employing a more dangerous driving force than social conscience and are heading for social anarchy. It adds conclusively to the evidence that the Africans are not "developing along their own lines", by illustrating compulsory convergence of a reprehensible character, annually affecting hundreds of thousands directly, and millions indirectly. Nevertheless it in no way invalidates the principle that there can be desirable convergence, nor the fact that elsewhere this subserves the common

good. Were it not so, and in spite of political slogans, the chaos we have invited would be upon us.

.....

Most students of African affairs who experience considerable disquietude concerning these issues, must at one time or another have intended to keep press-cuttings, to show that in the Union, justice does not seem to be dispensed with an even hand so far as the various 'races' are concerned, for each week sees evidence of this kind steadily accumulating.

The late Professor Hoernlé, not long before his death, wrote in this strain to Mr. Charles Don, formerly Editor of the Johannesburg 'Star':-

> "I play with the idea that one of these days after my retirement, I might make a special study of the influence of the race factor on the administration of justice. The Rhodesian judge who said that a judge could not go too far in advance of public opinion — white public opinion, for native opinion does not matter for white justice - merely expressed what the Nazis, under the name Rassenrecht, have elevated to the dignity of a legal principle. Incidentally, the Russians, too, use the courts to maintain both the orthodoxy of doctrine and the social order set up by the Communist revolution, while we use the Courts, in order to maintain what I call our 'racial caste society' ".

Possibly this had some bearing upon the fact that Mr. Don some years later wrote an article on this theme for the National Review[1], the following excerpts referring to but a few of the cases cited:-

> "In July a farmer, who had previously been charged with murder, was convicted at the East London Criminal Sessions of culpable homicide. The case arose out of the death of a native umfaan who, with another native child, had stolen a bunch of bananas on April 19, 1945. Not until March, 1946 did the accused make what the judge described as a 'belated explanation' that 'he had fired atwhat he thought was a duiker.'
>
> The accused previously told the police that 'he knew nothing about the shooting', and that on April 19 he did not even 'hear any shot as he had the wireless on'. Subsequently under police interrogation, he said, 'I wish now to speak the truth. I don't care whether I get the rope for it or not.'
>
> He did not get the rope. Mr Justice Pitman, after some caustic comment on the accused's untruthfulness, sentenced him to three months imprisonment for culpable homicide, suspended for a year subject to good behaviour; the payment of £50 into the court by the end of the month, and £30 to the father of the dead child".

> "In July a farmer in the Boshof district was found guilty of culpable homicide. It was alleged that he pointed a rifle which he had previously loaded and inspected, at a native female servant. His defence was 'that he raised

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[1] February, 1947.

the rifle to examine the sights and it went off. The fact that he pointed the gun in the servant's direction was a coincidence.'
Sentence: £25 fine, or two months, and declared unfit to possess a firearm for five years."

"In the same month a farmer was charged in the Carolina Magistrate Court with culpable homicide. The charge arose out of the shooting of a Native suspected of stealing a bag of mealies. The magistrate in finding the accused guilty said that 'People were taking the law into their hands too frequently and were indiscriminately using firearms in the country areas on natives suspected of petty crimes'.
Sentence: £50 or six months hard labour, and in addition 6 months hard labour suspended for 3 months.

In the same month "a farmer was charged in the Pietersburg Magistrate's Court with attempted murder of a native who, with three other natives, was crossing a farm by a route which they were accustomed to use. The accused ordered them to stop, but they went on and he fired at them, wounding one in the arm and side.
He pleaded that he 'fired to frighten them'. He was convicted of assault with intent, and fined £5 or 30 days, and a month's hard labour suspended for 12 months."

"In August a native was shot in the back and seriously wounded while crossing a farm in the Transvaal. The farmer was acquitted of the charge of attempted murder by an 8 to 1 majority of the jury.
Mr Justice Neser, while agreeing with the verdict, found it necessary to make a few observations'.
He told the accused 'Though you had thefts on your farm, you had better in future exercise far more care. Against the complainant there was only the mere suspicion of theft, and yet he was seriously wounded. You should take my advice seriously.'
The accused:- "I appreciate your lordship's advice' ".

In commenting upon a recent Pretoria case, not included in the above very incomplete list, in which a European was fined £10 or one month for assaulting a Native who died later from the injury received, the 'Star' said:-

"The facts speak for themselves and provoke afresh the disturbing reflections that there is still something gravely wrong with the general approach of the judiciary towards offences by Europeans against Native life and security.
There are, unhappily, too many precedents for this type of sentence to justify any moral censure in this particular case. BUT THESE PRECEDENTS ARE RAPIDLY ENDOWING THEM WITH SOMETHING OF THE CONSENT OF COMMON LAW".
(capitals mine)

Cases of the above kind are distressingly monotonous in their regularity. In the article quoted, Don cited a case in which a Native youth of 18 who had stolen two fowls from a farmer, was sentenced by the Assistant Magistrate at Nylstroom to five months hard labour, not suspended.

In the Johannesburg 'Star' of January 12th, 1944, a letter signed "Justice", protested against the fact that a Native who

had been convicted of stealing two peaches had been sentenced in Pretoria to 10 days imprisonment, or 10/- fine. Two years later, on February 9th, 1946, a contrast was drawn between two sentences. A European woman, who admitted three previous convictions for theft, was sentenced to three months hard labour, suspended for two years, for the theft of two pairs of shoes, a gown and a coat. A Native found guilty of giving another 2s/6d to bet on the dog races, was fined £25 or two months hard labour.

In an article by Professor Jabavu in the symposium "Western Civilization and the Native of South Africa", (Edited by Professor Schapera) appears the following statement made in March, 1933, by the Judge-President of the Eastern District, Cape, in reviewing a case from an assistant magistrate:-

> "This case affords a striking example of how criminals are manufactured in some of the inferior courts of the Union.
>
> The facts show that the accused, a native of about 58 years of age, with a blameless record, was charged with the theft of a fowl of the value of 1/-. He was detained for 19 days in prison, being denied bail, while enquiry was being made as to whether he had been previously convicted of any offence. Eventually it was discovered that there was no criminal record against him, and he was sentenced to a period of 5 months imprisonment, with hard labour, and a fine of 1/-, or in default of payment, to undergo an additional period of 4 days' imprisonment with hard labour".

So long as it be possible to have such comments on the administration of 'justice' with reference to cases involving Europeans and Africans, to the latter the whole process must resemble a travesty of justice, from the time of the arrest to the execution of the judgment.

These cases are cited in the present context, not to illustrate the grave lack of equity, possibly largely due to unconscious racism brought into harmony with the attitude of the European public, for had this been the motive the examples could so easily have been multiplied, but rather to indicate that of necessity they reveal potent sources of conflict at an influential level, with immeasurable harm to all communities. There is little hope of static culture here, for by this administration of the law we ourselves disregard natural justice; we teach the Africans lawlessness through contempt for law and order; we create a growing army of embittered workers upon whose co-operation and enlightenment our economic system depends, and we habituate the rising European generation to regard

debased justice as good enough for the African.

One can therefore understand how it was that Don should conclude the article quoted above with the following words:-

> "The Union of South Africa has more discriminatory racial laws and customs than any other country in the British Commonwealth, or for that matter in the civilized world. The fact that some of these laws or customs may be considered necessary in the interests of the natives themselves, makes it all the more imperative that the administration of justice should be based on full recognition of the abstract equality of human rights."

It is possible that the first part of the above statement may be a little too categorical, but this is not possible in connection with the second part, which admits of no modification.

Before ending this chapter, one may briefly refer to cognate factors which, within the compass of this study, one cannot examine as they deserve, but which, nevertheless, contribute appreciably to the convergence of culture with which we are concerned. These would include prison and reformatory conditions, the contacts made by African prisoners during extra-mural employment, the imposition of fines which go to the State as against customary compensation, tribally awarded, the industrial training given to juveniles, the treatment of delinquents, the attitude of the police towards non-Europeans, the effect of such penalties as spare diet, solitary confinement, leg-irons and corporal punishment, and — however inadequate they may be, — the work of the agencies for the rehabilitation of released prisoners.

Merely to mention these factors connected with our penal system, is to be aware of the multiform influences, desirable and undesirable, which the State brings to bear upon the African, who for all time, has left the over-rated but less complicated tranquillity of his tribal surroundings, to throw in his lot with those who need him so much, but need his aspirations and legitimate demands less.

Of value, therefore, is Lord Hailey's finding at the end of his chapter on "Law and Justice". Having suggested more than once the institution of special inquiries into such matters, he emphasises the social value of our legal system, and adds:-

> "The impression left on the people affected must always be the most valuable element in a decision on any method advocated. The task, therefore, is not one in which the view of the technical expert can be admitted as decisive;

> the most valuable assistance will be given by those who are able to take a comprehensive view of the reactions of our legal system on those for whose benefit it is intended, and its capacity to evolve an answering contribution from African society." @

If only one of his conceptions could be widely accepted in South Africa, what a transformation would take place. I refer to the implication that our legal system should be for the benefit, not for the distress, confusion, and demoralization of the African community.

Whether this be granted or denied, indigenous culture is undergoing a penetrating metamorphosis through our attempts to administer laws of our own making to those who are fast losing their culture, without the compensation of justice.

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@ Op. cit. p. 315.

Chapter VII.

NATIONAL SENTIMENT AND POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY.

We have considered in some detail the fact that 'race' and culture are not congruent. It should not be necessary to resort to the same detail to establish the parallel but more obvious fact, that neither is there any essential correlation between 'race' and nationality.

Thus in many countries, those who have a feeling of oneness through the sharing of traditions, obligations, institutions, and culture (and often, but not necessarily, language), and who share also in aspirations towards national unity, are not always by any means members of the same ethnical stock. That in the recent war the American Army included nationals of German, Italian and Japanese origin, is but one illustration of this, and that hundreds of thousands of African from British, French, and Belgian Territories, as Negroes from the United States, listed so readily in a European war, is another.

In spite of this, nationalism has been described as the great heresy of our time, whilst a nation has been defined, according to Professor M.C. Botha, as a society united by a common error as to its origin and a common aversion to its neighbours. Such definitions would suggest that the spirit of nationalism has degenerated into chauvism, by emotional appeals to a glorious past, a truculent attitude in foreign relations, a contemptuous disdain of foreigners, and a callous disregard of the rights of minority or subject groups. In the degree to which this is true it would seem that the nation has been deified, and synchronously the sovereignty of the principles of justice has been ignored.

It is a vain dream to imagine that the Europeans and non-Europeans through proximity and the force of circumstances, can share in government, trade, taxation, techniques, ideas economic fluctuations, social services, religious beliefs and observances, and the rest, without momentum being added to the convergence of culture, and without the claims to common citizenship being strengthened.

Dr. Mair points out that:-

> "The French carry to its logical conclusion the principle that French citizenship is the right of all who merit it by adopting French civilization". [4]

In British colonies the same principle is rapidly gaining gound and no obstacles are put in the way of African barristers, clergymen, doctors, surveyers, newspaper editors, artisans, veterinarians, or mechanics, as they pursue their avocation, although there still remains, in general a rigid social cleavage between them and European society.

In South Africa, on the contrary, the barrier to avocations remains the barrier to citizenship. Hence there is neither adequate training in local nor in national obligations, and in the consequential absence of enlightened and active participation in common undertakings, there is no mutual sense of belongingness.

For the African as for the European there should be made more possible, worthy ways of living, and for both a community should be created in which these ways are integrated. This cannot be done until the clash of purposes, with its resulting insecurity, makes way for a higher conception of citizenship.

John Stuart Mill pointed out many years ago, that when people who have been divided come under a common government, "In a few generations, identity of situation often produces harmony of feeling, and the different races come towards each other as fellow countrymen." Unless this should happen in South Africa, it is difficult to be optimistic regarding the future, but since there are four different powers in Africa, alian rule may assist, in time, in unifying African sentiment over a much wider area. In the Union so desirable a process is sadly retarded by the manner in which emotional ritual, on narrowly national lines, is annually employed to perpetuate 'racial' clashes of the past. By its fervour it rationalizes the maintenance of illiberal policy towards the African, and by its nature and maintained emphasis evokes his further bitterness.

And yet, against a wider background, Lewis Einstein writes:-

> "In the course of time many deep and ancient hatreds, founded on bitter memories of crimes, of spoliations and massacres, have gradually subsided and been buried and forgotten under a dead past... Long afterdards... it is discovered that a new

[4] op cit. p 18

> nation with a common loyalty and pride has been formed. In the end men usually take for granted the silent steps which gradually and invisibly have brought about some of the greatest changes in history." ≠

In other situations he points out, however, that nationalism has veered more and more towards a narrow 'racial' outlook, until it tends to practise an intolerance far worse than that of the tyrants overthrown in any revolution. Although not addressing South Africa, his warning strikes home when he adds:-

> "Among the problems of tomorrow none will be greater than the task of re-uniting nationalism with justice and humanity, for unless the existing disharmony can be reduced, the prospect ahead will long be one of strife".

The operative words are "justice " and "humanity", for without these the different sections composing the community cannot be welded into any nationalism worthy of the name.

From America Einstein derives re-assurance, for he writes:-

> "There is, however, another brand of nationalism made possible by a continual extension and which makes for spiritual change in amore liberal sense. The United States, possessing a highly awakened political consciousness and a pride of country fostered by common memories and aims, has successfully cultivated a spirit of nationalism which is no less potent or persuasive than that of any real or supposed strain of blood.
>
> Since primitive Islam swept over the East to unite many peoples in one gaith there has been nothing comparable to the creation of the cult of Americanism in a population which is composed of many different origins who are united in the essentials of citizenship"....."A normal process of change by assimilation goes oncontinuously in every democratic community that lives within a greater one. This is usually characterised by the desire to reduce any differences that separate its members from the majority. There is nothing new in this phenomenon. Already in the age of Elizabeth, Edmund Spenser had observed that within a few generations the descendants of the English settlers in Ireland became completely Irish. But never before had such transformations in national feeling been practised on the same scale as in the United States where every elementary school is an instrument of Americanization. This gospel of Americanism emanates an almost religious belief in the country's institutions, and a pride in its memories and ideals that carries with it a spirit of loyalty and a sense of obligation, which, more than tilts the scale against any dwindling inheritance that still clings to recent citizens from their old world past."x≠

It is not difficult to point out, in spite of the importance attached to the developments described above, that in America the conflict between "Jim Crowism" and justice, is evidence of the frequent denial of the most elementary principles of American life and government, so far as the treatment of Negroes is concerned.

≠ Op. Cit. p. 107

≠ Ibid. p. 109

x≠ Ibid. pp. 109-110

To this there is another, and a very real side, but here it may be sufficient to say that this intransigence receives no support from more enlightened opinion, increasingly shared; that such opinion carries growing weight regarding the need to withdraw any discrimination in cultural, civic, or political matters, and that, in any event, whether one thinks of the colour bar in the States or in South Africa, its presence in no way invalidates, but rather gives emphasis to, the principles illustrated in the excerpts just quoted.

Unless we become defeatist or remain indifferent, it should be possible to admit the African more freely to our institutions, to allow him to share in fuller measure in our ideals and achievements, to accept more readily in consequence, greater obligations, and thereby to develop greater pride of country and of common citizenship. Alternatively we can abdicate from such responsibilities and, — although we should solve our conscience by political sophistry to demonstrate the purity of our motives, — endeavour by legislative and other force at our command, to keep the African in servitude, and to disregard his claim to qualify for citizenship.

Before examining some of the party programmes, with their effect on culture contact and change, it may be well to consider very briefly some of the routes from which portfolios have grown. A few references may suffice, for the history of political theory is full of examples of movements inspired by national sentiment, frequently narrow, or of national patriotism leading to the desire for unification.

Over 400 years ago, when Machiavelli wrote, Italy was divided into five states, and believing that a United Italy was possible and might be realised by the Florentine Medici, he wrote to point the way to its accomplishment, by describing how despots might consolidate or extend their power. His assumption throughout is that expediency is the sole guide to conduct. It follows that self interest must determine policy; that the only criteria of the methods employed must be the end in view, and hence that where the interest of the state demands it, the moral law can bind neither the state nor the individual. "Nevertheless morals, though they possess no objective basis, may be usefully envoked by rulers to

induce in the common people reverence and obedience. Morals have, in fact, as we should say to-day, good publicity and propaganda value". ✠

Machiavelli wrote:-

> "When the safety of the country is at stake, no consideration of justice or injustice, of honour and dishonour, can find a place. Every scruple must be set aside. ✠

Joad most pertinently comments on this doctrine in the following terms:-

> "The doctrine of the emancipation of the State from the requirements of morality in respect of its dealings with other states is practised to-day. That it has inspired the policies of all states in the past, the student of history will regretfully testify. What is distinctive of the post-war twentieth century is that the policies of states in the past and the practice of states in the present, are now justified by a political theory which claims for the state a morality, ir morality it may be called, which is precisely the reverse of that which is commonly enjoined upon the individual. For while in the relations of individuals morality is distinguished from expediency, in the relations of states morality is identified with expendiency." ✠

It must be admitted that this is so largely true that to refute its general applicability would be ineffective, and to attempt to qualify it would not justify the effort. So far as the Union is concerned there is the added pathos, that in the relations of government and non-Europeans, morality is too often identified with expediency, whilst in the case of relationships between the individual European and the African, these are frequently 'inspired' by the same pernicious political theory. If this be true it reflects a lower standard than that deplored by Joad.

For the influence exerted on later thinkers by Machiavelli's idealist theory of the state we may turn to another writer:-

> "Machiavelli more than any other political thinker created the meaning that has been attached to the state in modern political usage. Even the word itself, as the name of a sovereign political body, appears to have been made current in the modern languages by his writings.

✠ "Guide to the Philosophy of Morals and Politics", by C.E.M. Joad, Gollancz, p.135.

✠ op.cit.p.600

✠ Joad op.cit.pp 600-1

> The state as an organized force, supreme in its own territory, and pursuing a conscious policy of aggrandizement in its relations with other states, became not only the typical modern political institution but increasingly the most powerful institution in modern society ..... The part that the state, thus conceived, has played in modern politics is an index of the clearness with which Machiavelli grasped the drift of political evolution .... Machiavelli thought of moral, religious, and economic factors in society as forces which a clever politician can turn to the advantage of the state" .....[1]

South Africa has shared in this influence to the detriment of her multi-racial society, for to enshrine expediency in the place of morality, and to exempt the state, as supreme, from moral obligations, is to cause lasting harm not only to the exploited but also to the exploiters.

"The Social Contract" was published in 1762. In it, Rousseau developed the doctrine that the general will of the community established moral values, and that society possessed as a vital principle of its living organism a spiritual bond. He stated the general problem in the opening paradox:- "By what inconceivable art has a means been found of making men free by making them subject?", implying that since under modern conditions we must relinquish our "natural liberty", with its illusion of the unlimited right to all one can obtain, we must through association or contract, establish a covenant of each with all. The ruler (or the governing body) is not one of the contracting parties, but merely serves as an officer who holds his commission at the dictates of the general will, and can therefore, be deposed.

Thus Rousseau considered that before human beings can become men they must be made citizens, government ensuring them liberty under the law, providing for their material welfare, and removing gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth. In this connection it needs to be remembered that he conceived welfare in terms of pleasure.

Self-interest is still central, but in a manner hard to follow, is ensured by vesting in all members rights over the others. The only valid policy, he writes, is:-

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[1] "A History of Political Theory" by George H. Sabine, (Harrap & Co.) pp 351-2

> "the complete submission of each member with all his rights to the community. For since all make this complete submission, the conditions are the same for all, and consequently none can have interest in making them hard for others."

According to his view, sovereign power was delegated to an executive, by the citizens, for special purposes.

It is not surprising that Bluntschli, a distinguished writer on political science, could pronounce the doctrine in his "Theory of the State" (1885) as "in the highest degree dangerous, since it makes the state and its institutions the product of individual caprice". In the Revolutionary period it meant extreme democracy and the rights of man. In South Africa to-day, to the extent to which it survives, it means autocracy and the rights of the European. It means, in other words, a social contract from which the African is excluded, whereby the European exchanges service for legal and economic security, and expects from the African service and obedience without such security. It frequently implies, if one may be permitted to interpolate the word "European", that:- "The most general European will is always the most just, and the voice of the European people is, in fact, the voice of God."

Hegel carried further the idealization of the State, holding the view that it was distinct from civil society. In his interpretation of history:-

> "it is the nation, rather than the individual or any other grouping of individuals, that forms the significant unit. The genius or spirit of the nation (Volksgeist), working through individuals but largely in independence of their conscious will and intention, is the true creator of art, law, morals and religion ..... The state is therefore the director and the end of national development. It overlaps and includes all that the nation produces that is morally and spiritually significant for civilization." ϕ

Consistent with this is his claim that:-

> "The spirit of a nation (which is a spirit of social righteousness) controls and entirely dominates from within each person" so that "he feels it to be his own very being" and "looks upon it as his absolute final aim."

ϕ Sabine, op. cit.p.621

According to Sabine this idealization of nationality and of the State was the most characteristic feature of Hegel's political philosophy, persisting in its influence down to the present time, and paving the way for the reactionary brand of nationalism which culminates in facism. Concurrently through his teaching of "dialectic", he stressed historical necessity or compulsion, [E] which, reformulated by Marx in his economic interpretation of history, and coupled with his doctrine of civil society, carried a stage further, led to dialectical materialism and to contemporary communism, in principle internationalist or anti-nationalist.

For two reasons Hegel continually identified right and force. In the first place he considered that in nature the greatest power is given to right, and in the second he believed that might produced might, a doctrine full of sinister possibilities when taken, as to the world's anguish it has so often been taken, as a guide to policy and action. Relevant to this was his teaching that in society, of which the state is the apex, the individuals, as such, are merely a formless mass who derive dignity and the right to participate in the life of the state only by their membership of estates, classes, guilds, associations and local communities. [xx]

It is not difficult to appreciate, however unconscious the process, what a powerful influence upon politics and upon 'race' relations in South Africa, the Hegelian theory of the State must have had, and, presumably, will continue to have. The state, considered as an organism composed of Europeans (of untainted

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[E] Cf. idem.p.632:- "Hegel adopted an idea as old as the first Greek speculations about nature, namely, that historical processes go by opposites. Every tendency when carried to the full breeds an opposite tendency which destroys it. In political theory a similar idea had always been used in defense of the mixed constitution: unrestrained democracy ends in license? unlimited monarchy degenerates into despotism, Hegel generalized the argument ..... This was the fundamental insight that Hegel thought was embodied in the Platonic dialogues and the Socratic irony, and for this reason he adopted Plato's word, dialectic or conversation."

[xx] op cit.p.643

Nordic purity), is a self-contained authority inspired by social righteousness from within, as well from the culture and laws it will not share with the non-Europeans who might otherwise benefit.

The Europeans who compose the state are conscious of themselves as individuals and as parts of the shole, which is the state, but since the non-Europeans naturally cannot participate in its life, they must, unfortunately, continue to be regarded as a somewhat amorphous mass.

The state possesses a higher morality than that of any individual, but "The more completely the individual permits his will to be dominated by that of the State, the more whole-heartedly he makes its welfare his concern, its ends his ends, the higher the degree of morality which he will achieve." ✗ So far as the non-European is concerned it is regrettable, that, although he must be dominated by the state, he cannot identify himself with it, and so progress in morality, since it took us two thousand years to achieve this, the same being true of freedom which, normally, should also depend upon service to the state.

Of both European and non-European it is true that since the individual receives his rights from the state, he can possess none which conflict with those of the state. Should the former dispute this at election times, he is being slightly unreasonable. Should the latter, at any time, he displays ignorance and ingratitude.

And finally, though the state has a moral end, it is exempt from the rules of morality when dealing with its citizens, but since might is right, when force is used with the power of the state, particularly against the non-European, this must be some political alchemy become moral.

Such are some of the implications of Hegelian thought in South Africa, where "Union is Strength".

In an earlier paragraph it was held that in different ways the tradition of Hegel paved the way on the one hand for fascism, and on

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✗ Joad. op.cit.p.593

the other for communism, both of which enjoin upon their citizens the duty of living their lives in particular ways approved by the party concerned, in order to contribute to the power and prestige of the state.

Being philosophies in action, they require compulsory conformity. From Joad one reads that:-

> "While they are academic and find expression only in the tenets of a school, they tolerate rivals; indeed they have no option. But when their tenets are embodied in the programme of a party, and that party is successful in obtaining control of the government, they develop an intolerance of other philosphies and of the ways of life and theories of politics which other philosophies encourage." ≠

and that:-

> "Fascist theory is reluctant to admit that the individual may possess ideals as an individual, and recognizes only such as are comprised in his loyalties as a citizen.
> To these generalizations there is in the contemporary world one exception, namely, the philosophy, if philosophy it can be called, of individualism, and the system of government which is usually found associated with individualism, namely, Democracy". ∮

Before passing to the separate examination of each of the rival schools of fascism and communism, it may be well to record certain common characteristics. Thus each insists that every citizen has an active duty, and that it is insufficient for him to vote for his party, since he must also realize its ideals by his way of life. Each attempts to prevent any party or section which does not fully conform to any participation in the government, and denies them the right of expressing dissent and co-ordinates under state authority all forms of association or communial life.

Hence as Joad affirms:-

> "Possessing these characteristics, both Fascism and Communism become, in practice all-embracing creeds which pervade every department of the State, control every individual action and seek to control every individual thought." xx

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≠ Op.cit.p.607

∮ Ibid.p.608

xx Ibid.p.609

Three vulnerable doctrines disseminated by fascism are that power is the true end of human endeavour; that due glorification should be given to the will of those who labour to this end, and, thirdly, that the holders of power are noble and hence they should mould the rest as raw material, from whom it is reasonable to expect willing plasticity.

It follows that fascism denies that all are of equal value in the eyes of the state, or should share equally in its benefits. Moreover Joad points out that:- "As the treatment of Jews, socialists and pacifists in Germany shows, fascism also denies the dogma that all citizens of the state should be equal before the law."[1] This is a corollary of the view that justice is the stronger, who, being above the law, may dispense with its provisions should they interfere with their convenience.

Another implications clearly is that the majority must obey the law, and by so doing will naturally maintain the status quo. This is consonant with Nietzsche's dictum that the masses should be assigned their proper place as beings of a lower order who merely require instintively to follow their leader.

His attack on Christian ethics is well known, conscience not being the voice of God but of cowardice, and Christianity in general being the religion of the inefficient and the cowardly, and a conspiracy to put a premium on weakness.

Because of the insidious nature of fascist teaching, one may be permitted to quote rather fully from Joad concering this wide gulf separating the fascist and the Christian scale of values.

> "Christianity believes in human equality; Nietzsche that some men are by nature superior to and more important than others. Christianity holds with Kant that each human soul is an end in itself and should be treated as such; Nietzsche that ordinary men are the raw material for the manipulation of superior men.
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> Christianity maintains that all races are of equal worth in the sight of God; Nietzsche that some races are of a greater worth than others, because they possess survival value; Christianity prescribes the attainment of virtue as the end of life; Nietzsche the exercise of power; Christianity preaches kindliness and humility; Nietzsche, ruthlessness and pride; Christianity exhorts us to meet evil not with contrary evil, but with good, and denounces war; Nietzsche glorifies war and holds that we are justified in working our mills not only

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[1] op.cit.p.621.

> upon those who do us evil but upon all comers, provided that they are weaker than we are.
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> Finally, Christian philosophy proclaims that truth is absolute, and declares that to the eye of faith it may be revealed; Neitzsche adopts a pragmatic attitude towards truth, and has faith only in the Superman who will make his truth for himself". ##

In order that the idealization of the state may be used in the interests of nationalism, and that successful force or the arbitrament of power may come to be accepted as the sole test of superiority, it was clearly necessary that no awkward moral standards should intervene, and that nothing must be allowed to interfere with the absolute claim made by the fascist state to direct and control all group or individual activity. Hence the opposition to the Christian ethnic. On the same principle, trade unions, regarded as independent organisations owing allegiance to an international movement, or the Jews for their allegiance to inter-national Jewry, would be treated as a hostile element. Relevant also, is the following further excerpt:-

> "The Nazi quarrel with the Roman Catholics and with the Confessional Church springs from the same source. It is because the Christian owes an allegiance to a power which is other than and additional to that of the State; it is because the Catholic acknowledges the authority of the Pope, which is not the State's authority, and the strict Lutheran claims the right to hearken to the voice of his conscience, which may not be the State's voice, that Catholics and Lutherans are the objects of persecution." ++

Having quoted so freely from Joad, I take the liberty of doing so again on another important issue which occasionally threatens, or appears to threaten, South Africa, although it has a wider significance than in the extract which follows. I refer to the effect on education of the fascist attitude towards truth. In Mein Kampf Hitler announced that it was the duty of Germans "not to seek out objective truth, in so far as it may be favourable to others, but uninterruptedly to serve one's own truth". Similarly Herr Rust, German

Idem. pp 640-1. ++ Joad. op. cit. p. 649

Minister of Education, impressed upon teachers that they should "give to their pupils the fundamental principles of the philosophy and the idea of National Socialism.... Not to remain neutral and objective in the school, not to make the child into a cold observer, but to awaken in him enthusiasm and passion". Jead writes:-

> "Truth is man-made; it is the name men give to that which furthers their purposes, that is to say, in Totalitarian States, the purposes of the party in power"....."Now the culture of Western Europe is based upon the absolutist view of truth. It was in pursuance of its implications that universities were founded. These universities had certain principles in common; freedom of thought, freedom to express ideas, freedom to discuss the ideas expressed, freedom to teach truth as the teacher saw it, freedom to search for truth and to proclaim it when found.
>
> University staffs were, in theory, selected from one point of view and one only, that of the qualification of the teacher for the duties assigned to him. No test based on race, class, religion, or political creed was held to be relevant to his appointment"....."As with the staff, so with the students"..... "The university further claimed and exercised autonomy in the matter of the organization of its curriculum, the standards of work which it exacted and the discipline which it imposed; in particular, it repudiated interference on political grounds". ##

According to the same writer, whose book was first published in 1938,

Jead. Op. Cit. pp 649-650.

> "All these principles are denied by the Totalitarian regime in modern Germany. The universities have become, and are intended to become, educational barracks, closed to all but Aryans, in which Aryan students will be taught only by Aryans. Freedom is exercised by the universities within a very narrow sphere"....."The main function of the university as the apex of the educational system, is to complete the production, begun in the schools, of citizens trained in the principles of Totalitarianism.". E

It would be a gross over-statement to say that this reflects the position in South Africa, but it would be ignoring facts to assume that neither our school nor our university system is entirely free from political indoctrination, or from 'race' prejudices. That school board elections recently assumed so strong a political character supplied evidence of a regrettable endeavour to capture the schools for party purposes; that the virus has threatened some of our universities also seems clear, and where liberal views have been expressed or policy introduced concerning the admission of the non-European undergraduates, concerted reaction has undoubtedly been organised. But, as Sabine says in another context:- "There is no need to suppose that the applications of an irrational philosophy will be rational". xx

In concluding this superficial survey of fascism, it is well to remember the emphasis they have attached, and the publicity they have given to the 'racial' myth, nor can one forget, nor likely forgive, the incalculable tortures inflicted upon untold millions in consequence. No wonder that Bernard Russell remarked that "There is no philosophy of Fascism; there is only a psychoanalysis".

The communist analysis of fascism depicts it as the final phase of capitalism, in which it becomes openly reactionary in defence of its possessions, and in consequence of which it suppresses liberty and destroys democracy, but this is an over simplification.

To revert to our own study of culture contact, however, it is not difficult to see in fascism, a further source of maladjustment in 'race' relations in South Africa, in Southern Rhodesia, in Kenya, and to a lesser degree, probably a much lesser degree, elsewhere in South Africa. (Italy no longer being a Colonial Power). I refer to the influence exerted by the philosophy, rather than to

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xx Sabine's "History of Political Theory". p. 763.
E idem. p.650.

the existence of any party carrying this label.

It can hardly be denied that among the more conspicuous features of the contemporary scene, particularly in the Union, are the absolutism of the state over the individual, over communities, and particularly over non-Europeans; the entrenchment of the view that policy must continue to be directed by the conception that the Africans are raw material to be manipulated by those in power; the consequential denial to them of anything approaching equality before the law; the reluctance to concede them any cultural or economic opportunities which would endanger the status quo; by implication the continuing opposition to their demand for parity of recognition for their trade unions; the indoctrination of the rising generation of Europeans through the educational system, and, ipso facto, the perpetuation of 'race' conflict, and the withholding of comparable educational facilities from the non-European; and, in spite of the appreciable contributions added by our universities to accredited and world-wide evidence, the re-affirmation in Parliament and out, of the doctrine of the pre-destined supremacy of the white 'race'.

Notwithstanding this the next chapter will attempt to show how the various political parties, in power or in opposition, must accelerate the convergence of culture. In the meantime, the significance of fascism having been examined, it is pertinent to turn to communism, since this also largely derives from the same source; as we have seen they have many features in common and, cumulatively, these two systems although at enmity, are ruthless iconoclasts in their attacks upon African culture or its re-integration, even though the one openly perpetuates the master-slave relationship, whilst the other claims to be the only effective agency for emancipation.

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Long before Plato had written his Republic, Euripides had divided citizens into three classes, namely the useless rich who are always greedy for more, the poor, who, having nothing, are devoured by envy, and the middle class of sturdy yeomen, who "save states". At a later stage Plato, showed that the importance of economic

causes in politics was no new conception, and believed that marked diversity of wealth was inconsistent with good government. His communism, therefore, prohibited private ownership of property, and incidentally, advocated the regulation of families by the rulers.

The reaction against economic exploitation and injustice has been the theme of political philosophers throughout many centuries, and as we have seen, the teaching of Hegel as revised by Marx, gave rise to proletarian radicalism culminating in communism. Sabine informs us accordingly that:-

> "the dialectic, modified by Karl Marx, became a main principle in the social philosophy of all those branches of socialism that were derived from him.
>
> This type of philosophy remained broadly collectivist, as distinguished from individualist, but it regarded the bonds of economic interest and loyalty that unite social classes as a stronger tie than that which unites a nation.
>
> Hence it construed history as moving under the stress of the pressure of economic rather than ideal forces."..... ..."Marx's social philosophy reflects, and was designed to reflect a social change of the greatest importance, the rise to consciousness and finally to political power of the industrial working class"....."Marx presented capitalism... .....as an institution that had produced and was continually enlarging a class of men who must live wholly from wages, and who are, therefore, related to their employers only by a cash-nexus. Their power to work is a commodity to be sold in a competitive market where the only obligation of the purchaser is to pay the current price.
>
> The rise of such an industrial proletariat, having no power except through the pressure of well-organised masses, and obliged to set as its end not political rights but the improvement of its standard of living, Marx regarded as potentially the most revolutionary fact in modern history" [6]

He thus conceived this to be the culmination of history, and the chief social result of developing capitalism. In consequence, where Hegel had appealed to national patriotism Marx appealed to the loyalty of workers to their own class, this to prepare them for the consummation of a social revolution. This theory of dialectical materialism, formulated almost exactly a hundred years ago, is today particularly on the Rand and in other centres of industrial population in South Africa. It ranges from the West Coast to Kenya, and from Egypt to the High Commission Territories, and by infiltration, through the printed page and through contact with those who have assimilated something of the doctrine at labour centre s, it penetrates into remote rural areas and outcrops unexpectedly. It suggests naturally enough the approach of a

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[6] op. cit. , pp. 682-3.

revolutionary trouble between the exploited and the exploiters which by an equally natural interpretation means, between the African proletariat and the European, (for the average African exposed to this indoctrination, is hardly likely to distinguish between European and European, all being capitalists in his eyes, save, perhaps, for a small group of communists and of missionaries who have made common cause with him.)

Since religion was regarded by Lenin as "the opium of the people", the first step towards real happiness here and now was to abandon this illusion, apart from the fact that religion was attacked because it was considered the greatest conservative or reactionary force in society. Of this point of view, Joad, who is so very impartial but sympathetic in his attitude towards communism, writes:- "Communist Russia is noted for its hostility to religion. The reason for this hostility is the conviction that, historically, religion has been used by the exploiting class as a method for ensuring the subservience of the exploited". @

"Religion, then, from the communist point of view, is a gigantic deception". £

Political liberty has also been represented as a drug, the argument, according to Joad, running as follows:-

> 'Political liberty means in practice the right of voting every five years, sometimes oftener, for a representative whom one has not selected. The votes so cast either have some influence or they have none at all. In the former event, the influence is just enough to enable the workers to extort from the governing classes concessions sufficient to stave off revolution.
> .....Just as they take the revolutionary edge off material privation by the contrivance of the dole and the distribution of coal and blankets, and the revolutionary edge off spiritual discontent by endowing churches to diffuse the Christian doctrines of meekness, unselfishness, and satisfaction with that station of life into which it shall please the State to call God's servants, so they take the revolutionary edge off political discontent by series of legislative concessions such as the Trade Boards Acts, the Old Age Pensions Act, the Unemployment and Health Insurance Acts, which may be regarded as sops thrown to the working classes".....By its means the governing classes are enable to represent the concessions, which rivet more firmly the chains of capitalism upon the necks of the workers, as political advances won under a free and democratic constitution by the votes of the people" $

Following this line of thought, communism would assist the African

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/ Lenin also said "We have struck the Kings from the Earth - now let us strike the King from the skies"
@ op. cit. p. 672.
£ idem. p. 673.
$ idem. pp. 687-8.

to throw off the trammels of religion, and, as a sign of his emancipation, to register hostility and suspicion rather than appreciation, when legislation was promulgated to promote his welfare.

Having become atheistic and having exchanged the cross for the hammer and the sickle, he may, nevertheless, share Marx's assumption that civilisation as a whole is always progressive, and accept its counterfeit byproducts, which are within reach, instead of striving for those truer values which are less easily won than lost.

Given effective propoganda, it would be relatively easy in this country to persuade increasing numbers of Africans that since they have been divorced from common rights in the land, but have in their labour a priceless asset, they now became a potentially powerful proletariat, exploited and kept in subjection by capitalism, of which the state is the chief organ, and that if, through revolution, they could only control the means of production, dictatorship would pass to them, and they would in consequence enter upon their rightful inheritance, an earthly paradise.

The appeal would receive added force from lyrical descriptions of the 1917 Revolution, the sweeping successes of the Red Army, (proving, presumably, that her political philosophy was sound), the idyllic conditions obtaining in Soviet Russia, (including the absence of the colour bar), and her pre-eminence as a world-power in consequence (as shown by the daily press)

In the United States, the awakening of the South is one of the communist objectives, as witness the following excerpt from the "Daily Worker" of September 20th, 1933:-

> "Up to now we have raised the slogan of self-determination for the Black Belt.....Are not the conditions of life for the Negro masses under American imperialism, and the growing struggles of the workers sufficient evidence that now is the time to unleash on the robbers this giant mastiff, the Negro liberation movement"?

In Africa, and particularly in South Africa, it is tragically true that the abuses of capitalism and of political power as wielded by the European minority, offer ideal conditions for the nurturing

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§ "The Challenge of World Communism" by Hamilton Fish (Bruce) p.215.
‖ op.cit. p.699.

of such doctrines, and the fomenting 'race' riots in the interests of communism, and obviously against those of either 'race'. Pari passu with the development of these abuses, it might conceivable be held, as Joad suggests, that..."the real proletariat of England has been created in her colonies and dependencies, upon the population of which the English working class is, in a sense, parasitic", a statement, or misstatement, calculated to mislead the intelligentsia, but through them to infect many others.

That there is nothing fantastic in holding, that in spite of protestations to the contrary, communists actively desire to overthrow governments, is inherent in their philosophy, and apparent in one of his findings of fact, in the Harry Bridges deportation case, May 28th, 1942, by the former American Attorney General, Francis Biddle, who held that:- "the Communist Party of the United States, from the time of its inception in 1919, to the present time, is an organisation that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the government of the United States". #

Lenin strongly opposed Russia's participation in the first world war, not from any sense of pacifism, but that she should engage in civil war. In South Africa there is combustible material in plenty, provided by capitalism, by politicians on each side of the house, by the administration or maladministration of government services, and by the day-to-day attitude of Europeans to non-Europeans, to ensure that should the right communist torch be applied, there will be a 'racial' conflagration which will be quenched by force, but which will sear indelibly the life of all communities in this fair land.

In the British dependencies in general, the liberal development programmes to which they are committed, and, despite European opposition to the term in Kenya, the paramountcy accorded to the interests of the African, combine to reduce the danger of such a conflagration, although in all territories there are those who foment unrest.

Hamilton Fish. op. cit. p.181.

The High Commission Territories, possessing such meagre resources of their own, and conscious of urgent needs in the promotion of higher standards of living, as well as of the need for expensive and expert socio-economic research, so essential to any real advance, have not yet received the parity of support from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, with that accorded elsewhere. That, nevertheless, their African communities insistently and vociferously oppose any suggestion of the possibility of incorporation in the Union, is most significant, for they are fully aware of the richness of the Union, of the higher salaries paid there, and of the fact that through considerably larger expenditure over a longer period, there is appreciably more development to be seen in African education, vocational training, agriculture, health promotive and curative work, and the rest.

The significance attaches, therefore, not only to a very natural fear of being dispossessed of land, but also, and this is undeniably real, to the parallel fear of a sinister change in human relations, to which they are convinced they would be exposed. Their own contacts, through migrant labour and in other ways, has established this conviction, which naturally reacts upon the growing resentment of Africans living across their borders. To point out to them that there is a definite relationship between the proportion between the white and black 'races' and the degree of liberal policy adopted, and that, however fallacious it may be, fundamentally repression is largely based on the European's fear that any other policy would spell economic disaster for his own children or any other similar explanation would be futile, for they are vitally concerned with their own economic security and not with arguments against it.

This apparent digression arose from the statement that in South Africa there is an abundance of inflammable material for communism to use, a situation which cannot be remedied by counter legislation, nor by invoking state machinery to crush by force, but only by eliminating the conditions upon which communism feeds and thrives. This quite definitely constitutes a challenge, the gravity of which it is difficult to over estimate, to put our economic house in order and to humanize the relations between

capital and labour, and between white and black.

Jacques Maritain in his "Christianity and Democracy" says that the spread of communism could have been prevented only by a clear sighted policy of social reform; he regards communism as "a totalitarian and atheistic catastrophe of democracy itself, and of the humanistic impulse of democracy", and advises that:-

> ..."the efforts of the opponents of communism" should "be based upon the conviction that success in the good and in justice and in every endeavour to alleviate human distress bears witness unto itself, and that a democracy fully resolved upon social justice and the changes which it demands, determine to put an end to the hegemony of money, animated and penetrated from all sides by an heroic spiritual flame, it is not only in a position to rid communism of its pretexts, but has also the power to draw in its wake, and restore to its own ideal, the greatest number of those who were attracted to communism". †

Related to this is his finding that communists are not communism, and that they have won the right to share in the work of reconstruction, a finding surely based upon the view that many communists in joining the party did not see its sinister implications, but saw rather a vision of remedying social and economic injustice, and insincerity/at no little personal sacrifice followed it, in spite of the opprobrium of the society they were anxious to reform. In this strain Alexander Campbell recently wrote:-

> "The Communist Party.....wants to abolish capitalism and it believes in complete equality of opportunity for all men, without distinction of race, creed or colour. With a strong faith in abstract justice, it refuses to see any great problem in the existence side by side in one country of a black majority and a white minority. It preaches civilization for all, and when a person is civilized, full rights for him.....This is a noble creed. It has no chance, whatever, of acceptance in South Africa.....Nevertheless the Communist Party fulfils a useful function in delivering healthy jolts to innate racial and other prejudices and refusing to regard them as permanent barriers to betterment. Its adherence are sincere, hardworking and intelligent". xx

Inevitably in writing of communism, one has written of capitalism. To supplement this, the following excerpts from "Quadragesimo Anno" may be considered pertinent:-

> "It is a violation of right order whenever capital employs the workers or the proletariat with a view and on such terms as to direct business and economic activity entirely at its own arbitrary will and to its own advantage, without

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† Op. Cit. pp. 56-7.

xx "South Africa: What Now?" p.p. 163-4.

@ Encyclical of Pius XI, 15 May, 1931.

> any regard to the human dignity of the workers, the social character of the economic regime, social justice and the common good."....."It is patent that in our days not wealth alone is accumulated, but immense power and despotic economic domination are concentrated in the hands of a few"....."This domination is most powerfully exercised by those who, because they hold and control money, also govern and determine its allotment, for that reason supplying, so to speak, the life-blood to the entire economic body, and grasping in their hands, as it were the very soul of production, so that no-one can breathe against their will.
>
> This accumulation of power, the characteristic note of the modern economic order, is a natural result of limitless free competition, which permits the survival of those only who are strongest, and this often means those who fight most, relentlessly, who pay least heed to the dictates of conscience."

Then is described the three-fold struggle which results:- the struggle for economic supremacy, the battle to acquire control of the State, and the clash between States themselves, ("the last because economic forces and economic dominations are used to decide political controversies between nations").

> ....."Capital.....was long able to appropriate too much to itself; it claimed all the products and profits, and left to the worker the barest minimum necessary to repair his strength and to ensure the continuance of his class.
>
> For by an inexorable economic law, it was held, all accumulation of capital falls to the wealthy, while by the same law the workers are doomed to perpetual want or a very low standard of life"

In consequence, the encyclical, continues:-

> "The immense number of proletarians on the one hand, and the enormous wealth of the rich on the other, are an unanswerable argument that the material goods so abundantly produced in this age of industrialism, are far from rightly distributed and equitably shared among the various classes of men."

Of this penetrating analysis, Sheed writes:-

> "In the light of all this, it is ludicrous to suggest that the Church is an apologist for the Capitalist system. Karl Marx himself never depicted the irrationality and injustice of the Capitalist system more bitingly than Pope Pius XI." E

It was Hilaire Belloc who affirmed that "The control of the production of wealth is the control of human life itself", and important principle illustrating the connection between economic control and totalitarianism.

E "Communism and Man" (Sheed & Ward.) 1945. p. 182.

Hayek has many interesting things to say about this, of which the following are most relevant to our study:-

> "The idea of complete centralisation of the direction of economic activity still appals most people, not only because of the stupendous difficulty of the task, but even more because of the horror inspired by the idea of everything being directed from a single centre." ✓

He refers to the "erroneous belief that there are purely economic ends separate from the other ends of life", and emphasises that, on the contrary "The ultimate ends of the activities of reasonable beings are never economic", and later that:-

> "Economic control is not merely control of a sector of human life which can be separated from the rest; it is the control of the means for all ends. And whoever has the sole control of the means must also determine which ends are to be served, which values are to be rated higher and which lower, in short, what men should believe and strive for." ✓

He then explains that in a competitive society we have a certain freedom of choice, in that we can turn from one who does not satisfy our wishes to another, but that an authority directing the whole economic system would be the most powerful monopolist conceivable. (This is reminiscent of the recent statement of an English judge concerning post-war controls, to the effect that they had vested such power in the Minister of Agriculture that it would no longer be possible to impeach him before the bar of the House).

Hayek also claims, and this deserves more than casual consideration, that:-

> ....."the impetus.....towards totalitarianism comes mainly from the two great vested interests, organized capital and organized labour. Probably the greatest menace of all is the fact that the policies of these two most powerful groups point in the same direction". xx

In South Africa there are two further centres of impulse, leading, from diametrically opposed motives, to the same objective, namely the all-powerful inter-party politics of white domination, on the one hand, and on the other, the communist doctrine of domination by the proletariat, which by force of numbers would be largely African.

✓ "The Road to Serfdom" by F.A. Hayek.
✓ Hayek op.cit.
xx " " "

In brief, among the forces competing for total control, the most important are capitalism, racialism, communism, and white labour.[4] Of these, the first two are the most ruthless in the injustice they impose and entrench; the last is influential in the assistance given to the second to ensure that the colour-bar is retained in industry; the third is assured of progress by the other three, and all four, of necessity, disrupt African culture and hasten the tragic deterioration of race-relations.

Lord Beveridge in addressing the English Liberals at the end of 1946, made a penetrating statement, of poignant relevance here. In effect he said:-

> "THE REAL LINE OF DIVISION TODAY IS NOT BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM, BUT BETWEEN THOSE WHO CONSIDER THAT GOVERNMENTS EXIST FOR THE GOOD OF THE INDIVIDUALS, AND THOSE WHO CONSIDER THE POPULATIONS AS THE RAW MATERIAL FOR GOVERNMENT POLICY". @

It is lamentably true that each party represented in the South African Parliament, contains members who are swayed by the conviction that the Africans are chiefly raw material, either for the government in power, or for the government they think should be in power. Can it be wondered that the Africans are victims of 'racial' and economic maladjustment, sadly at odds with society?

It is clear that a much more worthy social order must be found, and it becomes increasingly clear that towards it Christianity has a unique contribution to make, for no political slogan will suffice. In his book already quoted, Sheed says:-

> "The best society will not run forever by a formula; it will be sustained from moment to moment only by the continuing will to good of its members, and when this fails, or is so far as this fails, society itself fails". /

In the next chapter an attempt will be made to illustrate from the current literature of political parties in South Africa, how each would inevitably contribute, if in power, to the convergence of African culture towards our own, notwithstanding any disclaimers regarding this.

In the meantime, since this chapter opened with a consideration of national sentiment, examined from the only standpoint at present

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[4] Note: For the sake of simplification I have assumed fascism to be jointly covered by capitalism and racialism.

@ "The Tablet" 14.12.46.

/ op. cit. p.194.

accredited in South Africa, namely that citizenship within the national group is confined to the Europeans, it may now be fitting to refer to the unpopular fact, that having been denied admission to citizenship in the country of their birth, the Africans nevertheless show signs of developing a sense of nationalism among themselves which is regarded as a sinister development, since the tribalism to which the Europeans today appear to owe more obeisance than the African would never have tolerated this, the emergence of which implies, according to many, culpability on the part of the Government. Joyce Cary, in "The Case for African Freedom", writes:-

> "The choice is not between leaving Africa poor and primitive or developing her resources at the cost of African nationalism; but between an early and vigorous development before resources are further injured and wasted, or a late enforced effort to avoid a general disaster.
>
> All objections in detail, to expense, to competition, to the destruction of tribal custom, to possible nationalism and political turmoil, are met by this wall of economic fact. Africa, already a vast slum among the nations, is growing poorer every day and cannot save herself. She is sinking deeper into wretchedness, disease, famine while the world's demands upon responsible governments, the world's conscience, become every day more impatient of excuse." @

Of those who see that in general, as a community becomes richer and better educated, its members develop new ideas, become more turbulent and more resolute to manage their own affairs, and hence more inclined to revolutionary movements, he says:-

> "Those who perceive this and understand the dangers of African nationalism among a people highly emotional and open to suggestion, are strong opponents of African progress. They no longer dare to say, 'Keep the African poor and ignorant, as near to slavery as possible, for as soon as he escapes from his prison, he will make trouble', but they think it.
>
> They are right in assuming that he will make trouble. Already, when the African has achieved any small degree of economic independence, he begins at once to show political energy. The Chagas of Kilimanjaro, having made a success of their co-operative society, are far more suspicious and difficult to manage than the p rimitive tribes in the plains below"..... ≠≠

Notwithstanding this, as we have seen, Cary, an ex administrative officer with lengthy experience of the more primitive Nigerian tribes, tribes presumably then less disturbed than most by the advent and impact of civilization, is unable to tender the advice

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@ pp 118-9≠≠ op. cit. p.115.

"Preserve the tribe and keep civilization away from it". Whatever may be the inconvenience and irritations caused to the Europeans by the emergence of African nationalism, these he regards as part of the price which must be paid for the development of Africa through the development of the Africans.

Most are aware that in recent years there have been disturbances in the Northern Rhodesia Copper Belt, among the mine-workers of the Rand, among the African coffee producers in the Kilimanjaro area, among the Native workers in Mombasa, among those connected with the cocoa industry in the Gold Coast, and even in that Protectorate of happy race-relations — Uganda. Such unrest is indicative, inter alia, of the readiness with which Africans today more readily express, sometimes through violence, their open dissatisfaction with what they regard as economic grievances.

In order to secure redress they have occasionally demonstrated marked capacity for combined action to a degree that few Europeans would have thought possible a few years ago.

Frequently the demonstration has been provoked by employers, as in the case of mine labour in Northern Rhodesia and the Union, sometimes by the municipalities as in the case of the forcible ejection of squatters, and sometimes by government as in the case of anti-pass law outbursts, police action, or attempts to secure de-stocking. It is by no means invariably the case, although for obvious reasons it often happens, that the motive force behind such eruptions is supplied by an educated group working on mass feelings. There is usually no need, however, to look beyond the general discontent which has stirred racial antagonism to express itself in this way, and as has already been claimed, causes of general discontent are potent causes in the spread of communism also. In consequence it would be sounder to assume, not that education should be withheld because it can be productive of trouble, (the exact argument was used in England against the extension of educational facilities to the masses), but rather that conditions productive of serious discontent and of 'racial' enstrangement should be ameliorated with as little delay as possible.

One reason why an educated group may often be associated with unrest, is, of course, that when it is strongly felt that vital

interests have been adversely affected, there is a natural tendency to turn for leadership to those who have more competence, and less hesitation, in expressing grievances, than have the former tribal leaders. Moreover the elders cannot claim to have experience of the new situations involved, whilst the younger men who have had contacts with Europeans in industrial areas and elsewhere, include increasing numbers who, in varying degree, have been educated.

There are those who hold that there is little true national unity among the Africans, which in the analysis seems true enough. When considering Native Law we observed that in earlier tribal days the number admitting common jurisdiction was very small, and in most territories it is still true that interest centres, not on matters of common, so much as upon those of local ~~interest.~~ important In the Colonial Dependencies this was the main argument which for many years was advanced, and conceded, against the admission of Africans to membership in Legislative Councils, an argument somewhat hastily abandoned in some dependencies since colonial administration was over-hauled in preparation for post-war development. Moreover, so long as in that vast country of small population, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, African leaders can speak, for example, of the "Bamangwato Nation", which tribe, according to the 1946 Census, although the largest, numbered but 100,837 people, including ~~9587 Masarwa~~ but 17,850 Bamangwato proper, and probably 60,000 Little true, of unrelated ethnic stock, with whom there is, ~~no~~ sense of unity, it seems reasonable to suppose that no strong national sentiment, as we understand it, has, as yet evolved, but that the use of the term is significant more of a growing desire to present a united front, and to simulate the prestige of larger and more important political groups.

This should evoke the sympathetic guidance of the European, however, rather than a misguided feeling of relief. Thus, even though organized movements for the ventilation of complaints and for redress should become more common, and even though they may not infrequently be based on somewhat flimsy grounds, or be fostered by interested individuals, more tolerance would enable us to encourage the Africans to adopt constitutional methods of making their representations. This implies that the expression of Native opinion should be encouraged rather than stifled; that

they should be brought more frequently into consultation at all levels; that they should be allowed to share increasingly in local government, and that, and this remains of decisive importance, we should remove the causes of discontent and unrest.

Under indirect rule most of the African administrations depend in varying degree upon the use of native authorities for the carrying out of defined functions, this being true of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, parts of the Gold Coast, Uganda, Tanganyika, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and the High Commission Territories.

It is not strictly true of Kenya, where native authorities proper do not exist, but where the African headmen employed are, in fact, agents of the Central Government. (Where tribal treasuries or federal councils or courts have been established, it clearly follows that new institutions have been established, this being true of Union practice also, as for example in the case of the United Transkei-an Territories General Council). This is cited because of its bearing upon our problem. In brief these developments, usually most desirable, have provided new foci, (not necessarily septic), for national sentiment. Of these, the most outstanding, personally known to the writer, is the Buganda Lukiko, to which later reference will be made. It is described very fully be Lord Hailey, as it existed when he visited the Protectorate[@] in connection with his comprehensive survey. It was then constituted, as he pointed out, "on oligarchic rather than on popular lines". It will be shown later that more democratic developments have since been introduced.

How comprehensive are the powers of the Lukiko may be judged from the fact that there are three African Ministers of State, namely the Prime Minister, the Chief Justice, and the Treasurer, appointed by the Kabaka; that, controlling considerable revenues, it prepares a budget, subject to the approval of the Governor; that it includes representatives from every part of the kingdom, (commoners now as well as chiefs); that the Lukiko Court subject

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@ op. cit 443 et seq:

to certain conditions, has full powers in criminal cases, including the passing of a death sentence, and has effective powers of internal legislation.

It is readily apparent that this august body, modified in powers and functions since the tribal institution which was its forerunner, must be a dynamic source for the development of national sentiment.

To take a second illustration, one thinks of a much more circumsribed body, consultative rather than executive, and of relatively recent origin, the African Advisory Council of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Lord Hailey, writing of this territory said:-

> "There is ... little of the sense of nationality which characterizes Basutoland and to some extent Swaziland; the ruling tribes known as the Bechuana derive from a common stock, but are politically independent of each other, and there is no paramount chief or national organization.
>
> The native reserves do not contain single tribes, but sections of different tribes subordinate to a ruling tribe. Though the extent to which these sections have been incorporated in the ruling tribe within a comparatively short period is evidence of the unifying effect of the African tribal organization, yet the cohesion is by no means complete, and there is frequently a difference in status between the members of the ruling and subordinate tribes.
>
> The crucial problems of administration arise, however, less from these conditions than from the exercise of their political authority by the chiefs, accentuated by the growing extent of the migration of labour from the southern reserves into the Union". ✗

This Council, in spite of its essentially advisory character, therefore, is undoubtly contributing a unifying element in a country of little tribal homogeneity, even though it does not yet possess a dignified Council chamber, it is not always well-informed regarding the subjects on which it passes judgment, and has not yet attained the standard of debate or of procedure found in more developed countries.

It is difficult to know how representative is any view expressed, the tendency being to leave any obiter dicta to the Chairman, Chief Batoen, II, O.B.E., to Acting Chief Tshekedi Khama, and to two returned soldiers, Chiefs Kgari and Molife, whose views are usually re-echoed by others. Nevertheless the membership covers the whole Protectorate; the agenda are taken seriously; and supposed lack of recognition for previous recommendations is taken equally

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✗ Idem.p.403

seriously; councillors from remote districts in the Kalahari or Ngamiland make contact with chiefs, administrative officers and heads of departments, and some who are barely literate in their own vernacular meet African graduates. It cannot be doubted that here also national sentiment is being forged, but it is being forged in an atmosphere of complete sympathy towards tribal aspirations however inadequantely they may be expressed.

In a later chapter, examples of constitutional developments in other dependencies will serve to give further emphasis to the principle just affirmed, namely that whether a tribal institution is modified by altering its character or extending its scope the better to cope with changing needs, or whether a new institution is created to serve similar ends, the result will frequently be the creation of a new focus for national sentiment. A current example of this in the Union which will receive further attention, is the part played by the Natives Representative Council as a rallying point for political unrest, the Council being an accredited a Government creation.

Within the average tribe to-day, the triangle of forces seems to consist of the conservatism of the majority, the aspirations of the emerging Africans, and the balance which the chief attempts to hold, usually with indifferent success, between the two. So far as European opinion is concerned, one might usually interpret this to be that so long as the chief leaned towards the conservatives all was well, for this showed reverence for the tribal status quo, but that if he should lean towards those who were dissatisfied with the old order, there was cause for concern, since obviously he was swayed by agitators and heading for trouble. The position is further complicated by the chief's attitude towards government. His choice of action, admittedly difficult, would often seem limited to the following:- that either he should become a sycophant, or that he should dwell in stupor with his conservatives among the fumes of beer and hemp, or that by force of economic circumstances he should take up the cause of the more enterprising, pretending to an initiative he frequently neither possess, nor wants.

Need it occasion surprise that tensions exists within the tribe as well as outside it, or that the power of the chiefs is slowly but surely passing from them?

Relevant to this is the fact that the Nigerian Government approved the association of youth movements with Native councils in certain areas, and that in Buganda, teachers and representatives of the cotton growers and of other societies, are permitted to address the Lukiko.

As pointed out earlier it is gradually being realised that the advice of the more educated and of those who have had experience in European enterprises, is at times badly needed, for the elders lack such experience. Inexorably, however, this leads to a corresponding transfer of authority, or of the influence which authority should have. It adds to the writing on the wall concerning the death - knell of tribalism, but in the meantime reveals also the emergence of a new cohesion, unstable at present, and yet the nucleus for continuing growth, the future of which one cannot predict. Respect for tradition cannot reasonably be upheld when it displays incapacity to readjust to meet changing needs.

One has already spoken of the unifying effect of a common alien rule over diverse tribes, and one will consider in a later section some of the effects of African participation in the world war from two points of view — from that of convergence of culture, and from that of the growth of inter-tribal and inter-territorial sentiment, and of community of interests.

From the examples given in the last few pages, however, it should be apparent that, even though it may be premature to speak with any exactitude about African nationalism, there is ample evidence of the intensification of 'racial' consciousness, Moreover it needs little argument to show, that whether this should be amenable to beneficial influences or not, it involves of neccessity radical modifications of African culture, and convergence towards our own, either with our co-operation and goodwill, or in spite of it.

At this stage it may be redundant to affirm, that the only solution offering any prospect of enduring amity between the 'races'

is to throw open the doors of citizenship to all who qualify for admission. Then, and only then, would there be removed the basis of anxiety or fear concerning African nationalism.

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Chapter VIII.

POLITICAL PARTIES AND CULTURE CHANGE.

Having considered national sentiment among the Europeans, the growth of 'racial' consciousness among the Africans, and certain political philosophies, which, consciously or unconsciously, have contributed in no small measure to the fluctuating public opinion which decides elections and so determines governments, it remains for us to examine representative statements concerning the political parties in South Africa. At the outset it should be made clear that in the present context, the motive underlying this analysis, is controlled by no partisanship, but is merely to ascertain whether, and in what respects, there would be convergence of African culture towards our own, no matter which party was in power.

An obvious difficulty readily occurs. The party decks are being cleared for eve-of-election action; available manifestos are most incomplete, and before the electors go to the poll may be appreciably modified, and some of the public statements of the day reflect strategy rather than corporate conviction. Nevertheless one can but turn to published statements, supplemented by press articles, and by policy revealed in legislation already promulgated, or in consequential administration. Later chapters will amplify some of the administrative effects.

Before examining party statements and differences, it is well to remember that no section can claim the monopoly of goodwill towards the non-European; that this remains true whatever emotional outbursts leading to extravagance of statement there may be, particularly at times of crisis, or when some principle, considered vital, appears to be jeopardized, and that unless large numbers of individuals in each party showed kindliness and a strong sense of common humanity in their dealings with individual Africans, South Africa would be in a much more perilous condition than it is, despite the many criticisms which may justly be levelled against her.

It is therefore possible for Campbell to write, in his recent book, already quoted:-

> There is in S.Africa today, fairly general recognition that the conditions of the non-Europeans are, to say the least, far from satisfactory. It is recognised that nearly all of them are undernourished, badly housed and badly educated.
>
> It is folly to imagine that this recognition is confined to one section. It is fully shared by those who oppose the Government, and, outside of political circles, by the Dutch as well as the British churches.
>
> There is here a call to conscience, and therefore, to action, which is heeded by both English and Afrikaans speaking sections, though they may differ in their ideas of the form the action ought to take.
>
> Nevertheless -, and irrespective of what language group or political party they belong to - there are many people who are inhibited from any action at all by a certain fear that lies at the back of their minds. And this fear is, that if the conditions of the non-Europeans are improved, it will be the thin end of the wedge and the final outcome will be to place the non-European on a level of absolute equality with the European, which, because of the relative numbers of black and white, would really be no equality at all, as it would turn the whites into a powerless, instead of a powerful minority". †

Disregarding this fear, and without answering at that point, the question as to whether it is rightly based or not, (the whole trend of his book shows that he does not consider it soundly based), Campbell asks if it be possible to stand by and do nothing, while the conditions of the non-European steadily deteriorate, and says:-

> "Obviously this is not possible; on this much at least, the present Government and the Opposition are agreed, as speeches by both General Smuts and Dr Malan testify".

He adds that with that fear out of the way, if it could be removed:-

> "..all parties are agreed on the need of remedial action, if only because under-nourished workers are of little use in a country's economy, and because disease knows no colour bar".

He further assumes that we are all at one on the need to abolish slums, whether they are inhabited by African or European, and that we all accept the need for re-organized farming, and for the modernizing of industrial development.

This is undoubtedly true, except for those members of all parties who, handicapped by an inadequate or misdirected education, are naturally the victims of the system which permitted it, and of the time lag which results.

† Op. Cit. p 108

Having rid ourselves, therefore, of any tendency to cling to the idea that, basically, any one group is spiritually or cerebrally superior to another in these matters, or, in the accepted national sense, more patriotic, we are in a better position to examine the different points of view in their bearing upon the changing African.

s United Party.

Since the United Party is in power, they have first claim upon our attention. It is the more unfortunate that their available declarations of "Native" policy are so totally inadequate. By comparison with those of other parties, excluding the moribund Dominion Party, they must be embarrassing to their more liberal supporters, for, at the time of writing, they are about as full of meat as a conscientious vegetarian. However, from the pamphlet "The United Party, the Natives and the Coloured People", one may glean a certain amount.

The first thing one notes is that party policy in relation to over 9 million people, or practically 80% of the total population, is dismissed in a puerile document of 8 very small pages, generously spaced to avoid disposing of its matter in two or three. In spite of its economy of statement much of it consists of debate; it goes out of its way in a document supposedly drafted to let the electorate know of its constructive "Native" policy, to make clear that:- "it is a lie to say that Mr.J.H.Hofmeyr or any other of the leaders of the United Party want to grant political rights to them (the Natives) on the same basis as the European", and the pamphlet ends somewhat pathetically with the following plea in heavy print:-

> "The eyes of the world are on us. Don't let us give the impression that South Africa's political outlook is as bad as the Nationalists make it appear".

The section from which this was excerpted is headed "Being Honest Towards All". In its first paragraph, after protesting against the Nationalist Party attempt to stampede the electorate

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* 1946 Census figures according to the Star, Johannesburg, August 2nd, 1947 are, according to ethnic totals:- Europeans 2,372,690, Asiatics 285,260, Mixed races 928,484 & Africans 7,805,515.

into raising the bogey of colour, it claims that the United Party is following the path of Christian trusteeship, this being followed immediately by the statement:- "We set ourselves the task of eliminating poverty, and to free our European population from the fear of want". It is difficult to avoid the view that the intention here is to give re-assurance to the European voter that his interests are paramount, and hence that his poverty and related wants will soon disappear.

How this is to be done appears from the next paragraph, which, in its entirety, consists of the following:-

"Our non-European population is one of South Africa's valuable economic assets, and it is in the interests of the European population that this great asset should be properly developed".

Although this be true enough, it resembles in its bald wording the advertisements one sees so frequently to-day, to induce industrial concerns to establish themselves on available sites at Port Elizabeth, East London, or elsewhere, wherein it is made known that among the attractions are cheap land, cheap transport, cheap water, cheap electricity, and cheap Native labour. The African, as regarded by the United Party, then, would be an "economic asset" to be properly developed "<u>in the interests of the European population</u>"

One knows that this does inadequate justice to the aims of the more liberal members of the party, but even at face value it would mean that this asset could not be "properly developed", (a static process in which the African is passive and pliable), without cultural changes for the mass.

The brochure extends this, however, by advocating that non-European labour must be trained to undertake more skilled work, although the reasons advanced in support once more derive from self-interest. Thus it speaks of the dependence of the farmer in future upon mechanized agriculture, and hence upon mechanics; it speaks of the dependence of social security schemes upon the higher incomes which can be obtained by

assisting the poor white section to become skilled workers, and it reveals that:-

> "If the economic capacity of the non-Europeans is raised by an average of £6 per annum per head of population, it will add over £50,000,000 a year to their purchasing power, a great portion of which would be spent on agricultural products".

This section is somewhat obscure in its specific application to the different ethnic groups, for, as we have seen, the title of the pamphlet covers Natives and Coloured people, and its matter also refers to the Indians. Moreover the section just quoted ends on the note that:-

> ..."the white worker is not protected by keeping the non-Europeans down; on the contrary, if we want to abolish European poverty we must increase the number of wage earners as a whole. The Natives of South Africa are a great asset to the whole country and we must make the best use of our assets".

This suggests - I may be wrong - that to the European it might be said that the policy behind the whole pamphlet was to promote his interests, to the Coloured voter it might be said that it primarily intended to encourage his further admission to the ranks of the skilled worker, and to the African it could be pointed out that, of course, the title implied what the words revealed, namely that the policy of the party was liberal towards his people, and that one evidence of this was what they had said about his admission to skilled work. Since, however, the two last excerpts are taken from the section "Economic Segregation", which is intended as a counter-blast to the related policy of the Nationalist Party on this issue, one may imply, that although priority would be given to the training of unskilled poor whites to qualify as skilled workers, the same principle would be applied, perhaps at a later date, and with due safeguards, to the more competent of the emerging Africans. Granted this, which is consistent with some of the public utterances of certain leaders, radical changes would follow in the early education, the vocational training, the occupations taken up, the salaries earned, the standard of living which

resulted, the effects upon widening circles of the circulation of more money, and - perhaps more important than any of these, - in the improvement in morale, in human dignity, in health, and in race-relations.

The only other tangible statement in the pamphlet regarding "Native" policy, is that:-

> "Contrary to what the Nationalists say, the United Party does stand for political and social separation, and to this we will refer at greater length when dealing with political rights in general".

When one turns to the latter section it merely re-affirms that the party is opposed to the granting of parity of political rights, but nowhere is any guidance given concerning alternative developments. It is not unreasonable to assume, however, that whatever may be the duration of the present "permanent" recess of the Natives Representative Council, or of the boycott policy inaugurated by the African National Congress in connection with the election of the European representatives of Natives in Parliament, the evolution of political institutions for the African would proceed, as it is doing all over the Continent, with important repercussions on African society.

One may turn now to a much more able and readable production entitled "Some Aspects of Recent Legislation and Administration", which carries the usual endorsement "Published on behalf of the United Party by O.A. Oosthuizen, General Secretary.

The introduction admits that the intention had been to deal with the legislation and administrative work of the Government since it assumed office in September, 1939, but that in the interests of economy and because of printing difficulties, this had not been possible. It is correspondingly difficult to review achievement in relation to African Affairs. Notwithstanding this, in the 20 pages of this well written and well printed booklet, there is much deserving attention and not a little that is encouraging.

It is a little disappointing to discover, however, that of the Union's largest employer, the Railways and Harbours Administration, practically nothing could be said regarding its Native employees, parallel reference to the Annual Report of the General Manager disclosing that whatever may be the impressions elsewhere conveyed, concerning the wish of the present Government to provide facilities enabling Africans to qualify as skilled workers, the railway door to their employment is still closed, locked, and colour-barred.

The speeding up of industrialisation was illustrated from government action taken in connection with ISCOR, fishing and mining. In the 1946 session, the authorised capital of South Africa's Iron and Steel Industry, was increased by no less than 15 million pounds. Among other results expected to flow from this will be the further development of the large new town to serve the industry, the erection of buildings, the construction of roads, the provision of light, water, power, railways, plant, and housing for employees, within the next three or four years an output of a quarter of million tons of steel products, and consequentially the stimulation of the canning of South African fruit, vegetables and fishery products (by lowering the cost of containers).

It was reported that an Ultra-Deep-Level Mining Institute had been established to investigate this method of prolonging the life of existing mines; that a "Northern Free State Development Advisory Committee" had been established to advise on the orderly development of the new mining areas, and that an improved Silicosis Bill passed in 1946, would benefit non-Europeans by raising the amount of compensation for all silicosis sufferers.

One cannot attempt to predict the degree to which African life from the Cape to Nyasaland, and beyond, must be affected by these industrial developments, for they touch ever widening concentric circles, which impinge upon, and permanently alter, the

culture, the outlook and the standards of living of hundreds of tribes and thousands of villages. If that be true today, the effects must carry forward to the life of tomorrow. The term "economic segregation" begins to lose touch with reality. (In the 20th Century the term "Segregation" has never had any). It would probably be much nearer to the truth to speak of a policy of "economic conscription", binding today upon all sections of our multi-racial community, but certainly upon the African. The chief differences in its political interpretation would perhaps include the following.

The Nationalist Party would confine the Natives considered essential to any industry, to the ranks of untrained labour, herded in barracks at a respectable distance from any European area. The quota would be subject to daily determination, any surplus being discharged and either deflected to farming needs, or sent home to meet their own, in which event they would be subject to summary enforced recruitment for agriculture or industry as the market might dictate, and for wages for which they might not indulge in any kind of collective bargaining.

From the more competent of the unskilled rank and file, the United Party might promise to take a few to be trained as N.C.O's, in whom would be vested more responsibility, but the Africans should understand that this would be a gradual process which could be put into operation only after European public opinion had advanced a little further, and not until all the European and Coloured privates who desired it, had become skilled. In the meantime they would allow experiments to be made in the establishment of permanent Native settlements for stabilised labour nearer at hand, since this would promote the efficiency of the industry to be served, in which connection they fully approved the appointment of Mr. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, the Director of the Institute of Race Relations, who for so many years had rendered such admirable but somewhat embarrassing service, to advise on conditions in the tranquil, because undeveloped, Free State Goldfields.

The Labour Party would approve the admission of suitably qualified Africans to N.C.O. or even to warrant-officer rank, provided they did not parade with Europeans, nor show their skill in the same industrial enterprise, but were discreetly occupied on another, preferably on one that was engaged in building houses for the African, making furniture for him, or presumably mining gold for him, or making tin containers for the fruit which, on his eroded gullies he had produced for his family and near relatives to eat.

On the other hand the Communist Party would throw open to the Africans all ranks in the economic system, from private to commissioned officer, although how they would reconcile the vesting of power in the proletariat composed of privates, with the necessary executive hierarchy is not always clear.

This digression into the respective views of parties regarding economic segregation arose from section which deals with industrialisation in the United Party pamphlet we are examining. Reverting to this, one finds in the preamble to the later section concerning "Native Affairs and Administration", a statement to the effect that:-

> "The establishment of the South African Native Trust received the support of all political parties by the largest majority ever obtained in such a session. Thus all parties are responsible for present legislation".

Having thus disclaimed party responsibility, the manifesto continues:-

> "The South African Native Trust then set up is charged with:
>
> (a) The control and administration of existing scheduled Native Areas,
> (b) The control and administration of Crown Lands within the released areas,
> (c) The purchase of land within released areas to the following extent:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Transvaal | 5,028,000 morgen |
> | Natal | 526,000 morgen |
> | O.F.S. | 80,000 morgen |
> | Cape | 1,616,000 morgen |
>
> (d) The creation of a fund to be used, inter alia:
>
> 1. To defray the cost of administration.
> 2. To acquire land for the objects of the Trust.
> 3. To advance the interests of the Natives in Native areas in agricultural, pastoral and other industries.

". To assist and develop the material, moral and social well-being of Natives residing within the Native Areas."

If the above be given even cursory examination, it must be conceded that when ~~related~~ legislation was passed in 1936 by a joint session of both Houses of Parliament, all parties subscribed to the adoption and subsequent implementation of policy, which inexorably was bound by its administration to alter African culture profoundly in the Union, and to deflect its course towards our own.

The last "Report of the Department of Native Affairs", available, U.G.44 of 1946, contains a section, largely statistical, dealing with the administration of Trust land. It opens with the following paragraph:-

"Although the large scale purchase of rural land by the South African Native Trust was discontinued during the war period, a number of properties were acquired either because the land was urgently needed for the settling of Natives, or because it was offered to the Trust at a reasonable figure and could be put to good use without delay".

The report then shows that since the necessary legislation was promulgated there have been purchased 1,654,388 morgen, distributed as follows:-

	Extent.		Cost.
Transvaal	1,165,958	morgen	£2,735,399
Cape	388,335	"	1,602,411
Natal	47,075	"	282,535
O.F.S.	53,020	"	445,961
	1,654,388.	"	£5,066,306.

It further shows that 181,519 morgen have been acquired by Natives, by individual, joint or tribal purchase; it lists the number of "Betterment Areas", proclaimed in terms of section two of Proclamation No.31 of 1939, (i.e. areas which have voluntarily accepted limitation of stock - a significant total of 236 such areas - and reports consolidating and amending legislation concerning the control of Trust land.

This has been treated somewhat fully, since in contradistinction from the all-powerful disruptive effects of industrialization, already described, this represents the concurrent major effort to stabilize a rural african society, or, depending upon one's point of view, to provide an increased and slightly more self-contained habitat or reservoir for labour, even though it has proved totally inadequate to the need, as a committee of agriculturists, economists, and sociologists could have demonstrated at the outset, quite apart from the retarding opposition consistently shown by Europeans to the acquirement of land by the Trust, for native occupation.

As was in the case of the industrial development, however, this non-party programme also has produced changes of enduring significance, although superficially it may seem to have ensured that tribal culture should remain static. To this facile assumption the blue books supply contrary and convincing evidence.

That land administration along these lines, together with the synchronous activities of those employed to teach better methods of soil conservation, of cultivation, and of animal husbandry, has demonstrably failed even in the most favoured areas to make the african peasant self-supporting; that inevitably the competing claims of the labour market should prove irresistible in their urgency: that in the wake of the resultant exodus from rural to urban centres, problems of such magnitude should emerge that failure to cope is admitted by local authorities, administrative officers, employing agencies, police, welfare bodies and Government, and that the situations which arise provide the easiest ammunition for those who wish to use it against one section or another, -- all combine in countless permutations to ensure that the tribal culture about which we wax sentimental, fades more quickly than the ink we waste to deplore it.

Turning again to the pamphlet under reference, the next sub-heading under the section headed "Progress in Native Affairs and Administration", reads "Elastic Native Policy", its opening paragraph being relevant to our study:-

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§ "Some Aspects of Recent Legislation & Administration".

> "As the Natives have, during the past few years become more educated, industrialised, skilled and urbanised, Government policy has at all times to be elastic in order to meet new conditions. THE OLD ORDER IS PASSING (capitals mine), a fact recognised even by farmers' organisations, which are said by some to constitute reactionary elements. ....."The wave of sympathy with the just aspirations of Native and Coloured races which has swept the world during the war years and since then, has not left South Africa untouched. But quite apart from sympathy with their just aspirations, White South Africans realise the value of the Natives in the development of the country and have no desire to smother their aspirations as the Natives themselves develop educationally and socially".

Herein is recognition of inevitable change, and of the contingent need to ensure adaptability rather than rigidity in the formulation of policy. In brief, since the Africans are moving with the times, Government in its race-relations should move with the times also.

The sympathetic note introduced into the second half of the above excerpt, to assist the acceptance of the admission made in the first, is then re-affirmed in the words:-

> "the policy of the Government is definitely one of help and uplift"...

and no-one could reasonably take exception to the words which completes the quotation:- .."whilst at the same time striving to keep a balance of interest with other sections of the community", for most imperatively government has responsibilities to all.

This is immediately followed, however, by two categorical statements of supposed facts, intended, by taking the edge off what has gone before, to reassure all who might otherwise feel that the United Party was endangering the herrenvolk doctrine of white supremacy. Since these statements are at complete variance with the central hypothesis which has given rise to this study, they are reproduced in capitals:-

> "ASSIMILATION IN DEVELOPMENT DOES NOT IMPLY [illegible] TO THE FACT THAT SUCH DEVELOPMENT HAS AT ALL TIMES TO BE ON PARALLEL LINES AND CAN NEVER CONVERGE. SUCH CONVERGENCE WOULD SPELL DISASTER FOR BOTH RACES AND BLOOD IN THE UNION".

In these few words, which the pamphlet prints in heavy type

to emphasise their importance, or to catch the eye of the European elector for whom they usually form cardinal beliefs in a sacrosanct creed, the party goes on record with two dogmatic postulates which no other party in the house would wish to dispute.

The first is that, in perpetuity, development for the different 'races' must relentlessly follow parallel lines, and can no more converge than can planets divinely ordained to follow different orbits. The second supplies the reason for such cosmic determinism, namely that if the universe, (or the Union), were differently ordered, and if, notwithstanding, (or owing to), the gravity or density of the party leaders, convergence should actually take place, portents of disaster for Europeans and Africans would be blazoned across an outraged sky.

However this should carry little conviction since it is refuted by the programme and achievement of the party concerned. Nor does it call for any special rebuttal here, for the thesis as a whole attempts that. Once it is granted that African and European culture cannot remain equidistant, it is conceded ipso facto that they cannot for all time remain parallel, and the United Party has already agreed to forego economic segregation and to promote African development. One is tempted to add that even in Africa, although parallels reveal latitude, they are entirely imaginary lines, and one may be even forgiven the suggestion that in a country of colour bars, parallel bars take one's feet off the ground and serve political gymnastics.

Reverting to the pamphlet one reads with interest of the programme for rehabilitation - not tribal rehabilitation - which, it is claimed, "will go to the root of the whole normal, social and economic structure of the Native people", to which is added that it is already being tackled "in their own interest". One readily admits and welcomes this, but that it is not activity

"along their own lines", is clear from the following statement -

> "Technical planning committees have advised the Native Affairs Department and schemes to be put into operation include:
>
> (1) To control the number of persons allowed to reside in a given area.
> (2) The establishment of organised village life in place of haphazard kraals.
> (3) Reclamation of veld and arable land, preventive soil erosion measures, re-allocation of land for agricultural and pastoral uses, crop rotation, contour ploughing, strip cropping, afforestation, water conservation and irrigation stock limitation, fencing and rotational grazing".

In the miscellaneous paragraphs which follow, reference is made to the voting of considerable sums of money to assist local authorities in providing houses for Africans on a sub-economic basis; the approaching time when the latter must be allowed to erect houses for their own people; the fact that Native education has now become a charge on the Consolidated Revenue Fund ("which gives the service a scope for expansion which it did not previously enjoy, while being financed from Native tax"); the acceptance of the policy of building rural villages for African wage-earners; the provision of pensions, and of invalidity grants for non-Europeans; the pursuance of the policy which the late General Hertzog envisaged of training Africans to administer affairs within their own areas; the subsidizing of the training of Native doctors and nurses, and the encouragement afforded to enable Africans to engage in commerce among their own people.

Also referred to is the enquiry now being conducted by the Fagan Commission into

> " (a) The operation of laws in force relating to Natives.
> (b) The operation of Pass laws.
> (c) The employment in mines and industries of migratory labour, its economic and social effect on them, and what future policy should be followed".

Generous sums for Native services are shown to have been provided, including for education and school feeding 1946/47, no less than £3,400,000, and for urban housing during the period 1940 to 1945, a sum of approximately eleven million pounds.

This all serves to illustrate the truth of which Mrs. Ballinger had occasion to remind the House, namely that in South Africa our practice is so much better than our philosophy, although in respect of neither can we afford to be complacent, nor can we in honesty endorse the claim which appears at the foot of page 17 of the pamphlet under examination, and which reads:-

> "Although it is true that full democratic rights have not been granted to them, and cannot be granted to them until they prove themselves capable of carrying out corresponding duties, they are further on the road towards the four freedoms than any Native races in other parts of the world".

It will be noted that this claim does not suffer from undue modesty, for it is applied not merely to the whole of this vast Continent, but to the world, an example, not of our cosmopolitan freedom from national limitations, but of our myopic isolationism which is given to over-protesting. Whether this should be presented at UNO, or to a local election meeting, the process may perhaps be one of rationalizing after an attack of conscience, or of self-assertion after a bout of immaturity. And yet it remains irrebuttably true that in common with other political groups, the United Party has contributed in a very real degree to the emancipation of the African, and has thereby promoted the convergence of his culture to that of the European.

The last page of this interesting pamphlet is devoted to the following slogan:-

> "National goodwill must begin with each one of us. Let us avoid racial antagonism. By freeing our minds from racial prejudices we can ensure the unity of the South African nation".

This is admirable. The question which remains unanswered is, "What peoples are allowed to constitute the South African nation?". Before leaving the statements of policy recently issued by the party at present in power, one should perhaps examine their pamphlet on "Immigration", with its sub-title "United Party Policy Explained". This consists of four pages in each of the official

languages, with the usual imprimatur. It is partly devoted to a refutation of the Nationalist Party doctrine on this subject, as expounded by "Die Transvaler", and "Die Volksblad", and partly to an inadequate exposition of its own point of view concerning it. It is in the second context that two honest but damaging admissions are made. They are these:-

> "Whether it be pleasant to our thoughts or not, we have to face the fact that within a comparatively few years the adjoining (sic) territories of Tanganyika and East Africa, will have large Indian populations.
>
> The paramountcy of the white man in government in any part of the African Continent will depend more than ever on the reduction of preponderance in numbers of non-European races as compared with Europeans",
>
> and again,
>
> "The United Party believes that the interests of the white men perched at the one end of the dark African Continent can be safeguarded only by more white men.
>
> Our immigration policy is designed to protect and advance the interests of white civilisation in South Africa".

It would almost seem that the four freedoms, to which the booklet made earlier reference, were designed for the exclusive use of the Europeans in the four Provinces, but that the "Unity of the South African nation" could be attained, not by "freeing our minds from", but by steeping our minds in "racial prejudices", and by temporising with parallel development until the threat of convergent development is removed through the simple mathematical process of promoting European immigration on such a scale that, given white political solidarity, the Africans may be outvoted on any issue, whereby presumably, they would enjoy democratic rule.

To what has previously been written about white domination, I would merely add that the number of points of contact of African with European culture, will surely increase in direct proportion to the magnitude of immigration, and so ensure at a quicker rate than anything else could that in South Africa, civilisation will cease to be "white", but must become a common heritage.

If that be so, which seems incontrovertible, we have in sight a very different basis for "the unity of the South African

nation", and one which should lay a sense of urgency upon all parties NOW. In brief, immigration as an expedient to "keep the Native in his place", will unquestionably help to lift him out of it, if by "his place" is meant the indeterminate sentence, so far as exclusion from our culture is concerned. Of this implication the majority of members of all parties seem strangely unaware.

In a later chapter it is proposed to supplement this cursory examination of United Party doctrine, by reference to departmental achievement under their regime. In the meantime it may not be considered irrelevant to quote briefly from an interesting letter, over the signature 'L.Marquard', which was published in 'The Forum', of August 30,1947.

> ....."The lack of a positive Native policy is so obvious and so detrimental to United Party interests that one is tempted to wonder whether that Party is capable of a coherent Native policy.
>
> At the moment the United Party seems to be trying to appease the platteland by showing how 'tough' it can be about Natives - this angers progressive opinion in the towns and does not placate the platteland.
>
> And when it does try to please the progressives by showing how much has been done, it merely angers the platteland. The total effect of this negative policy is that the United Party has the worst of both worlds.
>
> There is a great deal of nonsense talked about "dragging the Native question into politics". As the most important political and economic question we have, it is and should be in politics. On our successful handling of this question depend all our schemes for agricultural and industrial progress. It is moonshine, for example, to think we can build our secondary industries on an illiterate labour force.
>
> Unlike the unreal republican issue, the Native question is real and vital. And you can't solve it by keeping it out of the political arena.
>
> The Nationalist Party wants to solve this problem by methods that would depress our standards of living and bind us economically to outworn theories".....
> ..... The one thing the Nationalists don't want is for the United Party to state a progressive Native policy and to proceed to use all its propaganda machinery to persuade the electorate that industrial and agricultural advancement are dependent on that policy being put into force".....

The above illustrates extremely well the existence in South Africa of a vigorous and outspoken conviction on the part of a growing number, that the integration of the African into the country's general economy, if courageously promoted, would prove of the utmost benefit to all sections of the community, and infuse vitality into a depressed organism which is capable of vigorous

and wholesome growth, if it would but accept such a transfusion.

National Party

For an authoritative account of the doctrines of the National Party, usually termed the Nationalist Party, one may conveniently consult a recently produced booklet "The Road to a New South Africa", published by the Propaganda Committee of the National Party and printed by Die Nasionale Pers, Cape Town, turning for a supplementary interpretation to an article by Mr. Paul Sauer, M.P. in the Cape Times of April 30, 1947.

The first part of the booklet is headed

"Programme of Principles
of the
National Party
(Herenigde Nasionale Party of Volksparty)
(Re-united National Party of Peoples' Party)"

In section XVIII "Change of Constitution" one reads that:-

> "This programme of Principles contains the common principles of the Herenigde Nasionale Party of Volksparty (Re-united National Party or Peoples' Party) organisations in the Union, that have joined the Federation of the Party, and cannot be altered by their Congress except in consultation with each other through the Federal Council".

This is quoted to illustrate the authenticity of any excerpts therefrom.

Section XI (p.5) deals with "Non-European Races", and occupies approximately 2% of the whole.

Adopting as the basic principle of its policy regarding these 'races', the acceptance of Christian guardianship over them, one reads that:-

> "It accordingly desires to furnish the non-European races with the opportunity to develop themselves in their own areas in accordance with their natural genius and capacity, and to ensure for them a fair and just treatment in the administration of the country, but is definitely opposed to any miscegenation between the European and non-European races.
>
> It further declares itself to be in favour of territorial and political segregation of the Native as well as separation between Europeans and non-Europeans in general, residentially, and, as far as it is practically possible, also industrially".

The only other principle introduced into this, the sole section dealing specifically with non-Europeans, is the declared intention to segregate the Asiatics and to protect everyone against their immigration and competition.

The operative phrase about African development, is the well worn one of "in their own areas". As for the rest, in the name of Christian guardianship, it throws up the barriers against the non-Europeans, without cross-reference to anomalous sections, where formidable gaps in those barriers are kept open in the interests of the Europeans.

Implicit in this section, then, is a conviction or political assumption, that it would be unchristian on our part to permit the non-European any opportunity of development according to his capacity, outside an area demarcated for him by government, or to permit the Native voter in the Cape to resume the place on the voters' roll which, in principle he held nearly 100 years ago, or to extend the franchise to carefully selected Africans upon any uniform civilization qualification basis, or to accord them rights of domicile outside segregated areas, or, unless it can possibly be prevented, to permit them to work alongside a European, or to engage in the same occupations or to acquire the same skills, if these could ever become competitive.

Comment on these 'racially' imposed barriers to human advancement, will be confined at this stage to the observation, that it is difficult to appreciate how exactly they conform to the responsibilities of Christian guardianship. Later observations will invite attention to other sections of the pamphlet with which, happily, this conflicts.

Before passing to these one should refer briefly to the most categorical of the prohibitions, namely that of miscegenation. That after 300 years of 'race' mixture in South Africa, feeling concerning it still runs so high, is understandable. That it should be made almost the dominant note in this series of prohibitions constituting "Native" policy, may possibly be chiefly due to the fact that, as pointed out by Hoernlé,... "a cry for a South Africa dominated by the White group, would become meaningless, if there were no White group to be

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* The constitution granted to the Cape in 1853, extended the franchise on equal terms to all male British subjects.

dominant".....

Nevertheless, although the ideal of blood-purity is never completely realizable, it upholds a standard, is an important factor in maintaining the cohesion of the group, and, assisted by segregation applied logically, and more completely than the circumstances of our economy can ever permit, would strengthen the differentiation so ardently desired. (The 1946 Census figures reveal that the number of people of "Mixed Races" in S.Africa is approximately two-fifths the number of Europeans, the respective figures being 928,484, and 2,372,690).

Having found Section XI, dealing with "Non-European Races", somewhat devoid of constructive liberal policy, one hoped to find this remedied in Section VIII, which is entitled "Racial Co-operation", but alas the relevant clause, for there is only one, (clause 16), is devoted to bilingualism amoung Europeans, and to nothing else. The clause in its pathetic entirety reads:-

> "The Party desires to foster a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation between the white races, by seeing to it that in all parts of the Union the two official languages shall enjoy full and equal rights in practice and that the principle of bilingualism shall be faithfully applied, not only in the various Departments of the Civil Service, but also in connection with all sections of the Provincial Administration as well as all public administrative bodies in all State or State-aided institutions"

That it is pathetic is because the draftsm of this document, who claim that "it is the result of intensive study and careful thought", who claim further that "The Party is constantly keeping pace with the demands of the times and the exigencies of the people of this country", and who aver that they have drawn upon "the best available industry and intellect, within the National Party as well as without", should consider that racial co-operation and bilingualism are convertible terms, and moreover should hold that in considering "racial co-operation" as an important factor in framing political policy, any co-operation between the white and black 'races' is of such small proportions that it has no election value, and can be ignored.

Before proceeding, however, one may ponder over the thought that the more vigorously bilingualism is promoted, the greater the number of africans who will become tri-lingual, for apart from the contacts made with individuals and with the printed word, the term "State-aided institutions" naturally applies to african grant-aided schools. Again as previously pointed out, if 'racial' co-operation be with-held from the African, this will not result in his exclusion from our culture, for the play of forces brought to bear upon him are too great for that, but it will ensure that he absorbs with it resentment and enmity that will survive many an election.

In similar strain, one reads in the first section which describes the "Character and Purpose" of the party, that apart from fostering national independence, it will encourage

> ....."a strong feeling of a national unity based on a common and undivided loyalty to South Africa and her interests, on the recognition of equal language and cultural rights of both sections of the European population".

It is clearly too early to expect the "National party to think of the possible admission to nationality of any members of its largest ethnic group. At the same time the party will assuredly expect them to develop and at all times to maintain a sense of loyalty to South Africa and to her interests, and for the convenience of the European citizens to acquire a working knowledge of both their official languages, whilst not presuming to expect as rights anything else that might be termed cultural.

Even within these narrow limits predetermined by a party, and to be prescribed when in power, the culture of the African would converge linguistically towards that of his bilingual overlords, and in times of more generous mass emotion towards the sentiment of nationalism, South African rather than Black, to which, if he could but straighten out what was required of him, he should be alien. In times of stress and dire need, however, he would tend to accept the fact that he had been

rejected as a would-be small-holder in, or contributor to the South African nation whose economy he had helped to build, and he might well seek cohesion within an opposing nationalism that would readily admit him, namely within an inter-tribal, inter-territorial society of disaffected Africans. Either way, his culture would have been affected by ours, but in our multi-racial crucible, common interests could merge to fashion common nationalism, in a way not envisaged by those whose concern, so often appears to be that links welded between the two White 'races', should form chains to shackle the Black.

In Section IV one reads that the Party:-

> ....."is convinced that a Republican form of Government, separated from the British Crown, is best adapted to the traditions, circumstances and aspirations of the South African people, and moreover, that it is the only effective guarantee that South Africa will not again be dragged into the wars of Great Britain".

It is then laid down that:-

> ..... this constitutional change can only be brought about as the result of a special and definite mandate thereto from the European population who have the vote"...

Apparently no constitutional change, whatever bearing it might have upon the non-European, would be regarded as a matter for prior consultation with them.

Republicanism as an objective is not confined to the National Party, and men of good faith can believe in it as a desirable form of government. What is of immediate relevance is whether its early accomplishment in South Africa would appreciably affect the attitudes and mode of life of the large indigenous population, who would be afforded no opportunity of supporting or opposing its introduction, but would need to abide by its consequences.

The growth of liberty is correlative to the growth of solidarity, and it cannot yet be claimed that we have achieved marked solidarity within the nation itself, whatever the degree of contemporary obscurantism regarding this. Such solidarity would seem a pre-requisite before attempting to establish

satisfactory relations with other national groups, and to attain it satisfactorily I would suggest that we need coherence not only between the two European 'races', but also between them and the non-European. Only through wider unity of this kind, potentially so great, but in reality so restricted, can we justify an independent national status in an inter-dependent world.

In Lewis Einstein's book, already quoted, namely "Historical Change", one reads that:-

> "In England and in France, little attention was ever paid to racial questions because both countries had established their national unity centuries ago, whereas German unity was not created until 1870" ¢

In theory, South African unity was not created until 1910, but in reality it has not yet been established, nor will it, by any re-alignment of the Provincial system, nor of the party system, for it needs a much more devastating change, namely in its conception of the ethnic groups which must be admitted to the body corporate, if any unity worthy of the name is to be achieved.

Should this be regarded as merely doctrinaire, the following excerpt from 'The Forum' of August 30, 1947, taken from an article by Colin Legum, entitled "Voices of Sanity", may be a useful corrective. Speaking of a press conference with Mr. A.C. Bottomley British Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, Legum writes:-

> "He made this point very strongly. 'If people are not given a chance of exercising their democratic rights, it is natural that they may be expected to go to the side of those who are opposed to democracy.
> Democracy means nothing to people who are deprived of an opportunity of using it'".

This should be compared with Einstein's explanation for the fact that in America the reservoir of national energy still overflows, when he states that:-

> "the American idea provides one of the most powerful solvents that the world has ever known, for it is based on confidence in human nature and a belief in the freedom of men in free surroundings, where he can breathe an optimism which is favourable to progress".

¢ ¢

¢ Op.Cit. p. 32 ¢¢ Ibid pp. 42-43

To return to the republican issue as defined in the National Party manifesto, it is interesting to read the view expressed by Mr. A.Wynn Rees, Senior Lecturer in History at Natal University College, Durban, who, after studying international problems for three years at the Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva, travelled extensively in Europe, including Soviet Russia, and lectured on European diplomacy and international politics in the U.S.A. In an article "Has the Union a Foreign Policy?" in the Forum, of September 6, 1947, he writes:-

> "One of the things which strikes any student of foreign affairs as he settles in the Union is the pronounced parochialism of South Africa's politicians, and with one or two exceptions, the dearth of statesmen".

After stating that until 1939 South Africa's interests were adequately safeguarded in the Eastern Mediterranean "by the predominant position which was held by Britain", and that the vacuum being created by the British withdrawal from Greece and Egypt (and from Palestine?), "is being filled by conflicting Soviet and American pressures", concerning which "neither is likely to pay much heed to South African interests in that quarter", he explains that, the Suez Canal, having been written off in the event of a war with atomic weapons,

> "South Africa therefore resumes once more in the strategic calculations of the great Powers, the position which was occupied by the Cape in the pre-Suez Canal era. It is not an enviable position on the highways of the world in an age of violence and unreason".

Adding that "The Union, since its inception, has been accustomed to seek inspiration from Europe in the conduct of its affairs", and admitting that the days of its industrial supremacy and world domination are over, nevertheless adds that:-

> "The greatest single fact which emerges from a survey of the present international situation, is the complete political domination of the world by the Big Three, America, Russia and Britain. There is no pampering of small states today"...

By the war he holds that "the world has been reduced to three major political groupings", and that "there is no future for any small state outside any of these three large formations".

One of the implications he draws, might well have been written in answer to the National Party's facile assumption that by forming a republican government they would have an "effective guarantee" of immunity from war. It reads as follows:-

"The elimation of the Suez Canal and the renewed strategic importance of the Union in world power politics resulting from it, means quite simply that THE UNION CAN GIVE UP FOR EVER ANY THOUGHT OF ISOLATING ITSELF BY ADOPTING A FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON NEUTRALITY. HOWEVER AGREEABLE IT IS TO THINK THAT SOUTH AFRICA NEED NOT BE DRAWN INTO THE QUARRELS OF THE WORLD, LET THE THOUGHT PERISH, FOR USE IT AS PURE DELUSION". (Capitals mine)

Some of our Nationalist friends are inclined to bemuse themselves in this way. South Africans today are less happily placed in comparison with their forbears, who could always escape into the vast interiors of South Africa, there to seek a solution of their social and economic problems according to their traditional beliefs. The present generation cannot avoid being drawn increasingly into contact with other peoples and with other ways of thought."....."The Union's racial problem is not a private domestic matter. It is a world problem in miniature.

As the world contracts politically and socially, the relations between non-Europeans are being readjusted all over Asia at this very moment. South Africa cannot be allowed to settle this problem without pressures from abroad."

(Earlier he had referred to this in fuller detail, when he said:- "This fact is vividly being demonstrated for us by the profound disturbances of the status quo in the Indian Ocean. The creation of two independent Indian Dominions, the promise of self-government to Burma, the fighting in Indonesia, and the rumblings nearer home in Madagascar, indicate not a mere stirring of the Asiatic peoples, but their imminent eruption")

If his premises are correct, and they seem unassailable, his conclusion of interest to our study, follows logically, when he says:

"SOUTH AFRICA WILL PRESUMABLY REMAIN WITH THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH. I MAINTAIN THAT IT COULD NEVER PURSUE AN INDEPENDENT COURSE OUTSIDE ANY OF THE THREE GREAT UNIONS OF TODAY. TO ATTEMPT IT WOULD BE TO PLACE A BURDEN ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN TAX-PAYER, EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN, WHICH WOULD SHATTER THE COUNTRY'S SOCIAL FRAMEWORK." (Capitals mine)

He then points out that "The pressure of American and Soviet influences is likely to become so great on the Commonwealth, that it will be threatened with disintegration unless steps are taken to safeguard its unity by establishing closer links between its members", and - worth pondering - that "SOUTH AFRICA WILL NEVER

OBTAIN AS MUCH POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OUTSIDE THE COMMONWEALTH, AS SHE HAS GAINED WITHIN IT". (Capitals mine

And finally, to select a concluding and equally trenchant comment from this thought provoking article:-

> "At present the Union is one of the member-states which is quite definitely sabotaging U.N.O. which she joined voluntarily. The reason is to be found in the extreme sensitiveness of the privileged European minority in the country, over the problem of race relations. South Africa cannot expect world opinion as expressed in the Assembly debates of U.N.O. to adjust itself to meet the wishes of her two million Europeans".

My indebtedness to Wynn Rees is revealed by the free use I have made of his analysis. Narrowing it down to my terms of reference he has made it crystal clear that the republican aspirations of the National Party are most unlikely to be realised, but that if they were, the non-Europeans as well as the Europeans would not only be greatly endangered, but would probably see the social framework of their joint country torn asunder. If this could but carry some measure of conviction, bi-lingualism as the criterion of racial co-operation, and segregation and other forms of internal 'race' domination, would fall into truer perspective.

The section of the party pamphlet dealing with "Economic Co-operation" deals inadequately, but frankly, with the evils of capitalism and communism, but includes in its preamble an unhappy phrase, for it says:-

> "In the economic sphere, the Party wishes to bind together all sections and classes <u>having the right to exist</u>, in a feeling of security and a spirit of mutual trust and joint national responsibility". (underlining mine)

It attempts no definition of those sections or classes which possess no right to exist, but continues:-

> "It therefore aims at the creation of such economic conditions that a decent means of livelihood shall be secured to every section and that everyone, but especially those sections that are economically the weaker, shall be protected against any form of exploitation".

If this only included the poor Blacks as well as the poor Whites, it would lend meaning to the term "Economic Co-operation", but.... one wonders.

The succeeding section which deals with "Education", deserves full quotation. It reads :-

> "The Party regards it as the duty of the State to supervise education and to make such provision that every child, according to opportunity and talent, receive instruction based on sound educational and national principles.
>
> It also urges that in the carrying out of that duty, due regard shall be had, not only to the Christian and National foundation of the State, but also to the right of the parent to determine in what direction or spirit such education shall be imparted as far as the formation of the moral and religious character of the child is concerned."

The qualification "according to opportunity", affords a loophole for the state to neglect African education, should it so desire, or at all events to determine its range, nature, and upper limits. If this suspicion be unjustified, then the Party would appear to have pledged itself to provide sound universal education regardless of 'race'.

The basis of "national principles" is somewhat nebulous, but may chiefly mean the inculcation of loyalty to the republic and to its inherent "white" civilization. Whatever the interpretation, the application of this clause to the African would clearly influence the convergence of cultures. Incidentally the provisions of the latter part of the paragraph concerning parental rights in relation to the education imparted, are wholly admirable, and if applied regardless of 'race', would profoundly affect the most important element of culture-change.

Section XIII defines party policy in relation to "Labour", its third objective reading:-

> "The effective protection of the civilized worker in general against being ousted by uncivilized labour forces, and in particular that of the European worker against being ousted from the sphere of work to which he is entitled because of his position and the standard of living expected from him."

The whole of this should, perhaps, be in red capitals, for without regard to qualifications, experience, or competence, it awards to the European worker an occupational title deed, an assured standard of living, and in addition state protection against any claim, however deserving, from a non-European, to either.

And yet in the opening clause of this statement of principles, "The Party acknowledges the Supreme authority and guidance of God...

and seeks the development of our national life by national means which are also Christian".

The second half of the same document summarises a more exhaustive report on "The Social and Economic Policy of the National Party". A perusal of this statement shows that the Party would assume control (occasionally called supervision) of the activities of separate economic groups, through a Central Economic Council and "regulatory boards", to ensure that development took place "along pre-determined paths"; it would establish "a separate administrative department of agrarian sociology"; having wisely encouraged private enterprise it would introduce "progressive central supervision"; in key industries it would "have the direction and supervision", and decide upon the distribution of profits; it would "exercise control over the development of our industries ... by means of a Central Licensing Board"; it would establish a department of foreign trade; exercise "a direct or indirect control over shipping" and "where necessary, capital must be made available for acquiring or building ships for transoceanic trade", whilst "Coastal shipping must be a State enterprise".

A central Banking Council would be established; only Union nationals would be approved as Directors of banks; a Government Labour Council would determine wages and labour conditions, as also the flow of labour to the various industries; an end would be put to collective bargaining, the present function of which would be taken over by the State; the State would moreover control the personnel and activities of trades unions, and finally a Social Welfare Council would be appointed.

The last, but not the most momentous of the clauses in this revealing document, lays down that the State would control the price of medicines. Why it does not list all the other articles that would be controlled is not clear. What is only too clear is the family likeness between all this and fascism, especially when

one remembers the emphasis given throughout to the doctrine of the master race, the herrenvolk.

It is because of this that these instances have been cited, for in the measure that such an inference is true, it follows that there would be commensurate state control of its valuable, albeit unenfranchised subjects. Moreover apart from African aspirations, no totalitarian regime could brook tribal opposition, or development along their own lines, for this could depreciate the commodity value of black labour, which could be diverted as it left the reserve with return tickets into three main streams, one to the farms, one to industry, and one to domestic service.

There is so much that is attractive in the party programme, if one could but believe that the principles enunciated were of general applicability. Instances of this are the following:-

(a) The nation is regarded as a moral and economic unit.
(b) Human values and needs supremely outweigh mere financial considerations.
(c) The state is responsible for assuring minimum requirements of decent living for all.
(d) It is accordingly responsible for developing natural resources and secondary industries, and for the more equitable distribution of goods.
(e) It recognises private ownership and private initiative.
(f) In state-controlled key-industries it will ensure the division of profits among the workers, as well as among shareholders and owners.

If applied to all ethnic groups within the Union, the above principles, although by no means perfect or complete, would transform the whole of our society. That there is little intention of so applying them may be judged from the following supplementary statements:-

Speaking of the non-Europeans as "an Economic Factor", one reads on page 10 (II (e)) :- "In their own interests, and with a view to promoting harmonious co-operation with the European section, such advancement must only take place after due consideration of the essential social division obtaining between the races".

Thus the dominant 'race' determines the social division, and these then determine the degree of the advance or social well-being permitted to the subject 'race'.

The State is to keep in view among other economic considerations ..."the protection of the interests of both the entrepreneur

> and the worker; the assurance to each of the two established European groups of its legitimate share in our industries, and the application of an equitable quota system and segregation policy in the provision of employment for both Europeans and non-Europeans".

If this means anything, it means basing European security upon the insecurity of the non-European.

It is also affirmed that:-

> "non-European traders will be limited to predominantly non-European areas. In such areas suitable non-European applicants will receive special consideration".

This may be aimed chiefly at the Asiatic, but one may be forgiven the assumption that it would lead to the dispossession of more non-Europeans than of Europeans.

After having stated that 'Every available labourer, irrespective of colour must be assured of a proper standard of living' (p.19) the separate clause which follows seems a little redundant, and possibly gratuitous:- "The position of the European section and its civilized standards must be protected and maintained".

Of interest too is the next clause (p.20) which excludes minimum wages in agriculture, (where the African need is so acute), and in connection with their introduction in trade and industry, makes it only too clear that, relatively, the African is not to benefit more than can be helped, the relevant passage reading:-

> "In doing this account must be taken of the responsible and leading position of the European section, in addition to the difference in standards of living between the respective groups of non-Europeans".

This suggests testing the applicant by a decorator's colour key, equating his responsibility and standard of living correspondingly and then converting this by a state formula into pounds, shillings and pence, which, according to the rest of the pamphlet, seems fair enough.

There are various ways of summing this up in terms of our thesis, and it is no easy matter to predict with any confidence what cultural results would follow. Briefly I imagine these would include the growth of sullen resentment, of 'racial' conflict, of human distress, and, very naturally, of communism.

Included within a symposium on "Native" policy, at the request of the Cape Times, appeared an article by Mr. Paul Sauer, M.P. on April 30, 1947, the title being "Nationalism and the non-Europeans", its purpose being to deny that the colour policy of the Party is one of repression. Because of this, as well as because of the fact that its writer is the Chief Whip of the Nationalist Party and a member of its Head Executive, it seemed well to pay attention to his point of view, or to his interpretation of that of his party.

He writes:-

> "The colour policy of the National Party is very definitely not a policy of repression as is so often erroneously stated. On the contrary the National Party has very definite proposals for the uplift and advancement of the non-European sections of the community.
>
> What, however, it stands for, and for this it stands very definitely indeed, is that the civilization, culture, and way of life and government of our country shall not be swamped by races who have often only very partly or superficially acquired our form of civilisation".

We have already seen that "our" form of civilization is not ours, and would merely add at this point that the surest way of preventing it from being swamped by those who do not yet share it, is to enable them with as little delay as possible to do so.

We have endeavoured to show, also that it cannot be withheld from a contiguous majority, and if, in spite of decisive evidence that segregation is beyond the realms of possibility, Mr. Sauer's answer really is that "the civilization, culture, and way of life and government of our country" would not impinge upon the African, did we but introduce segregation, one should remember that every point in a boundary between two countries or two peoples, is a point of contact. Apart from this we already have mass penetration into our economic life to a degree which strips segregation of any claim to reality.

In the Star, Johannesburg, dated August 2, 1947, were given some interesting preliminary figures just released, which emerge from the 1946 Census. An analysis of the data given shows that in the 22 principal urban centres of the Union, there were resident over a quarter of a million more Africans than Europeans,

and, in all, more than two millions, the respective totals being 2,067,370 and 1,806,795. That this was not solely due to the mines may be judged from the fact that at 12 out of the 22 centres, the Africans exceeded the Europeans. It should be remembered also that there are many more urban centres than those listed, which must correspondingly increase the total number of urban Natives. Since so obviously this is case justifying reference to statistics, the details are reproduced:-

Census Returns of European and Native Population in 22 of the Principal Urban Centres, 1936.

Town.	Europeans.	Natives.
Johannesburg	332,026	382,309
Capetown	20,398	34,408
Pretoria	130,810	102,115
Durban	130,143	116,677
Port Elizabeth	65,271	47,056
Germiston	52,609	74,202
East London	40,118	32,518
Bloemfontein	32,262	42,475
Maritzburg	27,751	20,825
Brakpan	27,368	55,433
Springs	25,325	7[illegible],290
Benoni	24,366	46,010
Krugersdorp	23,544	46,149
Roodepoort	23,069	47,545
Boksburg	20,527	30,948
Kimberley	19067	24,974
Potchefstroom	13,750	12,[illegible]67
Vereeniging	11,742	27,688
Paarl	11,184	2,628
Uitenhage	11,090	9,980
Randfontein	10,541	21,255
Witwatersrand	547,836	816,818
	1,806,795.	2,067,370.

The second column does not include any other non-Europeans, and if to its impressive total one adds the number in all the other urban centres, the number living on European farms, and more than half a million attending school, the inviolability of indigenous culture appears to have been tampered with.

Having made clear, however, that the National Party stands "very definitely indeed" for maintaining by political safeguards any encroachment upon the European way of life, by those who

value it sufficiently to wish to share it, Mr. Bauer adds:-

> "Along with this we accept the fact that there is a fundamental difference between persons belonging to different colour groups"....."It is a fact and must be accepted, and one's approach to the problem must be based on this assumption".

It hardly follows that by saying it twice Bauer proves the validity of a fundamental-difference concept, so repeatedly proved wrong in the sweep of history, and so entirely discredited by modern scholars. That he proclaims that the policy of his party is based on this assumption is significant. That it is held with religious fervour by so many is also significant - but not of an established truth obtained to direct policy.

Nevertheless he offers a simple solution.

> "Furthermore, there is growing friction between the races based on a feeling of frustration of the one hand, and the fear of being swamped on the other.
> Eliminate the latter and the Europeans will be found willing to assist the backward races in their development".

This I believe to be a genuine conviction, sincerely held by a great number of nationalists, who follow it as though it were the Holy Grail. And yet, to those holding a different point of view, it resolves itself into the counsel that the European fear must be removed, as a pre-requisite to the granting of any assistance to the backward 'race' in their development, since only then will he concern himself with the deeper sense of frustration experienced by non-European.

Here then is the basis of the National Party's approach to the colour problem:- firstly the assurance of the continuity of the European civilization and way of life, secondly the acceptance of differentiation on the grounds of colour, and thirdly the first two having been admitted, the necessary help to the non-Europeans to develop along their own lines. In other words, if we grant his premises, which are inadmissible, help will be given towards the attainment by the African of the unattainable.

The plea continues:-

> "Let us first deal with the Coloured population. The National Party accepts them as a race" (which they are

> not), "that is neither Native nor European, but intermediate, and they must be treated as such. They have gone much further than the Native in their development; they have culturally, economically geographically thrown in their lot with the European section of the population, and gravitated away from the Native. They even require protection against native infiltration, and we are willing to help them to obtain it".

In plain English this seems to mean that the members of the Coloured community have progressed by assimilating white culture, and therefore are to be protected against similar assimilation by the African, for the latter must not be allowed to make progress in the same way. 'Culturally, economically and geographically", cover most of the directions of convergence which on no account the African must be allowed to follow. In the case of the Coloured population this was apparently a creditable trend to follow, but in the case of the Native it would, for some undisclosed reason, be discreditable.

Because of this subtle difference, due to the purifying influence upon culture of the admixture of white blood, Bauer on behalf of his party, is more generously disposed towards the Coloured community:-

> "We are willing to go much further in helping their advancement. We are in favour of a state department of "Coloured Affairs", to deal specifically with their interests, such as social services, better and sufficient medical services, hospitalisation, and most important, more suitable institutions for technical education and training, and certainly a thoroughly equipped institution for higher education, of a university standard, for themselves".
>
> "On the other hand we stand for separateness on social, industrial and political grounds"...."We propose, therefore, that the Coloured voters be put on separate lists, with separate constituencies and the power of sending a fixed number of members to represent them in Parliament, while those members representing the European constituencies will represent solely European voters".

Then, having said that the Natives are in a different category, he explains... 'the native is for the greater part anchored to his own land, racially, culturally and historically", to which he adds what has been quoted earlier in this study, namely that any sound Native policy must take cognisance of the ethnic difference between the tribal groups.

There is nothing new in this, but it reveals the driving force of logic, in consequence of which, since culture is determined by colour, different departments of State must be brought into being to ensure that social services, comparably distinct, are suitably and separately dispensed. So far as the under-privileged groups are concerned, this would almost seem an argument in favour of miscegenation, although naturally the nationalists prefer to use the other end of the telescope.

Then follows the all too familiar refrain:-

> "The National Party is in favour of the development of the Native, but this development must take place step by step and along natural lines, and above all it must take place on the foundation of his national character, culture and background. Uncontrolled or forced development will only lead to chaos. WE MUST CONTROL THE RATE AND DIRECT THE FLOW, RATHER THAN ATTEMPT TO STEM THE TIDE". We must help them to adapt their own culture to the needs of civilisation and in so doing help them to contribute their own special and peculiar share to the culture of South Africa"..... (Capitals mine)

The last sentence comes near to endorsing our hypothesis:- "We must help them to adapt their own culture to the needs of civilisation", but it may bear some hidden meaning contrary to it. Can it really mean that the National Party would approve of the tendency for African culture to be modified so that these millions can fit the better into the framework of 20th Century civilization? Can it really be that they admit that the African may be assisted to contribute to South African culture? If so, then in spite of the Gilbertian character of segregation as the political system intended to ensure the free flow of labour which must be kept in its place, his cultural future under a National Party Government would appear to be no more static than it is at present. Even though to many members of the Party, the Union is the centre of the solar system, the African may yet revolve with it.

In the quotation last made, it is admitted that, to change the metaphor, nothing can stem the tide of his development, an admission of considerable importance for our study. If this means, however, that we are confronted by an irresistible force,

it becomes correspondingly difficult to control its rate and direct its flow, although one appreciates the reasonableness of conception. In somewhat the same way, the waters from the Victoria Nile find their way from the Equator, through thousands of miles of arid opposition, to make productive the delta which the river has won from the desert. Because of the irrigation canals in Lower Egypt, some of the cultivators may think that they have directed the whole course of the Nile.

In the case of our advancing human tide, with which later chapters will deal, its onrush cannot be prevented by resolutions passed in party caucus; its passage may for a time be impeded or even deflected, but it will gain the sea. Its present enriching importance to South Africa is enormous, and this will grow immeasurably, or else its unwanted force will spread havoc untold throughout the land.

In speaking of "separateness", presumably "apartheid", which has not yet been clearly distinguished from "segregation", Sauer continues:-

> "It is the only path along which racial conflict can be avoided. The Native areas must be treated as his true home. There must be situated his important schools and churches, his industrial development, and there too, must he learn to become self-sufficient and eventually develop self-government. Finally it must become the centre of his national aspirations and ideals.
>
> In the European areas he must be considered a temporary worker away from his national home. Here he must not demand the social, political and other equalities which are to be his rights in his own areas. This is the European part of the country where European predominance must be maintained".

On the surface this seems reasonable enough, but it is on the surface that so much political thinking on 'race' issues takes not place. This passage might almost be the verbatim reproduction of an election speech by Sir Godfrey Huggins in Southern Rhodesia a few years ago, for he was helped to power by the 'Two Pyramid Policy", or as it was described in Mr. N.H. Wilson's pamphlet published for the Reform Party at the time, "A comprehensive Policy of Differential Development on a Territorial Basis (one form of Segregation)". In the brief accompanying explanation one reads of

"a White pyramid in the White Area, and a Black pyramid in the Black area; with each race having prior consideration in respect of the pyramid of its own area". One also reads that When Mr.G.M Huggins, M.L.A. then a member of the Rhodesian Party, moved a resolution in favour of such a policy... Mr. Moffat, then Premier and leader of the Rhodesian Party, rejected it on behalf of the Government". That was in 1931.

On the same political climate Huggins spoke of the town as the white man's kraal, which the black man could enter on sufferance, as it were, to serve the need of the white man, before returning, presumably to climb his own pyramid. The phrase "the white man's kraal" obtained much publicity, and being a happy figure of speech, frequently led to the mistaken acceptance of unjustifiable implications. Within the last few months the Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister has gained a hearing for a very different conception, namely that the African urban dweller has come to stay, and, being stabilized, must be accorded equitable treatment and be suitably provided for, a point of view since re-echoed by certain Union political leaders, long advocated by the more liberal followers of native affairs, and for many years implemented in the Southern Congo (Katanga), and elsewhere.

Reverting to Sauer's article in relation to the last quotation, I suggested that it seemed reasonable enough on the surface and then by looking north from Pumansdorp to Salisbury, one found that the doctrine had been largely common to both, as in 'racial' matters so many are, but that with youthful vigour, not yet impaired by deeply rooted prejudices, the country whose secondary industries have barely entered their teens, and which looks the growing congestion of Africans in urban centres, productive of so many problems in South Africa, had nevertheless admitted the right of Africans between the Limpopo and the Zambesi to dwell more

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/ Mr. Sauer being Member of Parliament for Pumansdorp.

fittingly in towns, not as interlopers but as men.

As for the statement that it must be in the Native areas that his important schools and churches should be built, one knows that this has naturally occurred to those who have built them just there, but when our Census returns show us that over two million Africans live in 22 urban centres alone, is there not urgency behind the need to build important schools and churches there also? Political blinkers will avail us little, should we attempt to disregard the obvious in so vital and compelling an issue.

There is more tranquility in the prospect of Africans going quietly to school and church in their own rural areas, and a reasonable assumption that they experience greater serenity in practice. Two things are certain, however, firstly that wherever they have their being, they need infinitely more than bread and circuses, and secondly that if the delusion regarding "separateness" could give place to its practicability, the "important schools and churches", even could they be made more inoffensive by being placed a hundred miles from the nearest European, would continue the convergence of culture at its most vulnerable and dynamic points - education and Christianity

It cannot be claimed that the political leaders have spoken with clarity or unanimity when trying to explain the connotation of "apartheid", which appears to be nothing but segregation dressed in a party frock.

On July 11, 1947 at a Jeugbond congress in Bloemfontein, Mr. Strydom, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal, in speaking to the doctrine, apparently said, according to his own paper, "Die Transvaler", that South Africa must be divided into White and Black areas, and that the Native would only "be allowed to come to European areas as a temporary worker. His wife and children must remain behind". ϕ. On July 19, according to its

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ϕ The Forum August 30, 1947.

issue just quoted, The Forum asked two specific questions, referred to again on August 30 in these terms:-

> "Since, we said, Mr. Strydom maintained that a 'blood bath' would follow if urbanised Natives were given the opportunities of development, and since the 'only way out' was a policy of 'division and separation', were Mr. Strydom and his party going to move every Native family out of 'White South Africa' and put them in their 'own areas'? Was the Party prepared to tell South Africa frankly what the economic consequences of such a shift of population, involving probably 4,000,000 or more people, was likely to be?
>
> The second question we asked was this:- 'here is the ground to be found for the millions who can obviously not be accommodated in the existing already overcrowded Reserves? And, we added, if 'White South Africa' is not prepared, to give up ground voluntarily, is the Nationalist Party prepared to expropriate? (These two questions.. become urgently apposite in view of the attitude adopted last week by the farmers of Helpmekaar to the selling of more ground to the Native Trust)"

According to 'The Forum' the questions still await an answer. Nevertheless Mr. Strydom's sinister reference to the blood which would flow if urban Natives were allowed to develop, may have evoked momories of an earlier blood-bath which the growing generation is never allowed to forget. Thus 'Die Burger' recently wrote:-

> "A victory for Mr. Hofmeyr's party at the general election will be a more serious blow to the future of White civilisation in our country than a defeat at Blood River would have been .... If the Smuts-Hofmeyr party win, South Africa will jeopardise the heritage which was bought and made holy with fire and blood at Blood River" ∮

It is not inevitable that provocative statements such as the last two, instead of contributing in some magic way to national unity

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∮ The Forum 16 August 1947.

through the pursuit of unattainable separatism, must perpetuate 'race' conflict by embittering human relations? If so, they too lead to change of culture, certainly a change for the worse.

Before completing our consideration of the policy of the National Party, and its effects, actual and potential, upon culture contact, I would quote from more responsible Nationalist opinion, and also from a leader in the Johannesburg 'Star', which paper, I consider, may with justice be regarded as one of the leading dailies in South Africa, with a fitting sense of the grave responsibility of the press in inter-'racial' matters.

Professor Van Eeden and Mr. N.J. Olivier of the Department of Bantu Studies, Stellenbosch University, contributed a serious non-provocative article for the Cape Times of April 6,1947, which carried the heading "Two Experts declare Segregation to be only Solution". It is not possible to reproduce the article verbatim, because of which one will fail to deal fully with its argument, but, for the purpose of this study, this can hardly be avoided.[1]

The joint authors admit that to apply the policy of segregation would involve great difficulties; they readily concede that one sine-qua-non is the provision of adequate land, and that, to be consistent, Europeans must manage without cheap Native labour concessions of real magnitude.

Moreover they are so disturbed by the reality of the present distress, which the complacent in all parties refuse to acknowledge, that they write:-

> "Apart from the consideration of practicability, the fact remains that the inherent weaknesses, injustices and anomalies prevailing in the present state of affairs are such that the natives cannot be expected to tolerate them indefinitely. A drastic change is therefore inevitable".

Of more significance than their belief that "segregation offers the only way by which such a change can be effected justly and peacably", is their concern that such a change is imperative in the interests of justice. Of some importance, then, is their

attempted analysis, when inter alia, they write:-

"Real segregation then comprises and implies:-

(1) The provision of sufficient land to the natives. We cannot here go into the question of which areas are particularly suited to this purpose, but may mention that the Protectorates will undoubtedly have to play an important role, and in addition, that the land set aside for native occupation will have to be increased and developed considerably"....

(2) "The gradual elimination of the natives from our economic and political structure, coupled with immigration of Europeans and more effective mechanisation etc. to compensate for the withdrawal of a large native labour force".
One welcomes the honest avowal which then follows in parenthesis:-("A segregation scheme which seeks to retain the natives as part of our economic life is not only bound to be a failure, but is also wholly unfair to the natives")

(3) Financial and administrative responsibility on the part of the Europeans for the proper reclamation and development of the native areas. And here it should be stated that although the Europeans will obviously for many years have to be responsible for financial aid and administrative control, the objective should be the ultimate political and economic autonomy of the native areas".

Of these three provisions, stated in more liberal terms than in any exposition of the doctrine I have previously met, all would involve the Europeans in sacrifice of a very high order, indeed far beyond anything which so far the leader of any political party has demanded of his followers; the first rather lightly assumes that the British Government would help to relieve the shortage of land by throwing open the High Commission Territories, and the last would necessitate that throughout the segregated Native areas, the African would remain under the benevolent tutelage of the European. Incidentally the concluding paragraph, in principle, differs very little, if at all, from the policy of trusteeship enunciated by successive Secretaries of State in relation to the African populations of the various dependencies.

Of interest for our purpose, is the implication, however, that there could be no conscientious discharge of trusteeship by the European, without marked convergence of culture, and that even if the white community could pass a self-denying ordinance

to make effective the first two provisions, which is more than doubtful, this would spread the tutelage provisions, over a wider area and a greater number, Moreover one could not envisage contiguous territories in the 20th Century, with natural resources and developing human needs, but without intercommunications, exchange of products, and, inevitably the cumulative introduction into the Native areas of European culture, process which would be accelerated by every visit paid by an African to adjoining or more remote countries, for clearly Native areas could not be regarded as concentration camps.

Finally let us turn to a sub-leader in the "Star", Johannesburg, dated August 2[illegible], 1947. The relevant portion reads:-

> ..."the surprising fact of the matter is that the National Party has no colour policy worthy of the name.
>
> If segregation means putting the Natives back in the Reserves, it simply cannot be done, because the Reserves are not large enough to hold even their present population without rapid deterioration of land and people.
>
> The Nationalists would be the last to agree to the setting aside of more land; they have consistently opposed further purchases on behalf of the Native Trust.
>
> They are the least likely to spend the money that will have to be spent if the carrying capacity of Native lands is to be increased and the present exodus checked.
>
> Their programme will be searched in vain for a comprehensive scheme of reserve development which cannot be delayed if the present partial segregation is to be maintained.
>
> Mr. Strydom, the Transvaal leader, is either talking nonsense when he says real territorial segregation is possible, or he has in mind a policy of more land and more money for Native areas which he must know his own party would never accept. As the Social and Economic Planning Council puts it, 'no Reserve policy will make it possible for South Africa to evade the issues raised by the presence of the Natives in European farming and in urban areas'. It is those issues that are evaded.
>
> To say, as another section of the party does, that the answer is 'separation', is merely to utter a commonplace without providing a solution or a policy. There is separation now, but the urban Native remains the problem child of our urban civilisation. A large and growing proportion of these people are no longer merely temporary migrants from the reserves, but a permanent part of the town populations.
>
> Has Nationalism an answer to the questions their presence possesses? If it has, it might make a valuable contribution to the political thought of the country".

But alas, the Star concludes, with every reason, that to these questions the National Party does not possess the answers.

If not, it is presented with a 'fait-accompli' to which in common with others, the Party has contributed. It is accordingly confronted by an irresistible tendency, which ever gains momentum, for cultures to converge, in spite of the niceties of political argument.

Synchronously it is presented with a compelling challenge which any party desirous of office must face - that something needs to be done quickly about it, by bringing intelligence, justice and firmness of purpose, rather than self-interest and vacillation, to the service of 'race'-relations, and hence to our inseparable well-being.

.....

Labour Party. Alexander Campbell writes:-

"The South African Labour Party is a curious mixture... It earnestly believes in parliamentary democracy, but its views on the status of the non-Europeans are very close to those of the Nationalist Party.

Drawing its main from the white workers, it strenuously opposes the raising of the economic colour bar on the ground that this would mean the replacement of white labour by cheap black labour. It argues that this would inevitably happen under capitalism. But the chief plank in the party's platform is the abolition of capitalism, and the question arises how the party would behave towards the non-Europeans if capitalism were replaced by socialism..... The Party's official programme is segregation, and by this it seems to imply real segregation...a certain number of natives who had acquired the requisite skills (the party does not mention how they would acquire them), would apparently be allowed to earn 'equal pay for equal work', in industries in the European zone, but the mass of the natives would 'develop along their own lines' in territories specially set aside for them".ø

The above supplies an impressionistic summary, which in my opinion, like most impressionism, may convey the general effect upon those who do not belong to the party, whilst failing to do justice to detail. Nevertheless one must admit the difficulty of fairly assessing the full merits of the policy of a party which ranges so widely from left to right, and whose members, having been transplanted to a country where the dignity of labour usually means the dignity of the European worker, and the indignity meted out to the

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ø Op.cit. P.162.

non-European, become automatically aristocrats in a sphere where aristocracy should have no place, least of all that of keeping others in their place.

In a roneoed memorandum issued from the Head Office of the South African Labour Party, Johannesburg, bearing the title "Non-European Policy", and endorsed "As adopted by the Special Conference held on 10th November, 1946", - a memorandum which one has reason to believe, was due in no small measure to the advocacy of Mr. J.H. Sullivan, M.P. who has since left the Party, - one finds ten foolscap pages devoted to the enunciation of a more comprehensive, more constructive and more liberal policy for the non-European, than is to be found within the covers of any current political pamphlet by any other party in South Africa. That this is not an overstatement may be tested by making a cross section through twelve of its thirteen chapters, the exception being the penultimate chapter in Indian Policy.ϕ

Thus its opening paragraph reads:-

> "The general policy of the Labour Party is that of a planned economy to provide Social Security for all, irrespective of race.
>
> It is, therefore, a policy distinctively applicable to all non-European peoples and ensures for them an ordered, progressive and free life".

The fundamental human rights then demanded for all are:-

"1. Regular and guaranteed employment based on the fullest developed efficiency of every worker.

2. Free education from kindergarten to college, and then on to the university, when merit and aptitude justifies that extension.

3. Collective and family health services as a national social service.

4. Adequate nutrition to maintain maximum efficiency.

5. Housing on a family basis, at a civilised standard.

6. A guaranteed minimum personal and family income (Social

ϕ Chapter XI on "Political Policy" is also less liberal than the others in that it recommends adherence to indirect representation as the method of affording the African a political voice in Central Government.

Insurance) when the major contingencies of life (death, age, sickness, disability, widowhood, unemployment) seriously lessen or destroy earning capacity.

7. Political expression on the basis of 'Home-Rule' democracy".

It must be admitted that the effective adoption of any one of the above "rights" for the African population, would effect a social revolution, and that to adopt all seven would necessitate a political revolution.

The determination is then expressed to abolish the capitalist policy of cheap labour, coupled with which one reads that:-

> "Other civilised countries of the world have, by mechanisation and improved efficiency, achieved a position in which their agriculture, mines and industries are run with civilised labour which, in comparison with South Africa, is well paid. We are satisfied that if they are put up to it, South Africans have the intelligence, ingenuity and industry to emulate this example.
>
> Since machines are available to do most of our heavy and menial work, there is no further need to subject a class to remain 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'".

In itself, this would strongly suggest, with the disappearance of the African from unnecessary menial, unskilled labour, his steady replacement by mechanisation, supplemented by the directive labour of skilled Europeans - a suspicion not entirely removed by the charter of human rights, nor by the concluding statement of this first chapter to the effect that, not only do they wish to abolish "Poor Whiteism" but also to raise the standard of living of all sections of the community.

In the section dealing with the "Development of Native Reserves and Townships", it is stated that "instead of bringing millions of Natives out of Native areas to work for the Europeans", the Party would establish co-operative industries and communal farms there, "through the medium of regional schemes, scientifically zoned", soil conservation to receive special attention, and village and town life to be "organised on a communal and democratic basis, with particular emphasis on cultural development".

It needs very little imagination to appreciate how vital would be the consequential changes, for the "cultural development' which is to receive 'particular emphasis", would be that of the European organizers, and since the industries would be communal, and the farms co-operative, the presumption is that under benevolent trusteeship, the objective pursued by the European guardians would be to make the African self-sufficient. This is endorsed by assurances concerning the reduction of migratory labour, the introduction of attractions in rural areas, comparable with those of urban areas, the promotion of skill and efficiency, of improved wages, and of higher living standards, as well as the establishment of stabilised communities and the maintenance of the family life which the migratory system is so sadly undermining.

All this is admirable, but a note of warning is introduced, which might have been issued by either the United or by the National Party also, namely that:-

> "In this development, adequate safeguards will be made to see that as long as there is a lower standard of living in the Native areas, this will not be allowed to undercut the standard of living in European areas".

This reflects the intrusion of a fear-complex which constantly haunts the Labour Party (and others), even when in caucus or out, they must protest their liberal intentions towards the non-European. In the present context it would have seemed superfluous for the chapter deals with Native areas only, but it is significant that, although not expressed, there is real concern lest in spite of the claim to give "unqualified recognition to fundamental human rights", the upward trend in Native Reserves and townships, induced by the Party, should embarrass its European members by potential competition.

It is a little difficult to reconcile this with their consistent complaint that whilst they wish to remove the colour-bar on humanitarian grounds, others wish to do so in order to command cheap labour. Rightly or wrongly, the argument appears to be that skill should be the prerogative of the competent worker,

no matter what his 'race'; that wage rates should be uniformly correlated with skill and be laid down by the state, regardless of 'race', but that if the worker be an African, it should be remembered that his standards are lower and therefore his wants are fewer than those of the European worker, who should accordingly be protected against him, until an undefined but more comfortably distant date, our successors may be quite, quite sure, that in spite of wages with-held to prevent him from doing so, the African has in fact, rather inconsiderately achieved identical standards.

In the meantime it is realised, that if only we could make the rural conditions more attractive, this day of reckoning would be postponed, and with it the undesirable momentum which attaches to the urban migration. Hence generous provisions are proposed, and include family small-holdings, preferably on leasehold, for subsistence farming; (which although not so stated, would exclude the cultivation of cash-crops in possible competition with the European farmer, for he, too must be saved from the assegai of Damocles), the continuous improvement of the soil and of farming methods; (which again might imply that in the near future the family would be self-contained, and a little later might have surplus produce with which to trade), the granting to non-European farmers of State benefits equal to those available for Europeans; (against which the latter would certainly re-act on the principle that this would operate in favour of the Africans because of their lower standard of living), the establishment of "social and communal facilities necessary to raise the standard of life"; "the system of rural organisation, coperative production and distribution", and, on a long-term basis, "the planning of additions to the reserves by the expropriation of adjacent land", after making due allowance for the improvement in soil and in social conditions, as well as for urban migrations.

These suggestions call for sincere appreciation rather than criticism, whilst merely to record them is sufficient to impress

one with the steady convergence of culture they would inevitably entail. But to complete them one should quote the following:-

> "The replacement of locations in urban areas, by properly planned townships controlled democratically by its own inhabitants. This would tend to remove the harsher aspects of our present social separation policy. These townships should be provided with the facilities and amenities necessary to raise the standard of family life. Out of such progressive African communities would come a people more stable, and more efficient, and more beneficially organised and trained".

It must be admitted that, if given effect, and if accompanied by wise administration, this courageous proposal, would go a very long way towards the amelioration of the present conditions which breed disease, lower morale, depress the standard of living, promote 'race' conflict, and point the way to anarchy. Concurrently, by integrating increasing numbers of Africans into the urban system, where they would have a respected and a self-respecting place, they would irresistibly assimilate more and more of our culture, both from the nature of life within their own townships, and from the nature of life in the industrial centres or towns with which these were associated.

The last proposal is augmented, with a little redundancy, which serves to emphasise the argument, in a chapter headed "Urban Natives - Housing and Home Life". Its chief points are that each worker should have a home of such a type, that in it he would be enabled to bring up his family in decency and comfort; that rents should be related to earning capacity; that for those compelled to live at a distance from their work there must be passenger vehicles charging nominal fares; and that Government should "make it obligatory on all large employers, (Railways, Municipalities, large industries etc.) to provide housing accommodation for their workers." The accompanying suggestion that to assist employers to house their workers fittingly, Government should lend them money "at a rate of interest slightly above that granted to local authorities under economic housing loans", clearly indicates that the intention is to provide sub-economic houses for Africans,

who are the lowest salaried workers. Although involving no other difficulty than acceptance by Government, and thereafter the voting of appropriate sums which the State could well afford as an insurance premium, if for no higher motive, the introduction of legislation to cover this obligation and its related finance, would without question remove at a stroke a major cause of squalor and of attendant misery and unrest.

Stating that there is an immediate need for 130,000 houses in urban centres (surely an under-estimate), the document advocates the establishment of a State Housing Construction Corporation, under the Housing Commission, to plan schemes and periodically to set up targets on a national plan; the vesting of power in the Corporation to expropriate land for the purpose; the training of non-European artisans, and the provision of "social, recreational and cultural facilities on up-to-date lines".

Every line in this liberally conceived chapter pre-supposes cultural convergence to a very marked degree, and with as little delay as possible.

In view of the controversy aroused by the recent endeavour to train African artisans, to which later reference will be more fully made, it seems well to reproduce verbatim the relevant clause, which reads:-

> "That Government arrange for the proper training of non-European building artisans, in the same way as Europeans are trained, provided that, when they are fully qualified, they shall receive the full rate of pay for the job as paid to all other skilled building artisans."

Earlier in this chapter we have referred to the fear-complex which constantly haunts the Labour Party, (and others), regarding potential competition from the trained African. This confronts them repeatedly with the dilemma that on democratic grounds they cannot oppose his training, but that as soon as the first trainees are about to emerge with the requisite qualifications, it becomes necessary for the Party to make clear that, of course, the white worker must be protected. Hence the above excerpt should be viewed against the wider background, in which event the dilemma referred to would cancel to a large extent the

face value of the recommendation made by the White workers for the training of the Black. This is abundantly borne out by the obstruction so aggressively and so effectively introduced, by the European Trade Unions in the early part of 1947, against the C.O.T.T. scheme for the training of Native artisans. This scheme was originally introduced to enable African ex-volunteers to be trained as bricklayers, plasterers, carpenters and painters, who would then participate in the effort being made to cope with the post-war building programme, which was admittedly beyond the capacity of the European tradesmen.

Almost immediately after the first Africans were enrolled for training at Milner Park on November 11, 1946, there was a week's postponement while Government representatives met the building unions on this issue. On December 4, 1946, the "Star", Johannesburg, reported that:-

> "The C.O.T.T. instructors at Milner Park stopped training the first batch of 50 natives today. 'Each of them has received an ultimatum from his union saying that natives must not be trained' said an official of the Technical Training Scheme ... 'and in the light of this, we have temporarily withdrawn the instructors from this duty'..... "The Unions have opposed the training of natives from the moment the idea was broached and have accused the Government of assuming dictatorial powers"..... "The withdrawal of the instructors from the training of natives was known to be one of the unions' counters to the scheme".

A leader in the same paper, dated February 17, 1947, said inter alia:-

> "South Africa is not the only country in which sections of organised labour frequently attempt to hold the community up to ransom. But there can be few countries where organised labour tries to maintain its privileges by penalising other workers. Yet that would seem to be the meaning of the building unions' refusal to agree to the training of natives"..... "The unions are reported to have declared themselves 'totally opposed' to any scheme for training native ex-volunteers as building workers"..... "Fortunately the Government has already proclaimed its policy and may be trusted to stand by it.
>
> Let there be no mistake about the issues involved. Unless natives are inspanned and trained, the grave native housing shortage will not be overcome within the lifetime of the present generation. But there is a greater principle at stake. The world is watching South Africa. The white artisans' objection to native trainees seems to be based solely on racial and colour discrimination".

Then followed further obstruction; the unions were requested to submit written suggestions for safeguarding the European artisans

against African competition; time limits expired without the receipt of suggestions; their delegates walked out of more than one conference, and this intransigeant attitude was even extended to opposition against the immigration of European artisans from overseas. That this has been dealt with rather fully, and will be referred to again, is because of its bearing upon the bona-fides of a party which poses as being the keenest advocate of the provision of educational facilities, including trade training for all, regardless of colour or 'race'.

It was exactly the same point of view which led six trade unions to leave the South African Trades and Labour Congress at Port Elizabeth, in April 1947, (which will receive consideration in a later chapter). And it was this which, nearly 20 years ago in Southern Rhodesia, sabotaged a much smaller scheme introduced by the writer, whereby mobile squads of African artisans under a European superintendent, were to erect buildings for Africans, in their areas, and out of money contributed by them.

To return to our political manifesto, one would merely add at this stage, that if the Labour Party came to power in South Africa, which need not for a considerable time be considered as a probability, and if, which is even more improbable, they were willing to implement their own proposals, it must be conceded that the training and paying of minimum wage rates to African artisans to which principle they committed themselves in November, 1946, would speed the Natives along the road they are already treading, towards our own cultural territory.

Because the action taken by the labour unions against the training of African artisans occurred but a few brief weeks after the manifesto we are studying was adopted by the Party, and because such action was diametrically opposed to the resolution already quoted to the effect that Government should ensure that they should received "proper training".... "in the same way as Europeans are trained", we are entitled to suspect the motive underlying the plea that full rates of pay should apply regardless of 'race', and if our suspicions prove justified, then we come

upon a hidden colour-bar much more sinister than that openly advocated by the National Party.

In a leader in the "Star" of June 7, 1947, dealing with the problem of equal pay for equal work, as between the sexes, it was claimed that many of the men who support this appeal "want women to receive equal pay with men in order that when bad times come, women may be driven out of the competitive labour market". This was referred to in 1934 by Professor Hutt who spoke about the tactical advantages of a hidden colour bar which could be achieved through loud insistence on its absence. He spoke also of those who saw "how women were ousted from the compositors' trade in England, through the device of welcoming them on equal terms with men", and through ostensibly humanitarian legislation for the defence of the 'weaker sex'. Applying this principle to the 'race' position vis à vis Labour in the Union, he wrote:-

> "So we find the wiser representatives of 'organized labour' in South Africa beginning to press for the application of the Industrial Conciliation Act to natives; advising white unions to admit natives on terms of equality (as they have already, in some cases, admitted coloured workers) and advocating the application of minimum wage legislation to unskilled trades.
> INCLUSION HAS BEEN RECOGNIZED AS THE BEST MEANS OF EXCLUSION.
> The less far-seeing of those who wish to stem the natives' advance are opposed to the inclusion policy; but uninstructed friends of the native welcome it". ##

This paradox may well explain much in the Labour Party manifesto, and in the various sections which have developed within the Party. State wage fixation does not provide an infallible method of making the poor rich, and, as advocated by the Labour Party in South Africa, may well contribute to the capitalist and nationalist policy of keeping the African poor and untrained. The pamphlet passes from its attack on cheap industrial labour to one on cheap farm labour, and from State responsibility for the training of the former to concurrent responsibility for training the latter. One reads:-

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Essay on "The Economic Position of the Bantu in S. Africa" in "Western Civilization of the Natives of S. Africa", edited by Schapera (Routledge) pp 233-4.

> "The Labour Party ... urges that the proper training of Native agricultural workers be the responsibility of the State: and that the Master and Servants act as applied to the farming community be repealed, and that the principle of free labour at a minimum wage, to be fixed by the Wage Board, be made applicable to the farming industry.
> The welfare of native farm labourers is bound up with the economic welfare of the small farmer whose conditions should be improved....."

Some of the comments already made regarding reforms for the urban worker, apply, mutatis mutandis. That the lot of the African farm labourer sadly needs radical and long overdue reform is unquestionable, and that in their own rural areas many more non-Europeans urgently need agricultural training is equally evident. It follows inescapably that to make these proposals effective would cause demands to be made upon a parliament largely composed of farmers, which so far, have been consistently evaded. Granted the necessary change of heart, which a continuing exodus to urban areas because of the more favourable terms might possibly induce, so enabling the necessary legislation to be promulagated, there would be further cultural changes among African farmlabour also.

Related to agriculture in the manifesto is the welcome emphasis given to the urgency of the need to combat malnutrition. Before the proposed drive for "food self-sufficiency in exclusively African areas" becomes fully operative, other measures are recommended. They include food plans for each rural area, bulk supplies, school meals, and the provision of such concentrated products as hydrolised protein, food yeast and fruit. It is reaffirmed that in the Reserves the basis should be that of a subsistence economy, with family allotments, vocational training at special schools which would also undertake experimental work, and "the creation of reserve stocks and fodder banks". To this is added the statement that "The provision of machinery on a contract basis and according to a planned programme by the State is essential".

In urban areas it is considered that special food distribution measures must be undertaken; the school feedin scheme should be extended and improved, and, until wage standards have considerably improved, nutrition services must be maintained and subsidies provided for the poorer consumers.

In giving this such prominence the Party has given a lead to all others, even though the present Minister of Health has achieved so much in so short a time, and, like Oliver Twist, will certainly ask for more. It may be wearisome to add once again, that these admirable measures, if introduced, would not permit the Native to develop along his own lines. In the circumstances, could one reasonably advocate that he should?

Chapter VI of the pamphlet bears the heading "Education and Uplift". Until comparatively recently, African education in the Union was considered something which one hardly spoke about in polite society, a kind of poor relation who could not be entirely disowned, but who should remain discreetly in the background and not claim kinship, still less demand more crumbs from the family table. Today the fashion is rather to claim that there is no British Dependency in Africa which can approximate to the Union in connection with the money spent upon African education, or with resultant achievement, a claim which, oddly enough, is largely true. This claim is soft-pedalled before elections.

Having said this, one must in fairness add that within no other party programme are there included so many comprehensive and uncompromising plans for its further development.

The preamble says:-

> "EDUCATION MUST BE FREELY AVAILABLE TO ALL SECTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY. THIS COUNTRY IS VERY SEVERELY RETARDED BY THE FACT THAT SUCH A GREAT PROPORTION OF OUR PEOPLE ARE STILL LITERATE, AND THAT THEIR CUSTOMS, OUTLOOK ON LIFE, AND ECONOMIC EFFICIENCY ARE UNSUITED TO MODERN CIVILISATION. THE REMEDY LIES IN THE PROVISION OF EDUCATION, IN ALL ITS FORMS, PARTICULARLY FOR THE AFRICANS, SO THAT THEY MAY MORE ADVANTAGEOUSLY PARTICIPATE IN THE ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE UNION". (Capitals mine)

This dynamic conception possesses untold implications for culture contact and change, which need not be elaborated.

To meet the need, it is recommended that within a 10-year-plan provision should be made for universal primary education, rural vocational training, "technical training for urban Africans preferably on the practical lines now adopted under the C.O.T.T. scheme", (in view of Labour's violent opposition to this scheme, within a few weeks of its adoption of this formula, as already described, there almost appears to be a little Socratic irony in this wording),

secondary schools with a vocational bias, additional university provision, and improved service conditions for African teachers. It is also agreed that primary education should be compulsory and free; that secondary education should be voluntary and free, and that in specially selected post-primary schools "vocational and technical training" also should be free.

Admitting that three-quarters of the "average annual quota of 40,000 (European) boys and girls who reach employable age, do not thereafter receive proper schooling or vocational education", it is urged that this unfortunate position should not be regarded as a deterrent to the development of non-European education, this being supported by an argument entirely new to the writer, in spite of 34 years of intimate association with African education. The argument runs:-

> "..the raising of the educational standard of non-Europeans is necessary to stimulate the educational and cultural development of Europeans to a much greater degree than at present".

It cannot be denied that a powerful stimulus would be provided if the European public, indifferent to their children's education, suddenly became aware, that owing to State action which had not previously been noticed, African education was leading the field, but such a possibility is likely to remain the realm of fantasy. In the meantime one readily acknowledges , that considered as a party statement, the educational charterfor non-Europeans verges on the magnaimous, and that, if followed in its entirety, it would produce a social revolution within a generation, a revolution which would hardly conform to any tribal pattern.

Acknowledging that the National Health Services Commission, had provided in their programme for the essential health services of all, the pamphlet urges that the training of Non-European doctors, nurses, dentists, midwives and health visitors should begin without delay, temporary facilities bein improvised until proper colleges and training schools are established. It advocates that within 5 years, 600 health centres should be created; that 10 fully equipped regional, and many smaller ancillary hospitals should be protided, together with school and urban clinics, and

that

> "wherever African family life on a civilised basis is the rule the services of the general practitioner should be on call to all the population. This family physician service will be part of the planned Social Insurance plan ... and will be entirely non-discriminatory in regard to race or quality of service".

This is not only further welcome recognition, that has come too slowly, that bacteria cannot be segregated but are inter-racial and non-political in their approach, but is evidence of unqualified support for a nation-wide health service which, by implication, would accord to the non-European common nationality or at all events social coherence, in an issue of incalculable consequence.

The day of the "inyanga" or tribal medicine man, has gone beyond recall, even in these days of power politics.

When dealing with "The Native in Industry", it is shown that since the turn of the century, "a complete revolution has permanently shifted the South African economy from a patriarchal to an industrialised basis". Since our prosperity appears to be so dependent on maximum industrial expansion, one reads further that:-

> "Therefore the traditional non-European labourer-helper must disappear rapidly over a wide area of South African industry. He must not, however, be permanently displaced. A place in industry must be found for him, and his shamefully low wages, must be raised as he rises into the producing labour categories. Our non-European workers must be taught productive types of work as operatives, and be prepared for more highly skilled occupations. In other countries of the Commonwealth, helper and machinest receive from 75% to 85% of skilled wage rates. That must be the policy in South Africa".

The degree of liberality in the above is potentially very great, but in the event would depend upon how soon, and in what numbers, the displaced African unskilled workers would be recruited for training as operatives, (the word suggests routine skills), and how soon and in what numbers the more competent or qualified would be recruited and trained for the "more highly skilled occupations". In brief, although this appears to be a blue-print for the upgrading of all labour, the policy of the Party, if in power, as in the case of labour governments elsewhere, might be subordinated to the control of the unions, that controlling by-laws would soon

be introduced to make skilled occupations the hereditary preserve of the European group, with resultant large-scale unemployment for the African. In either case, the latter's indigenous culture would be profoundly affected --- in the former, i.e. if the door were opened to his advancement in industry, this would concurrently open to him other doors of cultural opportunity, whilst in the latter, i.e. if in industry the doors were to remain closed, locked, and colour-barred, after the need for the labourer-helper type had disappeared, the standards of living would be so depressed that intense wide-scale suffering, distress and 'race' conflict, would be rife, and instead of any reversion to the mythical golden age of the tribal African, a displaced proletariat might well turn to the solution already prepared by communists for exactly such eventualities.

If, as suggested by the Party, helpers and machinists are to receive from 75% to 85% of skilled wage rates, it imposes no great strain on the imagination to be convinced that in South Africa, any such principle must prove highly detrimental to the non-European, and particularly to the African, in spite of any lyrical wording to the contrary.

To increase the volume of purchasing power one reads that:-

> "It is ... the policy of the Labour Party to bring greater uniformity into working conditions and wages, through legislation and by nation-wide organisation of all workers".

It is pointed out, in this connection, that the two key-industries of mining and agriculture, do not come under the industrial laws of the country, cheap labour being the result. Related to this is the statement that:-

> "The organisation of African Trade Unions is accepted in principle by the Trades and Labour Council. It is essential that statutory recognition be accorded on the same basis of autonomy as applies to the European unions; and that Industrial Councils for all organised trades be formed without delay.
>
> Though it might be desirable and probably in the interests of efficiency that at the beginning, African Unions be organised as a separate Union group, there must be the closest liaison with European Unions and the acceptance of parallel responsibilities and privileges".

Perhaps the best commentary on the lack of agreement in the ranks of Labour concerning this basic issue, is to recall that at the South African Trades and Labour Congress, held at Port Elizabeth in April, 1947, six unions left the Congress, when by a majority vote a proposed amendment to the constitution was defeated (115 against, 30 in favour). The amendment, had it been carried, would have debarred Native trade unions from affiliation.

From the Rand Daily Mail, April 10, 1947, the following brief excerpts are taken:-

> "representatives of six unions announced that they had mandates from their organisations to withdraw from the congress if the motion were defeated"..... "During the debate .... delegates against the motion mentioned the possible repercussions of such a move from an international point of view"..... "Each of the representatives of the unions who announced their withdrawal spoke in Afrikaans and in spite of an appeal from the President, Mr. A.J. Downes, and Mr. George McCormick, seconder of the motion, to remain and abide by the decision of the majority, they withdrew".... ..... "Mr. J. Palm of the Building Workers' Industrial Union, of Pretoria, said that he found it impossible for him as a white worker to work in conference under the present 'mixed conditions'..... "Mr. I. Wolfson, (tannery workers) speaking against the motion said that the council had been founded on the principle that it should organise workers irrespective of race, colour or creed. The motion was nothing but a subterfuge to perpetuate the colour bar in the trade union movement.
> (Underlining mine)

In a later chapter it will be necessary to refer again to the question of African trade unions. In the meantime it is of interest that, even though the Party agrees in its manifesto that initially they should be organized as a separate group, at the Congress quoted above the attempt at political "toenadering", as one member described the manoeuvre, was overwhelmingly defeated.

The chapter on "The Colour Bar" is largely concerned with reaffirming principles already examined. Its presence in industry is explained on the basis of cheap labour, and to the need for caution in the method of attacking this we have referred in an earlier section.

As a guiding rule, a policy of social and residential separation is urged, since:-

> 'The ethnic composition of the Union and the persistence of a traditional social pattern in our national life, will not permit of indiscriminate racial intermingling in the Union".
> and "Though a process of social evolution is very evident in South Africa, it would be unwise to anticipate it in any way".

Nothing calls for comment in this, except for our purpose the admission of "social evolution", which, I would submit, is not "along their own lines", for however discriminating socially we may continue to be, it can hardly be denied that the African belongs today to a rapidly changing society, whose mode of life is being influenced by his European contemporaries much more than by his African ancestors.

Described as the essential coping stone to the whole Labour economic structure, Social Insurance without racial discrimination is strongly urged, the plan to cover age, sickness, widowhood, orphanhood, disability, unemployment "and any other contingency which, alone, or in combination, results in a serious depletion of income, or its entire loss".

Special legislation would be necessary, but it is considered that the plan could operate without delay, although until the fund were sufficiently built up the benefits payable would be at a minimum. The present means test would be abolished so that the payment of all benefits would be a contractual right, "and not charity or poor-relief as is now the case".

Even though one's point of view may be against State control and State insurance from the cradle to the grave, and against the consequential loss of personal initiative and responsibility, it is clear that Social Insurance, as conceived by the Party, would through and through, and for good or ill, affect the African as well as the European.

The chapter headed "Political Policy" is very much more guarded than its predecessors. It offers a carefully qualified, slight advance, upon the status quo, and completely avoids anything distantly related to direct parliamentary representation, or any suggestion of its future possibility.

The advance is, that in certain areas "in accord with Local Government practice in the Union, a full measure of Home Rule should be permitted". The reservations are that the representation will be "progressive", that the franchise will be "conditioned by educational qualifications; that it will depend also upon "practical proof of the acceptance of European civilisation", and, of course, that it will be confined to councils "within their present integrated areas", or any other similar areas resulting from Labour policy. Africans domiciled and working in European areas would be offered indirect representation "from freely elected non-European townships councils to Municipal councils, in the same way as indirect representation has been given them in Parliament and in the Senate". And so far as the full franchise and representation are concerned, the Party which has made so many non-racial democratic claims, can merely add:-

> "Indirect representation, as practised today, will be the method of affording Africans a political voice in Central Government".

It therefore seems to boil down to this:- that commensurate with their assimilation of our culture, they would gradually be admitted to local autonomous government in non-European areas, but that in others, no matter how vital their African contacts, and in Parliament where 'racial' and inter-'racial' policy for the whole Union is debated and legalized, (and where judgments, not necessarily moral, are determined by majority vote), they are given no hope that they may look forward to the time, when in a country which does not agree with Mrs. Ballinger that "All Union Politics are Native Affairs", Africans may have a constitutional right to discuss in the House the laws which govern them and to support, or to give reasons why they cannot support, the delegation by Parliament of seemingly absolute authority in so many departments of their lives, to European administrative officers. To this we will return.

The last chapter "General", summarises some of the earlier statements and concludes with a decisive paragraph which reads:-

"Essential to our policy in regard to the Africans, it is recommended that immediate consideration, by the Labour Party be given to the radical revision of the following Statutes to bring them into line with the declared policy of the Party. If that is not possible they should be abolished, and substitute legislation, if desirable be prepared:-

(a) Amendment to Mines and Works (Amendment) Act, 1926 (The Colour Bar Act).
(b) The Native Urban Areas Act.
(c) The Land Acts..
(d) Amendment of the Apprenticeship Act to enable contracts of apprenticeship to be made irrespective of age, subject of course, to equivalence in other pre-requisites to apprenticeship.
(e) Amendment of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924, to obtain the deletion of th Clause which makes pass-bearing natives ineligible for Trade Union membership.

The preamble to the above is a little ambiguous in its wording, but one assumes the intention to be, that since these ordinances run counter to the party programme at so many points, amending legislation is a first consideration (if the Party should gain power?), but if this should prove too cumbersome a legal process, the Acts should be replaced by completely new legislation. If that be the interpretation, the words "if desirable", in its last line, would have no sinister implication. For the rest, one need but add, that unless amending or substitute legislation of this kind were enacted, it would be quite impossible to implement the majority of the more important recommendations analysed, but that if liberal amendments were promulgated, and if the resultant provisions were sympathetically administered, the whole inter-'racial' situation would be transformed beyond recognition.

In concluding this commentary upon the Labour Party manifesto, it may not be considered irrelevant to quote from an article by Senator Edgar Brookes, in "Trek" for July, 1947, entitled "Liberals, United Party and the Elections". Dr. Brookes wrote:-

"That part of the Labour Party which remains under the leadership of Mr. John Christie and which has associated with it some genuinely liberal thinkers, may well bid for the support of liberal-minded men and women.

The solid fact remains that it is not, and is not capable of being, an alternative government, and that any attempt to increase its membership among the European workers is fraught with the temptation to maintain the industrial colour bar in one form or another".

The first part of this quotation is consistent with the many liberal proposals in the Party pamphlet concerning which appreciation has already been expressed. The second part in conjunction with the other evidence lends support to the thought-provoking excerpt from Hayek, dealt with in Chapter VII, when discussing political philosophies, namely to his claim that:-

> ....."the impetus ..... towards totalitarianism comes mainly from the two great vested interests, organized capital and organized labour.
> Probably the greatest menace of all is the fact that the policies of these two most powerful groups point in the same direction". †

....

COMMUNIST Y. Although the Communist Party is not yet represented in Parliament, to be consistent, one must examine its doctrines to ascertain whether, if applied, they would influence the convergence of African culture towards our own.

Turning to their pamphlet "Communism for South Africa" by George Sacks, a well written and speciously worded document, well calculated to make a strong appeal to many who wish to promote social justice, in replacement of the all-too obvious social injustice which obtains in South Africa, it is of interest at the outset to study its cover. Thus inside its front page one reads:-

> "This booklet gives an account of elementary Marxist principles as applied to South African conditions. It tries to give the Communist explanation for the great poverty of many and the great wealth of the few which exist side by side in our country. It also describes the Communist solution for the problems of poverty, illiteracy, and social insecurity".

Since the vast majority know poverty but desire wealth, many will naturally wish to learn of the proffered solution. It appears inside the back of thecover:-

> "The Communist Party of South Africa is the political party of the working class. Its aims are:-
>
> (1) To organise the workers as a class to establish working class rule and a Socialist Republic.
>
> (11) To prepare the way for a Socialist Republic and to defend and promote the interests of the workers and oppressed nationalities by organising and leading them in political and industrial struggle for:-

† Op. Cit. p 144

(a) The abolition of imperialism and the establishment of an independent republic of the people;
(b) The extension to all adults, regardless of race, colour or sex, of the right to vote for and be elected to parliamentary, provincial, municipal and other representative institutions;
(c) The removal of all political, social, economic, and cultural colour bars that hold up the progress and development of any national group and divide the working class;
(d) the raising of wages, redistribution of land and improvement of social living conditions for all persons".

So far as the change of culture is concerned, need it be pointed out that this programme of objectives is not merely dynamic, but that it is dynamite? So much so that to develop the argument from the above would be an act of supererogation.

The following excerpts from the pamphlet may be left to explain why:-

"The Communists do not invent the class struggle. They see all recorded human history as the history of the class struggle. They recognise this and base their political theory on it. The class struggle in capitalist society centres round the clash between employers and employed". (Page 20).

"Ever since the formation of the first trade unions in Britain, workers all over the world have had to organise themselves to improve their rates of pay and their working conditions. But sooner or later trade unionists find that ..... they have to look for political power". (P. 21).
... "Sooner or later the workers' organisations have to seek political power. The stronger they are, the more united they are, the sooner will they achieve the ruling position in the State for their class". (P.26)

.... "the State .... is not something in the clouds. It is very much a practical method of keeping things as they are. It helps the ruling class to maintain its vested interests and its control over other classes" (P.23)
..... "With the abolition of classes comes the abolition of the State as an instrument of control over other classes". (P. 31).

"In the Socialist State the mines, the factories and fields, are owned by the community. And because there is this central control it is possible to plan that the output of these mines, factories and fields will be distributed according to the needs of the people". (P.26)

"The needs of a community cannot be achieved until the resources of the country are under central control. In a Socialist State a plan is prepared for a few years ahead..... so many schools will be needed, so many hospitals, so many shoes, so many blankets ..... This may sound very difficult to do. It may appear that to claim for such a system that it abolishes poverty, ignorance, racial conflict and war, is extravagant..... We can point to a living example of the theory and practice of socialism. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (The U.S.S.R.) is the world's first Socialist State. (P.27)

"Industrialization in the U.S.S.R. was accompanied by a seven-hour day, holidays with pay, free medical services, equal pay for women, to the university and technical college standards, sanatoria and holiday resorts for workers, AND NO UNEMPLOYMENT. (P. 28)

..... "some Soviet officials made mistakes. They tried to convert the individual peasant to large-scale collective farming too rapidly. The peasants alarmed, slaughtered their cattle rather than put them in a common pool. They refused to harvest their grain. Round about 1932 severe famine threatened the country. Disaster was only averted by a swift change of policy. Two or three years later the policy of collectivisation was successfully achieved".(P.29)

"MANY THINGS WHICH WERE MYSTERIOUS A FEW YEARS AGO ABOUT SOVIET POLICY CAN BE SEEN IN THE CLEARER LIGHT OF TODAY. THE MOSCOW TRIALS, THE 'PURGES' OF GENERALS, WHICH SHOCKED THE WORLD IN 1936 AND 1937, WERE METHODS OF RIDDING THE COUNTRY OF FIFTH COLUMNISTS".

"Socialism is the system in which the means of production are still owned in common..... Control of the State is in the hands of the working class. Communism is a further stage..... each citizen is now able to get as much out of the common pool as he needs." (P. 31)

After saying that "the workers and peasants must have their voice", and that "Political parties are the voices of classes", the pamphlet adds:- "SUCH A PARTY IS THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH A PARTY LED THE RUSSIAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS TO VICTORY OVER RUSSIAN CAPITALISM". (P. 35)

"The Communist Party of South Africa is a political party dedicated to the cause of freeing the workers and peasants of the country from the capitalist system and taking control of the means of production in the interests of the whole community". (P. 35)

"... although they (the Communists) are opposed to violence, Communists warn that violence will be used against working class movements". (P. 35) (Capitals mine)

If the above extracts from a current Communist Party pamphlet published in Cape Town, be taken to apply to South Africa, as its title specifically suggests, no exposition is needed to explain how dangerously volatile such teaching must be to the disaffected non-Europeans, nor how disruptive of African culture.

If the Communists see "all recorded history as the history of the class struggle", presumably they must see tribal history in the same light, so that the ruthless destruction of the system it had evolved, concurrently with our own, would be a cause for class rejoicing, pending the emergence of a non-rejoicing class-less society.

Should the last sentence appear to resemble an epigram more than a verified statement, one would re-affirm what has previously been acknowledged regarding the sincere desire of many members

of the party to remedy social and economic injustice in spite of the opprobrium of the society they wish to reform. In the earlier context thus recalled, full treatment was accorded to the probable influence upon the African of Marxist philosophy. Here one would confine further comment, therefore, to what one considers to be the most insiduous and malignant aspect of that influence.

At the foot of page 35 in the pamphlet quoted, appears in heavy type a statement regarding the awareness of communists that they must convince the majority of the people of the necessity for change, to which is added:- "That is why they constantly fight for unity among all workers and organisations who long for a new world of human brotherhood". One's final comment would therefore be, that the conception of brotherhood is dependent upon a belief in common Fatherhood, a conception violently opposed by communists wherever found. Brotherhood conceived in atheism, and born with much travail, prolonged through strife and hatred, all regarded as historically unavoidable, will not usher in the consummation so devoutly to be desired.

Alexander Campbell in a different connection said so truly:-

> ..... "it is necessary to warn against desirable improvements like better houses and more wages being regarded as ends in themselves. We do not want material prosperity in alliance with a continuation of more spiritual poverty". ≠

Whatever one thought of the material prosperity for the masses which communism might possibly ensure, the spiritual poverty which would accompany it, could certainly be depended upon.

.....

In looking back upon this chapter the conclusion is indisputable that no matter which party assumed the reins of office, although their route and their rate of progress might differ from those of other parties, they too would guide the African along the road leading to European culture.

.....

≠ Op. Cit. P. 152.

POLITICAL REPRESENTATION OF AFRICANS IN THE UNION.

Representation of Natives Act, 1936.

It is 10 years ago since the inaugural meeting of the Natives Representative Council was opened in Pretoria by General Smuts, then Secretary for Justice and Deputy Prime Minister. It is accordingly opportune to consider something of its history against the background of the Act under which it was established, and of recent happenings concerning its decision to go into recess.

From the Explanatory Memorandum bound up together with the Representation of Natives Act, 1936, (Act No. 12 of 1936) the following excerpts are taken, since so clearly authoritative:-

"The Representation of Natives Act is designed to achieve a dual purpose, viz:-

A. To provide a solution of the difficulty presented by the Cape Native franchise; and

B. To accord a special form of representation, quite apart and distinct from the ordinary franchise rights, to the Native population of the Union as a whole."

This is a frank admission of the embarrassment caused to the other Provinces by the Native vote in the Cape, and of the consequential decision to give legal effect to representation for Africans, which should be "quite apart and distinct from ordinary franchise rights". It is impossible to evaluate the results of this decision, for they mostly deal with imponderables, but for reasons which will appear later, they have led to the growth of solidarity in African public opinion, (until very recently public opinion was taken as non-existent in view of ethnic differences and tribal parochialism), against the administration or considered maladministration of the Act.

The Explanatory Memorandum proceeds to deal with "A" above, in the following terms:-

"A Cape Native Franchise.

In the Cape Colony prior to Union, Natives enjoyed franchise rights on the same basis as Europeans. A uniform standard of qualification was prescribed applying equally to white and black. Natives participated in the same elections as Europeans, had the same right to nominate candidates, etc., and in short, enjoyed the same rights and privileges as European voters, no distinction being drawn.

The Cape Native franchise rights were specially protected by section thirty five of the Act of Union."

"In the Transvaal and Orange Free State, on the other hand, the Natives have up to the present had no franchise rights whatever and no representation of any kind in Parliamenet.

> In Natal prior to Union Natives could in theory qualify for the franchise, but the acquisition by them of such rights was so circumscribed by restrictions that the number of Natives registered as voters in Natal can be counted on the fingers of one hand.
>
> Natal possessed no special form of representation for Natives and was thus very much in the same position as the northern provinces.
>
> The Representation of Natives Act takes away from the Natives of the Cape Province their right to be enrolled on the same voters' lists as Europeans and to participate in the ordinary elections in that Province for members of the House of Assembly and of the Provincial Council."

This is a further candid statement regarding the franchise position prior to Union; the protection of the Cape Native franchise by the Act of Union, and the deprivation subsequently inflicted by the Act under reference.

It should be explained, however, that under the Hofmeyr Act of 1887, the franchise carried with it exemption from restrictive legislation, including that applicable to the sale of liquor, the acquisition of land, pass regulations and residence in urban areas.

Dr. Mair in her book already cited ("Native Policies in Africa") says of this:- "It is a significant fact.....that it is to freedom from differential European legislation and not from their own laws that they attach this importance" (page 44)

It is also worthy of note that before the franchise was withdrawn in the Cape, the qualification was literacy, together with ownership of property to the rateable value of £75, or an income of £50 p.a. all three qualifications denoting cultural change, and, of course, leading to further cultural change in the exercise of the franchise.

Reverting to the Memorandum attached to the Act one reads of the alternative provided by the Government:-

> "As a quid pro quo for those rights the Act lays down that the Natives registered as voters in the Cape Province shall be entitled to elect three members of the House of Assembly and two members of the Cape Provincial Council
>
> To this end:-
>
> (a) a register to be known as the Cape Native Voters' Roll is to be compiled, to which are to be transferred the names of all the Natives in the existing voters' lists for the various electoral divisions of the Cape, and in which are to be included the names of all Natives in the Cape Province who become registered as voters for the future. After the commencement of the Act, no Native may be registered in the ordinary voters' lists for electoral divisions under the Electoral Act.
>
> (b) The Cape Province is to be divided into:-
>
> (1) three constituencies, to be known as electoral circles, each containing approximately the same number of Natives registered in the Cape Native

> Voters' Roll and each of which will be entitled to return one member to the Cape Provincial Council"..
> ....."The members of the House of Assembly and of the Cape Provincial Council elected by the natives registered in the Cape Native Voters' Roll will hold their seats for a period of five years notwithstanding any dissolution of the legislative body to which they belong; they must have the same qualifications as ordinary members of the House of Assembly; and they will enjoy the rights, privileges, and immunities and be subject to the duties and obligations of the ordinary member of the House of Assembly and of the Provincial Council, as the case may be, save that they will not have the right to vote at any election of senators under the South Africa Act."

Comment on the above, at this stage, will be confined to the observations that, although considered a "quid pro quo" by Government, it was certainly not regarded as such by the Africans who had lost the fuller franchise, nor by those in other Provinces who had hoped to gain it; that this sense of frustration has grown in intensirty during the decade, but that the newer electoral procedure, especially when supplemented by the section of the Act which introduces the whole Native population of the Union into one form or other of political representation, maintained and extended African contact with our parliamentary system, and his participation at a higher level, in an important ad hoc consultative body. To write this, is not to conceile that the 1936 Act was a piece of liberally conceived and effective statesmanship.

The memorandum then deals with the second of the Act's two major purposes, in the following paragraphs:-

"B. <u>Special Representation for the Native Population of the Union as a Whole</u>.

The special representation provided by the Act for the Native population as a whole is two-fold, consisting as it does of:-
(a) representation in the Senate; and
(b) a special Native Representative Council.

(a) <u>Representation in the Senate:</u>

The Act divides the Union into four electoral areas.... each....entitled to elect one senator.

The four areas are:-
the Province of Natal.
the Provinces of the Transvaal and the O.F.S.
the Transkeian Territories.
the Cape Provinces excluding the Transkeian Territories.

The electoral colleges for the Transkeian territories consists of the Native members of the U.F.A. General Council.

The electoral colleges for the other...areas will consist of the voting units in those areas. These...are the local councils, Native reserve boards of management, chiefs, headmen, Native advisory boards under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, 1923, and in respect of farm Natives who do not fall under any of the above specified unit, electoral committees....."

These voting units will act not as individuals, but in a representative capacity for and on behalf of the Native taxpayers domiciled within their respective areas".....
"There will thus be no individual voting in the ordinary sense."
....."The election of senators will thus be by representative or group voting.
The senators elected under the Act.....will hold their seats for five years notwithstanding any dissolution"..

A further provision in the Act empowers the Governor General at any time after seven years from the promulgation of the Act, to increase the number of electoral colleges, and hence of senators, to five or six, "IF HE IS SATISFIED THAT CIVILISATION AND LOYAL GOVERNMENT AMONG NATIVES HAVE PROGRESSED TO SUCH A STAGE AS TO JUSTIFY AN INCREASE....." (Capitals mine)

It is of interest for our thesis, that as the concluding clause in capitals indicates so clearly, a legal provision enacted by a European Parliament, should make the augmenting of its Senate dependent upon satisfactory evidence concerning the prior progress of the Africans in European culture, including exotic local government.

There is a touch of irony in the thought that many who voted for this measure, (from the familiar fear-complex of safe-guarding "white" civilization, and from the consequential motive that the native must accordingly be forced to develop along his own lines, however much he dislikes them.) in the committee stage of the Bill passed the clause which made it obligatory upon the African to develop along our lines, if he wished to have a greater say in the evolution of our own sacred parliamentary institutions, in which because they have been evolved by the master 'race' he may not expect to share.

Of more immediate concern to the Africans, perhaps, is the composition and election of the Natives' Representative Council. The relevant provisions are summarised by the Memorandumas follows:-

"(b) Natives Representative Council:
Section twenty of the Act provides for the establishment of the Natives Representative Council.....to consist of twenty-two members, viz:- six official members, four nominated members and twelve elected members.
The official members are the Secretary for Native Affairs and the five Chief Native Commissioners.
The four nominated members must be Natives appointed by the Governor General.....one for each electoral area.
The twelve elected members.....
(i) three....to be elected by the electoral college for the Transkeian Territories, i.e. the members of the United Transkeian Territories General Council other than magistrates.
(ii) two... by the electoral college for every other

electoral area .....
(iii)one....for every electoral area, other than the Transkeian Territories..."

"The nominated and elected members of the Council will hold their seats for five years and they will each receive an allowance of £120 p.a.

The Council will meet at times and places fixed by the Minister, and its proceedings will ordinarily take place in public and its meetings be presided over by the Secretary for Native Affairs, The Secretary for Native Affairs will have a casting vote only and other official members will have no vote".

The above then is the second half of the "special form of representation, quite apart and distinct from the ordinary franchise rights", granted to "the Native population of the Union as a whole". Concurrently it is obviously quite apart and distinct from tribal culture as a whole, a discovery which needs no elaboration. The first half of such 'racially' distinct representation concerned elections to the Senate. Together, however inadequate they might be considered by the African, they helped to ensure that politically, as well as in so many other ways, his culture should converge towards that of the legislators who were defranchising him with the right hand, whilst giving him a different type of franchise with the left.

In the light of the Council's subsequent claim that the Government had frequently failed to honour it, Section 27 of the Act deserves consideration. This reads:-

"(1) The Council shall consider and report upon:-
(a)proposed legislation in so far as it may affect the Native population;
(b)any matter referred to it by the Minister;
(c)any matter specially affecting the interests of Natives in general.
(2) The Council may recommend to Parliament, or to any Provincial Council.....legislation which it considers necessary to the interests of Natives.
(3) If the Minister has transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Assembly or the President of the Senate or the Chairman of a Provincial Council, a certificate stating that he is of opinion that any bill or draft ordinance.....contains provisions specially affecting the interests of Natives, and that in the case of a bill he has consulted with the Native Affairs Commission, or in the case of a draft ordinance, with the Administrator of the Province concerned, then, unless that certificate has been withdrawn by the Ministerby writing addressed to the Speaker, or President or Chairman.....the bill or draft ordinance.....shall not be introduced, or if already introduced, shall not be proceeded with further than the stage which has been reached.... until it has been referred to the Council for consideration and Report"

Council's complaint concerning Government's dereliction in some of these legally binding matters, will be referred to when their reasons for adjournment are dealt with. Of more immediate moment are the provisions in force to ensure permanent inter-communication between the Native Representative Council and Parliament (or the Provincial Councils as the case may be), inevitable liaison procedure bringing together white and black in culture contact of vital significance for the whole population of the Union.

Of parallel significance are the financial provision which, to quote from the Memorandum, provide:-

> ...."that the Minister shall, before the commencement of each ordinary session of Parliament, or as soon as possible thereafter, submit to the Council, for consideration and report by it, a statement showing:-
>
> (a) the provision which it is proposed to make on the estimates of expenditure for the ensuing financial year in respect of the moneys to be appropriated by Parliament to the South African Native Trust Fund for the purchase and development of land and for native education and for any other purpose in the special interests of Natives;
>
> (b) estimates of the revenue to be derived from any other sources by the South African Native Trust Fund; and
>
> (c) the Minister's proposals as to the method in which the moneys referred to under (a) and (b) are to be allocated.
>
> Council reports are to be submitted to the Minister who must lay them upon the Tables of both Houses of Parliament".

The Council may be consultative only, but if the consultation be regarded as no mere formality whereby the letter of the law is observed, but its essence is ignored, then geographically, the scope for such consultation is co-extensive with the Union, financially with the whole range of Government expenditure on Native services, and legally and administratively with all proposed legislation and policy relating to the native population.

Even though it failed to satisfy the aspirations of those who regarded the Act as a spurious substitute for franchise worthy of the name, its more liberal sponsors had reason to believe, that as a deliberative body the Council had limitless scope which, if wisely used, could revolutionize 'race'-relations. It is correspondingly to be deplored that rightly or wrongly, its members should reach the conclusion after nine years of patient work, that owing to a culminating sense of frustration, there was no alternative but to adjourn. To this we shall return.

The following extracts are taken from the Address given by

General Smuts, Secretary for Justice and Deputy Prime Minister, to the members of the Council at its inaugural meeting on December 6th, 1937:-

> "I have great pleasure in welcoming you to this first meeting of the Natives Representative Council. It is an occasion of much significance and one which I feel sure will become of great historical importance for both Europeans and Natives in this country.
>
> The coming of the seasonal rains shows us that we have the blessing from on high for this great occasion."

He then stated that the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, was to have opened the meeting but unfortunately had to abstain from public functions.

> "It is at his request and with the concurrence of my colleague, the Minister of Native Affairs, that I am here to-day to deputise for the Prime Minister. I regret his absence all the more because the Natives Representative Council is part, and a most important part, of the comprehensive scheme of Native policy and for regulating Native Affairs, for which he has been mainly responsible."

It is well to remember the party origin of the Council, but the co-operative responsibility of all parties towards it.

General Smuts continued:-

> "That scheme, which has been accepted by Parliament, provides for a substantial increase in land available for Native settlement and for improvement of conditions in the Native reserves, for better housing and other conditions in Native locations attached to European urban centres and for regulating the influx of Natives thereto, and most important of all, for giving separate representation in Parliament to Native interests throughout the Union.
>
> In addition to this direct Parliamentary representation this Native Representative Council has been instituted as a constitutional body advisory to Government and Parliament, through which elected Native representatives are enabled to represent the views and interests of their constituents to the Government and to Parliament. In thus calling in the Native people of South Africa to advise and assist constitutionally in the task of their own government, Parliament has taken a far-reaching step in advance.
>
> It is the earnest wish of us all that through wisdom and moderation, and in the statesmanlike use of the new opportunities, this notable advance may be fully justified and become a landmark in the happier relations between the European and Native peoples of this land."..... "Your meeting today is the logical development of a policy initiated more than 40 years ago when the Parliament of the old Cape Colony passed the famous Glen Grey Act. That Act established a representative body called the District Council for the District of Glen Grey which under the guidance of the Magistrate should assist and advise him in regard to the administration of the affairs of the district."

Commenting five years later on the above statement, Mr. R.V. Selope Thema, M.R.C. elected in 1937 by the Transvaal Africans, wrote:-

> "There can be no doubt that there were two things in General Smuts' mind when he made this statement. The first was that Parliament had taken a plunge into the unknown which might be bristling with difficulties. The second was that if the elected members of the Council handled matters 'with wisdom and moderation', the Council would be of immense value to the improvement of our racial relationships.
>
> That the Union Parliament, in creating the Council, plunged into regions hitherto unknown in political history, is my firm conviction. There is no country in the whole of the civilised world where a Council of this nature had been established before. South Africa has taken the initiative and is, therefore, without historical guidance or experience."

This is of special interest and importance, since it represented the considered and appreciative view of an African leader and member of the Council, after personal experience of its functioning. It should accordingly be remembered when the contrary evidence led at the adjournment in 1946, is examined.

The Deputy Prime Minister continued by explaining how the United Transkeian Territories General Council was established, and how:-

"Its success has proved a precedent for the much larger and more ambitious step which is now taken with the Natives Representative Council."

We shall consider later in this chapter the character of the Transkeian Territories General Council, which has maintained a very high standard and a commensurate reputation. In the meantime, the institutional paternity admitted is of more than passing interest.

Smuts acknowledges that the principle of local government in Native areas had somewhat languished in other parts of the Union, although:-

"The Native Affairs Act of 1920, recognising the important part which was being played in Native Administration by the Councils in the Transkeian Territories, provided for the extension of a similar system to any Native area in the Union where circumstances indicated that it would be of advantage to the Natives and of assistance to the Government".

Finally he explained that:-

> "The increase of a Native urban population called the attention of Government to this aspect of the Native question, and in legislating for the improvement and control of the conditions under which Natives live in towns and villages of the Union, Parliament did not lose sight of the advantage of a

> securing an avenue for the expression of Native opinion. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act,1923, lays down that every urban local authority which sets aside land for a Native location or village shall establish a Native Advisory Board in order to afford the Native residents of the area an opportunity of expressing their views on any matter relating to their welfare. Native Advisory Boards in urban areas are now general throughout the Union, and have proved of material assistance in the management of those locations.
>
> Your meeting here today in a Union-wide Council is the logical outcome and culmination of the movement whose progress I have outlined".

In brief, Smuts claimed that through the development of African urban populations, the principle of establishing local advisory bodies had led consistently to the establishment of the larger consultative body, namely, to the Natives Representative Council for the whole of South Africa.

It may now be opportune to pass over a five year period at the end of which, under the editorship of Mr. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, the South African Institute of Race Relations produced a symposium, under the title of "Political Representation of Africans", which attempted to review the working of the system introduced by the Act. The limits of the present study prevent one from using freely the excellent material therein contained, but, nevertheless, the temptation to make a few excerpts is too strong to resist.

In his forward the Editor wrote, among other incisive things, the following:-

> "It has not been generally realised by the European public that the removal of the Cape Native franchise in 1936, profoundly shocked educated Africans throughout the Union.
>
> Those who lived outside the Cape Province had long hoped that the franchise would in due course be extended to the Northern Provinces, while even the imposition of the colour bar upon entry into Parliament, which came with Union, had not destroyed the faith of Africans in the Cape Province, in the individuality of the franchise given by Queen Victoria.
>
> Despite the long incubation of the Representation of Natives Bill-from 1926 to 1936- they were not prepared for the final blow of the axe. It aroused a bitterness of spirit which has not passed away"..... "It was my privilege to be in a position to serve the delegates of the All-Africa Convention when they went to Cape Town early in 1936 to negotiate with the Prime Minister (General Hertzog) on the franchise question, and I was deeply impressed by the statesmanship of the African leaders.
>
> They maintained their principles with ability, dignity, and restraint, and their final pronouncement left them with the honours of the combat. But once the issue had been settled beyond their ability to alter, they set to work to secure the greatest possible benefit from the

> new system of representation. Altogether THEIR POLITICAL COMPETENCE PROVED THEIR CLAIM TO THE FRANCHISE.
> So also, the articles in the present discussion must convince the sceptic that the AFRICAN PEOPLE HAVE PRODUCED MEN WHO ARE FULLY COMPETENT TO SPEAK FOR THEIR PEOPLE IN THE LANGUAGE OF DEMOCRACY".
> (Capitals mine)

The Institute of Race Relations is essentially a fact-finding body, and the restraint it has consistently revealed in placing the facts before the public, constitutes one of its chief claims to the gratitude of all communities. In this connection its Director, Mr. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, has been a model of moderation in his written and spoken utterances. When, therefore, he writes that the removal of the Cape native franchise in 1936 "profoundly shocked educated Africans throughout the Union", this cannot wisely be ignored, nor when he adds that "It aroused a bitterness of spirit which has not passed away". But of greater significance is his witness the fact, so unfamiliar to, and therefore likely to be discredited by the majority, that the political competence of Africans he has known has "proved their claim to the franchise", and that the African 'race' has "produced men who are fully competent to speak for their people in the language of democracy".

The symposium referred to, contained articles by two members of the Senate, two members of Parliament elected by African voters as their representatives, the Lecturer in Native Law and Administration at the University of the Witwatersrand, two members of the staff of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, the President-General of the African National Congress, two members of the Natives Representative Council, two members from the staff of Adams College, Natal, and a political correspondent for leading daily newspapers, who contributed a view from the Press Gallery. The panel was certainly representative of informed opinion on the issue concerned, and well balanced in composition.

According to the Editor's Introduction:-

> "The main criticisms of the new system, as they emerge from the various articles are:-
> (I) The system fails to recognise (except in the Cape) the emergence of literate and politically competent groups, and favours the more backward and less progressive.

(2) The communal electorates are too much undifferentiated and are divided into constituencies which are too large for effective representation.
(3) The representation in Parliament is too small to bring about any radical changes in the conditions of the people.
(4) The Natives Representative Council is too small to be truly representative.
(5) Its decisions have no force".

Mr. Rheinallt Jones admits that these criticisms are well founded. If they are, they may well point the direction of reform. In fact they may well have contributed to General Smuts' change of front, after the impasse reached in 1946 and continued in 1947. To this we shall refer again. In the meantime it is worth noting that if remedial action were to follow the trend of the main criticisms quoted, convergence of culture would be intensified and accelerated. This would result from the fuller recognition demanded for the literate and more progressive, from the increased representation both in Parliament and in the Council, from the more effective representation which smaller constituencies would ensure, and from the development in stature of the Council by adding certain executive powers to its present purely consultative character.

That even during the operation of Council under its present constitution, it must have assisted in no small measure towards the assimilation by the African of western culture, may be gleaned, however, from the following further excerpts:-

> "Special representation has quickened and developed the political consciousness of the African people. The opportunities it affords for expressing, through questions to and discussions with the representatives, the grievances and aspirations of the people, have served to crystallize their thoughts and to define their attitudes.
> This is particularly true of the farm labourers, who, until the new form of representation came into being, were just scattered units, helpless and leaderless. In most cases they had not the cohesion of tribal groups and were without the protection and support of tribal authority. They had no security of tenure and were without redress against unjust and inconsiderate treatment on the farms"..... "Since the election of 1937, most of the electoral committee members have continued to function as leaders and to be the spokesmen for the farm labourers. The farm labourers today are vocal and mobilizable for common action..... more conscious of themselves and their needs than ever before".

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* Op Cit. Introduction P. 4.

To this interesting claim Mr. Rheinallt Jones adds:-

> "While not belittling the importance and value of the individual vote, I must testify to the greatly increased influence of educated men---ministers, teachers,etc,--because of this new law. Their knowledge of the candidates is useful, they can explain the method of representation; they have to translate letters from candidates and interpret their speeches and their advice is sought before decisions are taken." ø

It is clear that under an Act passed by a Nationalist Government, and subsequently supported fully by other parties, the Africans who have had the benefit, not yet enjoyed by the masses, of assimilating an appreciable amount of our culture through education, have been able to take a more influential place in the life of the tribe or the community. In other words, for many who by voting for this measure, thought they were making sure that the Africans should "develop along their own lines", that which most they feared has come upon them. This is further exemplified by the Editor's contention, that not only do the people insist upon hearing the candidates at times of election, but that they impress upon the chief their choice of candidate, or upon the member of the local council or committee, and on occasion have expressed indignation when the chief has been found to have voted otherwise.

Here again it would seem that our European legislators, many of whom would blush beneath their tan if accused of liberal tendencies, have helped to replace sacrosanct tribal autocracy by the energizing force of democracy.

In consequence, however much they may shudder at the thought, they may be unable to avoid Rheinallt--Jones' conclusion that:-

> "Whatever may be the future development of the present system, it is certain that African leadership is going to be better informed, more constructive,more forward looking". xx

in which event there must of necessity be commensurate cultural-convergence.

Among Mr. Julius Lewin's proposals to remedy the defects, are the correction of the way in which the block vote system operates against urban areas, (possibly by allowing the townsmen

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ø Idem P. 4.
xx Op. Cit. P. 5.

to elect a Senator for the Witwatersrand), and the extension of the franchise to the Northern Provinces and to women, the latter being urged by Native opinion. His concluding note deserves attention however:-

> "Criticism of the Act must not be taken to imply that the whole electoral system is lacking in political value. The Act, defective as it is, constitutes the most deliberate attempt yet made in Africa south of the Sahara, to give Africans of various types a place in the political machinery of their country. It must be considered as a beginning, not an end, in facing the problem of democracy in Africa". *

Lewin would not have been able to make this statement 5 years later when Africans had been admitted as full members of the Legislative Councils of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. Nevertheless when written, its degree of validity, and the fact that it emanated from such a sympathetic legal authority, could be taken as favourable commentary upon the legislation in question, however unfortunate might appear its subsequent administration.

Had his own proposals for reform been adopted, they too, would have intensified the cultural effects already noted. The contribution of the European representatives is of considerable importance, concerning which one cannot draw as one would wish, upon the wealth of material available.

Senator Brookes writes:-

> ....."it may be said here that the presence in Parliament of four Senators, in addition to the three capable and brilliantly successful representatives of the Bantu in the House of Assembly, and the fact that these four Senators have the right to speak for all Provinces, and not merely for the Cape, has undoubtedly strengthened the Assembly members, even on those not infrequent occasions when it is they who have had to bear the burden and heat of the day.
>
> As regards actual legislation, it is interesting to note that nearly all legislation introduced by the Minister of Native Affairs now comes to the Senate first. On the whole this is an advantage. The relative strength of the group in the Senate, so far as numbers are concerned, is higher; there is more time for discussion, and the atmosphere is such that it is easier to secure withdrawal of, or amendments to a Bill".
>
> ....."During recent years a system of informal consultation between the Department, the representatives, and sometimes the Native Affairs Commission, has grown up, which has often ensured amendments to be made before the Bill has been formally introduced".

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* Op. Cit P. 14. /@ The Buganda Government in terms of the Uganda Agreement of 1900, exercises direct control over the Africans in Uganda. Although very highly organized and with extensive powers, already described in an earlier chapter, it was not mentioned by Lewin - presumably because he was conscious of the absence of African representation - which he wrote - in the Protectorate Legislative Council, an omission since remedied.

It would be well to couple with the above, the following extract from the pen of Mrs. Ballinger, Representative for the Cape Eastern Circle. After supplying the historical background to this development, and after explaining the misnomer of segregation "which is in effect and intention, a policy of paramountcy of European interests in acountry of 2,000,000 Europeans, exercising a monopolist control of political and economic power, and 8,000,000 non-Europeans who are subject peoples, expected to know and to keep their own place", she writes of the attitude, which the Native representatives were led to adopt when taking their seats:-

> "The only justifiable use of three seats in a House of 153 members, 150 of whom had come to regard the segregation policy as the settled, agreed, and unchangeable policy of the country, at least by people who had consistently opposed this type of representation as contrary to democratic justice, appeared to be to use them as a platform from which to attempt to loosen the foundations of this acceptance by the suggestion that the segregation policy was, in fact, neither the only one nor the best one for South Africa.
>
> And this, in our opinion, could not be done by docility and accommodation, but only by reasoned argument, proven fact, and above all, by independence, which alone could give the rest a value.
>
> As a consequence, the line we chose was that of using every issue directly involving Africans to propound the democratic as distinct from the segregationist or essentially Nazi policy, re-inforcing the argument as far as possible with illustrations of the failure of the latter policy to provide even European South Africa with the security and well-being that were its objectives; while, where voting issues were involved, we endeavoured to treat each on its merits, supporting in general neither one party nor another, but whatever side represented the more liberal or the less reactionary policy".

Combining these two statements, one from the Senate and one from the House of Assembly, it is crystal clear that in both Houses the constructive work of the Europeans elected under the Act to represent the Africans, has had immeasurable importance. Two convincing factors illustrate that this importance has grown since the analytical review we are examining, was drafted. The first is the daily evidence of the more liberal Press, which gives prominence to, and favourable comment upon the contributions made by the representatives. The second is the unwavering support accorded by the African electorate, who throughout have had confidence in those elected, and have had no doubts concerning the desirability of their independence from party allegiance.

It follows then, and very naturally, that the influence of the Europeans elected by Africans, should be exerted, if not ineffectively, against both Europeans and Africans,-- another marked instance of bi-lateral culture change, in consequence of which appreciable progress is quietly but steadily made by the Africans, through constitutional procedure of our own devising, towards the culture we persist in calling "ours".

Of special interest are the views of Mr. D. D. Matthews, then Lecturer in Bantu Studies at Fort Hare, and now Professor there, and Member of the Natives Representative Council, since in 1946, i.e. four years later, he was Chairman of the Caucus, and drafted a Press statement supporting their decision to adjourn, upon which we comment later. Although he made suggestions to remedy defects in the system, he spoke of it in these terms also:-

"The value of the scheme lies in the fact that:-

(a) The principle of Native representation in South African National affairs has been given statutory recognition.

(b) It has given the Native population an official platform and has made it possible for the small band of representatives answerable directly to the Native people..... to put the facts of the Native problem before the European public in a way in which they have never been put before.

(c) The Native representatives, especially in the Assembly and in the Senate, have been able to show by their general interest in all national questions that, although the interests of Europeans and Africans in this country may not be identical in every respect, they are certainly complementary, and the welfare of one section of our population cannot be safeguarded by measures detrimental to the welfare of another.

(d) It has given the Native population a keener interest in their political status in South Africa and is contributing towards the development of a national consciousness among them". xx

So far as it is bearing on our thesis is concerned, this is self-explanatory. Dr. A. B. Xuma, the President-General of the African National Congress in a critical but restrained article wrote:-

"In conclusion I may say that for a leader of a people nothing short of the ideal is acceptable. The Representation of Natives Act was never acceptable and never will be

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xx Op. Cit. P. 26.

> acceptable as a satisfactory solution of the problem of representation to any leaders of Africans who, like leaders of other races, have an ideal for their people beyond their own personal interests"..... "Justice and fair play demand the overhauling of the whole system of representation and the reorientation of the mentality that created it, in order to help the Union of South Africa to keep abreast with modern trends and democratic thought, either by radical amendments as implied above" (i.e. by the many constructive proposals he makes) "or by the repeal of the original Act".

There is no hint of compromise here. Of his article in general the Editor wrote:- "Dr. Xuma has expressed in pretty clear terms what intelligent Africans feel on the fundamental issue of their right to participate as citizens in real democracy". (It may not be irrelevant to interpolate that Dr. Xuma, Medical Officer of Health for Alexandra Township, graduate of several universities, who has studied at Fiskes, at the State University of Minnesota, at the North-Western University in Chicago, at Edinburgh, in Budapest and at the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in London, has never had a vote, either for a city council, a provincial council, the Government, or even for the Native representative for the Transvaal in the Senate).

His major conclusion was consistent that of Mrs. Ballinger whose article ended with the words:-

> "But whatever effectiveness this particular platform achieves depends essentially, I believe, on the ever-present and dominating consciousness, on the part of those who use it, that the system which it represents is an unacceptable system in a truly democratic society, and that the ultimate objective of all efforts must be its replacement, as soon as possible by full and equal political rights for all persons capable of using such rights, without distinction of colour or race". [xx]

Neither on the part of Dr. Xuma, the unenfranchised African, nor of Mrs. Ballinger, one of the European representatives, is it considered necessary to camouflage or burke the real issue, which is that whatever black bogey may be involved, one cannot successfully "isolate and stratify African society in the closely integrated and explosive world of the twentieth century", but that there be a

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[xx] op. cit. p. 22.

a sense in which to enfranchise means to set free, t en a way must be found for the enfranchisement of the African who shares our society.

The importance of the Representation of Natives Act, No. 12 of 1936, and the far-reaching cultural changes derived therefrom, are submitted in justification of the full treatment given to both, and of the treatment which follows concerning the 1946 adjournments.

The Report of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Ninth Session, held on August 14, 1946, when those present were Mr. F. Rodseth, Under Secretary for Native Affairs (Chairman) 4 Chief Native Commissioners, 16 Councillors, Mr. J.I. Dodds, (Secretary), and Senator Dr. the Hon. E.H. Brookes and Mr. A.J.B. Payn, M.P. Members of the Native Affairs Commission, reads quite tersely:-

"The Secretary read the Government Notice convening the meeting.
Prayers.
The Chairman addressed the Council.
The following resolutions were adopted by the Council:-

Strike. Native Mine Workers.

1. That this Council having learned of the general strike of the Native Mine Workers on the Reef Mines which in the opinion of this Council is the result of the refusal of the Government to recognize Native Trade Unions, and having further learned of the wanton shooting of mine workers by the Police, resulting in death and serious injuries to many, calls upon Government immediately to establish a Board of Arbitration between the Chamber of Mines on the one hand and the African Mine Workers' Union on the other, the latter to be represented by African Parliamentary representatives, members of the Natives Representative Council and members of the African Mine Workers' Union.

Union Native Policy.

2. The Council having since its inception brought to the notice of the Government the reactionary character of Union Native policy of segregation in all its ramifications, deprecates the Government's post war continuation of a policy of Fascism which is the antithesis and negation of the letter and the spirit of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Charter.
The Council therefore, in protest against this breach of faith towards the African people in particular and the cause of world freedom in general, resolves to adjourn this session and calls upon the Government forthwith to abolish all discriminatory legislation affecting non-Europeans in this country.

In consequence of the latter resolution the meeting was adjourned.

** Article by Leonard Woolf on "The Political Advance of Backward Peoples", in "Fabian Colonial Essays" (Allen and Unwin) p.90.

Three months later the Council was convened on November 20, 1946, when it was hoped that the impasse would be overcome. The full and equally terse record reads:-

'Present on 20th November 1946,
The Right Hon. J.H.Hofmeyer, Acting Prime Minister
Major The Hon.Piet van der Byl,Minister of Native Affairs.
Mr. [illegible] Mears, Secretary for Native Affairs, (Chairman).
5 Chief Native Commissioners.
16 Councillors.
Mr. J.P. Dodds, Secretary.
Dr. D.L. Smit,Deputy Chairman, Native Affairs Commission.
Messrs. A.C.B.Payn, M.P. H. van der Merwe M.P. and Senator Dr. the Hon A.M. Brookes, members of the Native Affairs Commission:-

The Secretary read the Government Notice convening the meeting.
Prayers.
The Chairman addressed the Council.
The Right Hon J.H. Hofmeyr, Acting Prime Minister,addressed the Council with reference to the resolution adopted by it at the last meeting in regard to the Union's Native Policy.

The following resolution was adopted by the Council:-

1. This Council, having given careful consideration to the speech of the Acting Prime Minister delivered on November 20, 1946, in reply to the resolution of the Council of August 15, 1946, resolves as follows:-

(a) That the accompanying statement embodying the comments of the Council on the Acting Prime Minister's speech be communicated to the Government.
(b) That as indicated in the Council's statement referred to in (a) above, this Council does not regard the Minister's reply as of such a nature as to allay the anxiety of the African people regarding their place in the body-politic of this country, and accordingly requests the Government to reconsider its statement of policy in the light of the principles set forth in the Council's memorandum.
(c) That pending the receipt of a more reassuring reply from the Government, the proceedings of this session be suspended - the Councillors remaining in Pretoria to await such reply".

The Chairman read a reply from the Government to the above mentioned resolution and the council thereafter adopted the following resolution in consequence of which the meeting was adjourned:-

"2. (a) This Council, having carefully considered the further reply of the Acting Prime Minister, finds itself unable to discover in his statement any disposition on the part of the Government to undertake a revision of its Native Policy in order to bring it into line with the changing conditions of African life.
(b) In the circumstances this Council feels compelled to adjourn this session in order to make it possible for the Councillors to make known to the African people the nature and contents of the Acting Prime Minister's statement.
(c) Since its inception this Council has loyally co-operated with the Government and would continue to do so as long as it is not expected either expressly or by implication to sacrifice in the process, the legitimate rights and interests of the African people.

(d) This Council makes a further appeal to the Government to undertake such a revision of its native policy with a view to making possible better co-operation between white and black in this country."

The bare facts seem to be that the action of the Council was aggravated by the manner in which they were ignored by the Government at the time of the mine-labourers' strike; that this was merely the last of a long series of events which led to a feeling of political and industrial frustration and that the Council displayed not only dignity, a sense of responsibility, and seriousness of purpose, but demonstrated also that these possessed far too much reality to be repudiated immediately the Acting Prime Minister tried to re-assure them whilst side-stepping the main issues. Concurrently these African councillors supplied a convincing demonstration of a further fact, namely, that they had assimilated, and could use effectively, appreciable knowledge of and skill in our political technique. The culture still converges.

Professor D.K. Matthews, Chairman of the Caucus, after the August adjournment, published a detailed, considered statement concerning this, from which the following extracts are selected.[xx] After reviewing the establishment of the Council, he said:-

> ....."At first high hopes were entertained in certain quarters that the Council would develop into an important part of our constitutional machinery for the Government of the Union and would give Africans a real share in shaping their own destiny in the land of their birth. Admittedly these high hopes were not shared by the African people themselves, who strenuously opposed the Hertzog Bills, from the time when they were adumbrated by the General in his famous Smithfield speech in 1925, until they reached the Statute Book in 1936".....
>
> "Year after year since 1937, the councillors have submitted for the consideration of the Government resolutions on various aspects of African welfare and have discussed these in debates which not infrequently have been of a very high order.
>
> In select committees appointed in Council they have made detailed recommendations on draft legislation..... They have prepared reports on such aspects of Native administration as the system of political representation for Africans provided for in Act 12 of 1936, the policy embodied in our laws relating to Natives in urban areas and the system for the administration of Native Affairs provided for in the Native Administration Act for 1927. They have asked Parliament to legislate on such matters as the recognition and registration of African trade unions, the proper financing and control of Native Education etc. They have given evidence on behalf of the African people before important Government commissions"..... "The question naturally arises as to what were the reasons which led the members of the Council to take the drastic step of adjourning

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xx The Bantu World, September 21st. 1946.

the Council indefinitely when it apparently engaged upon such important work".....

"This deterioration in the relations between the Government and the Council may be attributed to a variety of factors"....." When the Council was first established Field Marshall Smuts himself expressed the hope that it might develop into a 'Native Parliament'. That was of course, an over optimistic estimate of the potentialities of this body, for it would be impossible to have two Parliaments in one country,, but what Field Marshall Smuts probably had in mind was, that with the passage of time this advisory body would, as far as matters affecting African welfare are concerned be accorded a weight of authority and responsibility second only to that of the supreme legislature. This obviously implied that no important decision, legislative or otherwise, affecting African welfare, directly or indirectly, would be taken, either by Parliament or by a Provincial Council, without prior consultation with the Council, and that the views of the Council, when obtained, would be given serious consideration by those in whom ultimate responsibility for action was vested"..... "It must be remembered that the Council was put forward by the European as a substitute for Parliamentary representation for the African"....."This was to be the acid test of the policy of segregation to which European South Africa paid so much lip service. One would have thought that in the circumstances this product of Union political philosophy would be accorded by the Government such respect that its prestige would have been enhanced and the validity of the Union's political creed demonstrated to those who from the outset had no faith in it as a solution of our political problems. How has the Government treated this product of her political genius? In the first place".....the persons responsible for laying down the policy".....have not considered it their duty to attend its sessions. Field Marshall Smuts himself has only once deigned to appear....That was at its first meeting in 1937. The Minister of Native Affairs makes occasional appearances to open a session and to give formal addresses to which, as the members of the Council have been warned by a senior official of the Native Affairs Department they are not expected to reply unless such reply is couched in flattering terms of gratitude more suited to a primitive despot than to a Minister in a democratic State addressing the elected representatives of the people.

This conception is apparently based on the view that the Minister of Native Affairs is the Supreme Chief of the Natives.

The Ministers of other departments of State, altho' their departments touch African welfare at so many points - Labour, Justice, Social Welfare, Education, etc. seem completely unaware of its existence.

As for the ordinary members of Parliament..... unless they happen to be members of the Native Affairs Commission, ignore this institution of their own creation completely.

THE RESULT....IS THAT THE COUNCIL HAS DEVELOPED INTO A [illegible] FOR SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE NATIVE AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT WHO NOW UNNATURALLY ARE BEGINNING TO REGARD THE COUNCIL AS PART OF THE MACHINERY OF THEIR DEPARTMENT.

(Capitals mine)

This is all so clearly and incisively written that it calls for no explanatory comment, but is part of a reasoned and reasonable appraisal. It adds force to our contention, that even when

government promulgates a measure designed to keep the 'races' apart, and subsequently administers it in a way calculated to take the edge off its more liberal provisions, it cannot avoid establishing 'racial' contacts, and setting in motion actions and reactions, which may retard rather than promote good-will, but which inevitably induce cultural convergence.

In the present important instance this is seen, through the eyes of Professor Matthews, by the intimate insight given representative Africans, and through them to their electorate, into the functioning of the parliamentary machine, as it affects white attitudes, but common welfare. Thus the policy adumbrated by Hertzog, which has passed its coming of age; which was endorsed by both Houses in 1936, and which has been more deeply entrenched by common consent since-------this policy, together with the attitude shown towards the Natives Representative Council, has ensured that carefully selected African leaders should receive most intensive training in current political philosophy, in sociology as expounded by those who chiefly regard the franchise as the weapon of paramountcy, and in technique.

From one angle, therefore, the financial provision voted to cover the costs of the Council, might well be regarded as a supplementary vote for African education.

Returning to Matthews' article, after complaining that although by law the Minister of Native Affairs is required to table a report of the proceedings of the Council, he tables a copy of their resolutions only, he added:-

> "But even more serious than this is the fact that the Government has not shown sufficient evidence.....of a desire to take its advice seriously when obtained, or of readiness to seek that advice on matters affecting African welfare. Bills affecting the African population directly or indirectly are introduced into Parliament without previous reference to the Council for consideration and report as required by law. A recent example was the Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945. There is probably no law which affects the interests of Africans as much as this law relating to Natives in urban areas"....."Another example was the Financial Relations Extension Act of 1945 under which the burden of taxation on Africans was extended by empowering Provincial Councils to impose a hospital tax on all Natives liable for poll tax and a further tax on the incomes of Natives liable to income tax".....

As empowered by law, the Council submitted many suggestions to Government concerning legislative proposals which they considered of great importance to their people. Matthews contended that resultant promises had been largely unfulfilled, quoting in support their recommendations concerning African trade unions, the revision of the Native taxation system, the removal of anomalies connected with their political representation, and the revision of urban Native policy "in the light of industrial and other developments which have taken place since the original Act was passed in 1923".

> Moreover, he said:- "In and out of season the Council has condemned the Municipal Beer Hall System, and particularly the use of beer hall profits to relieve municipalities of their responsibility to provide ordinary amenities in the Native locations. The question was investigated by the Native Affairs Commission which confirmed the views of the Council that urban local authorities looked upon the beer hall more as a profit-making concern than as a method of fighting the drink evil among Africans in urban areas".

He then stated that legislation was actually put on the Statute Book prohibiting local authorities from using beer profits except for social or recreational activities, but that because of the reaction of the municipalities regarding the threatened loss of such lucrative revenue, another commission was appointed which brought about a reversal of the policy advocated by the Council.

After dealing with land problems and other matters, he added the following indictment:-

> ....."not only has the confidence of the Council in the Government's intentions towards the African people been undermined by sins of omission, but a sense of despair and frustration has been induced in them by the increased output of restrictive and discriminatory legislative and administrative measures and by the increasingly provocative utterances of Members of Parliament, both from the Opposition and Government benches. As examples may be cited:-
>
> (a) The prohibition of meetings of more than 10 Natives except by permission of the Native Commissioner in the Northern Provinces.
> (b) The extension of the pass system in the form of registration of service contracts in the urban areas under the Natives Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945, coupled with the handing over of the control of this system to the urban local authorities.
> (c) Discrimination against Africans in social security measures such as Old Age Pensions, Pensions for the Blind, Invalidity grants, etc. coupled with the unsympathetic administration of these measures by some administrative officers.
> (d) The attempt to control the inevitable drift of Africans from the congested Native Reserves to the towns by empowering the Railways to refuse to sell them tickets unless they produce written evidence

that they have already obtained employment in the urban area to which they wish to travel to search for work.

(e) The use of force by the Government to settle industrial disputes between African workers and their employers so tragically exemplified in the recent mine labourers strike".

It will surely be agreed that there was ample reason for the sense of frustration and irritation which culminated in the collapse of the Council in 1946, but it may be fitting to supplement that has been so freely excerpted, by the following further citation:-

"It is wrong to suppose.....that the action of the Council was the result of a sudden decision brought about solely by the mine labourers' strike. The Government's handling of the latter situation was typical of its attitude towards the Council. Here were the elected representatives of the African people assembled at the administrative headquarters of the Union-Pretoria-only a few miles away from Johannesburg, where a major disturbance involving 50,000 of the people they represent, some of whom had lost their lives or had suffered injuries in the trouble, and the Government had absolutely nothing to say to the Council.....It demonstrated, if proof were wanted, that after nine years of patient work the Council had not yet succeeded in impressing its existence upon the consciousness of the powers that be". ≠

Of some significance is the fact that on the same day as Professor Matthews' article appeared in "The Bantu World", it reproduced the substance of an article in "The Forum", by M. . de Villiers, entitled "The Union has reached a Turning Point in Native Policy", in which the writer said:-

"If there is anything to learn from the tragic events of the past few weeks it is this our present native policy is outmoded and entirely unsuited to modern conditions.

It is resulting in frustration in the political sphere, and exasperation in the industrial field, is heightening the tension between the races and gradually leading us to a position of stalemate from which the only escape will be the use of force".

After speaking of the indefensible attitude on the part of the Government in taking such little notice of the Council and its deliberations, after expressing the view that a rapprochment was urgently necessary, and after urging the leaders of African opinion to realise the fact, however distressing it might be, that Government could not ignore the volume of re-actionary feeling in the country, de Villiers placed on record with commendable

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≠ Matthews op cit.

frankness his conviction regarding the need to abolish political segregation. Thus he said:-

> "The communal franchise can never give the black man or the Indian or any minority group an effective voice in the affairs of the country. Nor can the Natives Representative Council, however much it is improved, provide the African with an adequate political instrument. Besides both the system of communal franchise and of the Natives Representative Council accentuate the political segregation of black and white.
>
> And since the problems of South Africa are common to black and white alike and cannot be approached in water tight compartments, POLITICAL SEGREGATION IS UTTERLY SENSELESS. That is why the franchise on the common roll, as it existed in the Cape until the time of the 1936 legislation, should be substituted for the existing system of the vote on a communal basis.
>
> The mere existence of a common roll franchise will, I am convinced, introduce a realism into S. African politics which is at the moment sadly lacking - a lack of realism which expresses itself in exaggerating out of all proportion a shortage of meat because it affects primarily the people with the vote, namely, the European, to all but ignoring a shortage of bread which, although it imposes hardships on a far larger cross section of the population, affects mainly people without the vote. This is inevitable when 8,500,000 out of 11,000,000 people are politically voiceless in the counsels of the nation.
>
> Finally the communal franchise as we know it today, tends to perpetuate existing political alignments, which are determined by race instead of by economic forces".

Any statement of this kind is certain to open the floodgate of 'racial' scorn and party wrath, as though anyone who had the temerity to incline to this view, betrayed his own national group thereby. Such a reaction is based on the comforting belief that perpetual and increasing taxation without representation is divinely ordained since the Creator must know from the 1946 Census figures, that His chosen people are greatly outnumbered by the children of Ham, so wisely cursed.

To those who consider that this attitude cannot dispose of our moral obligation to the emerging Africans, the principle of their gradual admission to full civic rights is not evadable, nor is their attendant cultural development. This need not connote that the popular will of the enlightened Europeans would be frustrated by the misuse of an unenlightened and inexperienced Native mass electorate, but it should ensure the extension to people who sorely need it, of democratic procedure intended, inter alia, to reduce legalized oppression.

After the deadlock between Government and the Council had continued for a few months longer, the Prime Minister interviewed six of its leading members on May 8th, 1947, in Cape Town, and, during a two-hour discussion, explained measures which he hoped would effect a rapprochement. According to the "Star" of the same date, they included the following:-

> "Giving the Council definite responsibility for the government and management of the reserves:
> Granting more responsibility to Natives for managing their own affairs;
> Making the Council exclusively Native and establishing it as the central point in the management of Native Affairs and of a system of Native government unified throughout the country".
>
> It was added that "Native trade union legislation will be introduced this year, but the mines will be excluded from its scope".

According to the Press account, which followed the notes taken by Councillors Matthews and Mosaka, the Prime Minister stated that it had been hoped that the legislation passed in 1936 would solve the native problem, but that it had proved ineffective, since it no longer fitted in with changed conditions, great migrations of people having taken place from rural to urban districts in spite of the legislation.

"It had not been found possible to segregate the Natives into the Reserves"....."it was hoped that the Native Representative Council would provide the outlet for Native opinion which would guide public opinion and Parliament in matters affecting the African people. In practice....Council had simply become a debating chamber passing resolutions every year, many of which Parliament had not carried out. The Native Representative Council was today making demands and representation without taking part in the fulfilment of these demands, and this resulted in dissatisfaction and frustration"..... As a result the position had deteriorated"....."The Government, said General Smuts, could not allow this state of stalemate and deadlock to continue"..... "It would be fatal to destroy this Council. We intend to improve it

The Prime Minister then made his proposals along the lines of the Summary above. They would vest some executive authority in the Council, and by devolution would afford the Africans an

opportunity of managing their own affairs. The Council would become a purely Native organisation, possibly with an executive committee. Its membership would be increased, and with this central organization urban and rural advisory boards would be co-ordinated.

The report continued by saying that General Smuts mentioned the large scale migration of Natives to the cities, and the creation of 'shanty towns', and added that the Fagan Commission was to report on related problems, but that "The Government would continue with its policy of keeping the two races residentially separate--- working together and having common economic interests, but for mutual peace and mutual preference, living apart".

It was stated to be the intention of Government to introduce "this session" a measure to give recognition to African trade unions. Concerning this one read that:-

> "As drafted the Bill provides for separate trade unions for Africans, although it was on the same lines as the Industrial Conciliation Act. The Bill would exclude the Mines from its scope because a large proportion of the mine workers came from foreign territories. A Trade Union Bill was not quite suitable for that type of people.
>
> Alternative machinery, however, is being provided on the lines of an efficient inspectorate under the Native Affairs Department"....."Apart from that..." the Bill provided for the ordinary machinery of arbitration, and conciliation, as provided for in the Industrial Conciliation Act. He hoped that the machinery would obviate strikes and industrial troubles".

The Prime Minister is reported to have said in conclusion:-

> "I have put before you very important matters. I have put my cards on the table and have told you what we intend to do. I want you leaders to be helpful. You have a great responsibility for the welfare of your people and I ask you to consider this matter in a spirit of goodwill and understanding between us".

Before passing to the response this evoked from the Councillors, it may be opportune to say, that however inadequate to them the Prime Minister's proposals may have seemed in view of the larger re-assurances they sought, most of the proposals were, in fact, consistent with earlier recommendations made by the Council; most involved the desirable devolution to the Africans of increased responsibilities, and in consequence, if made effective, they would inevitably have given an added impetus to the convergence of cultures. This is written without prejudice to the case for

fuller emancipation, concerning which statements will be quoted from the leader of the Caucus, and the President of the African National Congress.

Before turning to these, it is interesting to note that the leader in the "Star" of May 10, 1947, bore title "The Ten Lost Years". From it are excerpted the following:-

> "If the pattern of Native administration outlined by the Prime Minister on Thursday had been drawn ten years ago at the inception of the Natives Representative Council, it is possible that a great deal of the frustration and embitterment that has since distorted race relations would have been avoided.
>
> At the time of the passing of the Native Bills in 1936, optimists believed that it was the intention to develop a kind of parallel democracy suited to the state of Native progress, and that the Council was to be the chief instrument of this policy. General Smuts himself predicted.....that the Council would in time have full legislative power in respect of Native affairs. Unfortunately nothing was done then or later to give reality to this vision.
>
> This decade has been a momentous one in the shaping of Native life. It has seen the rapid shift of population from country to town, accompanied by much dislocation and unrest; it has seen a further decline in the fertility and prosperity of the reserves, unrelieved by the promised addition of the millions of acres of new land.
>
> If representative institutions had kept pace with these changes the way might have been smoothed and a healthy self-reliance cultivated in place of the 'attitude of sullen resentment against those in authority, "which the annual report of the Secretary for Native Affairs notes among the urban non-European population.....
> ....."THE PLAIN NORMAL [illegible] POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS CAN NOT BE SUPPRESSED OR WITHHOLDING THE NORMAL MEANS OF ITS EXPRESSION".
> ..... "If the Native peoples can be given some measure of responsibility and self government within the framework of the Union's social and political structure their more level-headed leaders will be quick to realise that a real advance has been made towards a practical, if limited objective". (Capitals mine)

With the spirit of the above, one is in complete agreement, but that the African leaders, with their gift for political competence and deep insight into the more ultimate needs of their people, remained largely unresponsive to the offer of the second best, however good per se, may be judged from the following quotations, freely drawn upon because of the manner in which they illustrate, that today such leaders are by no means subservient and unquestioning automata, but, in Mr. Rheinallt Jones' phrase, are "fully competent to speak for their people in the language of democracy". They are referred to in the order in which the statements appeared in the Press, and it is of no little significance that the penetrating

statement made by Dr. Xuma, President of the African National Congress should have been issued three days after the Prime Minister's interview, being published in the "Star" the following day, namely on May 12th., 1947. The article is reproduced verbatim, including the headlines used.

"NATIVE VIEW OF PRIME MINISTER'S NEW PROPOSALS."

DEMAND FOR REPEAL OF DISCRIMINATORY LAWS.

THE WORKING COMMITTEE of the African National Congress finds the Prime Minister's tentative proposals on native policy vague and disappointing, says a statement by the president of the congress, Dr. A. B. Xuma, issued yesterday.

"The Prime Minister's reported proposals might appear to be generous and an improvement on the present political status of the African, but, in fact, they are a retrogressive step in that as long as the present discriminatory legislation remains on the statute book Africans are in effect asked by the Prime Minister in his proposals to administer their own domination, discrimination and oppression under the cloak of giving them responsibility and participation in the administration of their own affairs", says the statement.

STATUS OF TRIBAL CHIEFS.

"The Prime Minister seems to have side-stepped the main cause of the deadlock - the demand of the natives' Representative Council for the repeal of discriminatory colour legislation against Natives and the Council's consequent resolution to adjourn indefinitely until such demands have been complied with," says the statement.

The statement continues:-

"There can be no truly representative democratic government or parliament within any State in which all members of the State are not directly represented. In other words, we do not accept any proposal that does not provide for direct representation of all sections of the community in all legislative bodies.

"The proposed Bill dealing with the so-called recognition of African trades unions is unacceptable because it maintains the principle of racial and colour discrimination and domination and excludes African mine workers - the largest working group of Africans. The presence of natives in the mines from the territories outside the Union should not be used to deprive the native workers of their industrial rights.

"The proposed Bill gives the workers or their trade unions no active part in the settlement of industrial disputes in which they are concerned and denies the fundamental right of workers - collective bargaining and the enforcement of the workers' demands by means of the strike weapon.

"My working committee supports the Native Representative Council's resolution to adjourn indefinitely until their demands have been complied with and submits as evidence of earnestness and sincerity on the part of the Government the following:-

1. Removal of the political colour bar in the South Africa Act and direct representation of Africans in all legislative bodies - national, provincial and municipal.

2. Abolition of the pass laws.

3. Removal of land restrictions against Africans in urban and rural areas.

4. Recognition of African trades unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act, and adequate wages for African workers, including African mine workers.

5. Adequate housing for Africans and adequate mass training

facilities for Africans as builders and in other trades, with outlets for employment as skilled workers.

6. Extension of free compulsory education to all African children of school-going age.

7. The re-establishment of the status of African chiefs in national affairs."

For the purpose of our study it may be sufficient commentary on the above to say, that if conceded, and one must admit that nothing above the present horizon suggests that there is any early probability of this/abolition of 'racial' discrimination, would, at a stroke, abolish all obstacles in the way of the sharing of a common culture, which, in spite of current opposition, is nevertheless being slowly but steadily achieved.

In the meantime should any of the first six points urged by the working committee of Congress be accepted, they would strengthen this process as would the last, also, if, as seems inevitable, the Uganda procedure should come to be adopted, namely, the appointment of chiefs by selection rather than by heredity that is by qualifications other than those usually associated with tribal succession. Ten days later on May 22nd, the "Star" published a statement by Professor Matthews, the Chairman of the Council Caucus, which is too long for vebatim reproduction, but too important to disregard. From it, therefore, the following extracts are taken:-

> "In the preliminary remarks which the Prime Minister made before he went on to deal with his specific suggestions for the improvement of the situation, he seemed to us to admit quite frankly that our present native policy was out of date and did not fit in with the changed and changing conditions of African life today. That is a significant admission made at the ministerial level by the first citizen of the State. To my mind that is a definite gain. It ought to mean that in the future it should no longer be necessary for us to debate the question as to whether there is any need for a change in our present Native policy. That battle has been won, and the present Government, at any rate, is committed to finding a new direction for Union Native policy".

Although he stated that they must be on their guard against being fobbed off with something worthless than its face value, he added that there must be no stubborn refusal to consider proposals on their merits. The account then continued:-

> "Professor Matthews recalls that over two years ago a recess committee of the Council was appointed to examine the Native Representation Act and to make recommendations and suggest improvements. The report of that committee was sent to all Native local councils and general councils in the rural areas and to the South African Native Locations

Advisory Boards Congress for consideration and report. Finally the report was discussed in full Council and with various amendments was adopted and passed on to the Government for consideration and action.

COUNCIL'S PROPOSALS.

"That report then had behind it the united voice of the African people as expressed by their accredited representatives in official African public bodies. The principal recommendations of the recess committee were as follows: the extension of Assembly representation for Africans to the Northern Provinces; the extension of Provincial Council representation to the Northern Provinces; the increase of representation for Africans in the Senate up to the limit provided for in the Act; the extension of the individual vote to the Northern Provinces and the adoption of the system of individual voting for all elections under the Act; the grant of legislative and executive powers to the Native Representative Council; the increase of the African members of the Council from 16 to 60; the extension to Africans of representation in urban local bodies.

"These demands were in the opinion of the Council by no means extravagant, especially as they called for the removal of obvious anomalies in the existing system of separate representation, and did not raise the issue of a return to representation on the basis of a common roll on equal terms with other sections of the population, which, of course, remains the ultimate goal for which Africans will continue to strive until they achieve it.

"What has been the response of the Government to these modest demands? After a tantalising delay during which we were informed by no less a person than the Minister of Native Affairs that this matter was receiving the serious consideration of the Cabinet and the Native Affairs Commission, the Prime Minister has come forward with proposals relating only to the Native Representative Council. A veritable case of the mountain going into labour and producing a mouse".

The peculiar interest attaching to the above is the clarity with which it reveals the broad African basis from which suggestions for reform were built up, the correspondingly wide influence exerted directly upon the many Africans who participated, and indirectly upon a much larger number, and the influence apparently exerted upon General Smuts himself, whose own proposals bear a modest family likeness to those which derived from our politically segregated Natives. Referring to the new functions and powers to be vested in the Council, Matthews pointed out that:-

....."unless the African people are adequately represented in the body or bodies which retain the final say, there is no guarantee that the Council will be allowed to exercise its new found powers to the advantage of the African people"

Although this is apropos of General Smuts' statement, that the Council must be 'subject to the authority of Parliament and Government who will retain the final say', it seems a little gratuitous in that the recess committee of the Council, after wide consultation, had advocated "the grant of legislative and executive powers to

the Native Representative Council", but could hardly have expected that such powers would over-ride those of Parliament. Nevertheless he was able to cite the fact that Native local councils established under the Native Affairs Act, had in practice become merely advisory to the Native Commissioner who exercised all the powers supposedly vested in them. More trenchant, however, was the following statement:-

> "THE NEW POLICY DECLARATION OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE COUNCIL WILL ACHIEVE NOTHING UNLESS IT IS ACCOMPANIED BY A REAL CHANGE OF ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN DEALING WITH AFRICAN LEADERS WHO HAVE LEARNED FOR IN VAIN IN THE PAST.
>
> "Nor must it be forgotten that THE PEOPLE AND THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN GEN. A CHANGE IN THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF OUR NATIVE POLICY TO GIVE THE A SHARE IN GIVING EFFECT TO A POLICY WITH WHOSE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES THEY WILL PERSONAL DISAGREEMENT. We shall have to know a lot more about the fate of the other recommendations of our Recess Committee before we can regard what has so far been revealed as a step in the right direction". (Capitals mine)

To those who have had any length of personal contact with African leadership, this is but another example of the gift they not infrequently display, of hitting the target in spite of verbal smoke screens or the temptation offered by smaller game. Need it be added that such gifts in the hands of the more highly educated and suitably experienced, provide valuable equipment to enable them fittingly to participate in our democratic institutions, a fact at present obscured by the camouflage of colour, which would earn wider recognition on the part of those who have not had such contacts, if only the Africans were accorded the right to participate. That it must come there can be little real doubt, but if it be too long delayed the results may be calamitous.

Professor Matthews claimed that the proposed Trade Unions Bill had fundamental weaknesses. This will be referred to later, but in the meantime the following excerpt is illustrative:-

> "To compel the African worker to submit to a system of compulsory collective bargaining without the right to withhold his labour if he is dissatisfied with the decisions of a conciliation board on which he will not be represented, is to give him the shadow instead of the substance of recognition".

And of the proposal made by the Prime Minister, because of the exclusion of the mine-workers from the scope of the conciliation machinery, to provide as an alternative an inspectorate functioning under the Department of Native Affairs, he pertinently said:-

> "It is asking too much to expect the African people to believe that this new inspectorate will make a better job of protecting the interests of African mine-workers than the inspectorate has done in the past".

And so far as the deadlock is concerned, he concluded by saying that they were to be summoned in the near future to consider and report upon the Industrial Conciliation (Natives) Bill, when the Council would decide whether the Prime Minister's tentative plan for future native policy, his proposals concerning the Council, and his Bill for the recognition of African trade unions, taken jointly or separately, provided a satisfactory basis for making a fresh start with the work of the Council.

In the "New Africa Pamphlet" No. 4.[xx] so liberally quoted earlier in this chapter, Mr. J. D. Robertson the political correspondent who contributed "A View from the Press Gallery", writing five years after the legislation we have been considering was enacted, was most pessimistic in his assessment of its functioning.

> 'When General Hertzog introduced the second reading of the Representation of Natives Act at the famous Joint Session, he was almost brutally candid about the real object of his Bill. It was an act of political self-preservation on the part of the European".....
> "The Natives would be given some representation (enough to keep them quiet) in such a way that they would never be able to dominate European politics as a result of their superior numbers.
> All the emphasis was on the never. The aged politician visualized his 'solution of the Native problem' as an arrangement which would persist until Doomsday. The very rigidity of the provisions of the Act emphasises that swaggering attitude of finality".

Robertson had come to the conclusion that "everything General Hertzog wanted has been achieved"; that in spite of the fact that the Natives sent to Parliament "members who were intellectually vastly superior to most of the men and women chosen by the Europeans", they merely had an 'influence', since unfortunately

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xx "Political Representation of Africans in the Union".

neither argument nor oratory but the division bell is the tocsin of our law-givers"; that since General Smuts in the Second Reading Debate had expressed the belief that the Natives Representative Council was of the greatest importance, and that after advising Parliament on Native affairs, it would ultimately achieve legislative authority in such affairs, he had signally failed, and that, although the Native representatives had acquitted themselves with great distinction "they themselves would admit that the practical results have not been very great".

Although most interesting in retrospect, there are grounds for holding that Robertson, although factually correct, was unduly pessimistic so far as fruitful consequences are concerned. Similarly my submission is that the "Star", writing five years after Robertson, during which years the African feeling of frustration had grown in intensity, committed an error in judgment or in exactitude, when it reviewed the situation under the leader-heading "The Ten Lost Years".

Imponderables remain immeasurable, and one cannot attempt to appraise what Robertson much too lightly described as "merely .... an influence" exerted by the Native representatives. It is equally impossible to assess the influence on African opinion of the growth towards maturity, during this period, of the members of the Natives Representative Council, who, because of the experience forged and the knowledge gained, will in due course be found to have contributed appreciably to the next chapter of liberation, ----------for the divergence of views has not prevented the convergence of culture.

.....

UNITED TRANSKEIAN GENERAL COUNCIL SYSTEM.

Earlier in this chapter we recalled how General Smuts, after explaining at the inaugural meeting of the Natives Representative Council how the present administrative system of the Transkeian Territories had evolved, said that "Its success has proved a precedent for the much larger and more ambitious step which is now taken with the Natives Representative Council.

This was consistent with the following excerpt from the closing address at the 1937 Session of the General Council at Umtata, by the Chief Magistrate, Mr. R. Fyfe King:-

> "We have seen during the past year what I may describe as a break-away from past tradition in Native Administration. I refer to the creation of the Natives Representative Council. The creation of this body is, I think, the finest compliment that could have been paid to the General Council here.
>
> It is the reputation of this Council and the success which has attended its deliberations which...have been mainly responsible for this further development". xx

Twelve years earlier during his tour of the Territores, the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, is reported to have said at Umtata that he wanted to congratulate them on their system of administration, since it was not only the best in South Africa, but, he thought, the best he had ever read of.

> "The system had not been applied outside the Transkei but he had come to the conclusion that this system should be adopted elsewhere. His experience had confirmed him in that view and he hoped Parliament would soon extend the system to other native areas"... %+%

In June 1932, the Governor General addressing a large meeting of Africans at the same headquarters, said:-

> "I am glad to know of the good work which is being done by the General Council, which plays so prominent a part in the shaping of your destinies. The dignity and wisdom of its proceedings are well known to me.... The amalgamation of the Transkeian Territories General Council and the Pondoland General Council two years ago was a wise and statesmanlike decision. This amalgamation must increasingly benefit these Territories, for whose people it is now able to speak with one voice.
>
> I have heard with great interest of the desire expressed by the General Council....to be entrusted with enlarged powers and responsibilities. If it be found possible to accede to this request, I wish to express the hope that in the exercise of such powers you will display the same moderation and care for the well-being of the whole community which have characterised your resolutions in the past". ++

Enthusiasm rather than vice-regal restraint, marked the following extract from the Native press, the 'Imvo' of 26.4.32. reporting, in anticipation of the extension powers, which had become inevitable, that:-

"The unanimous decision of the Bunga to grant executive powers

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xx "An Address on the General Council Administrative System of the Transkeian Territories", by J.T. Kenyon, pp. 96-97. %+% op. cit P. 29. ++ op. cit. pp 29-30.

> to a conclave of an equal number of European and Native members with the Chief Magistrate as Chairman, ushers in an era of amazing development". xx

About the same time the "Umteteli wa Bantu" wrote much less convincingly, in tones more redolent of those usually associated with threatened European interests:-

> "The recent session of the United Transkeian Territories General Council was marked by that restraint and decorum which we have learnt to expect from its members..... The 80 members.....pattern their work on the model supplied by their president, whose addresses from the Chair are always appropriate to the occasion, comprehensive and forceful by reason of their rigid temperateness". ++

Why Kenyon, whose interesting survey of the Transkeian administrative system, has proved so valuable a work of reference for so many years, should extol "rigid temperateness" as a virtue to be acquired by Africans whose needs are urgent and red-blooded, it is a little difficult to appreciate.

Before retracing our steps to examine the earlier stages in the development of this most creditable feature of constitutional political development for the African in the Union, one may be forgiven for introducing a slightly different note by Professor Macmillan, in order that, at the outset, we may suspend judgment concerning the sanctity of this system for general application.

Admitting that the Transkei "is often held up outside the Union as the model for all Reserves", he adds that:-

> "It has, in fact unique administrative and social features which give it a corporate life of its own. Good as they are, theyserve only to show the futility of the best administrative methods where life-giving economic activity is absent, as it almost must be in any Reserve. What has come to be known as the Transkeian or Glen Grey System, owes its more hopeful features to a now discarded liberalism"....."Under sympathetic magisterial direction, Africans have come near to working the mysteries of Western political institutions---the same that are now widely considered to be unsuited to their needs elsewhere". xxx

Elsewhere he says:-

> "The peaceful contentment of the Transkei is in a measure real; it is also a legend; and the very placidity of life in these quiet backwaters may in some degree be to thank for the unhappy trend of policy in so much of the rest of the African continent, having disguised the weakness inherent in the idea of keeping as many as possible of the people of Africa in such 'reserves'.

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xx Kenyon. op. cit pp 30-31. ++ Ibid p. 31. xxx "Africa Emergent" (Faber & Faber) pp 165-166.

> It has become the one aim even of the critics who champion African rights to have as many more Transkeis as possible in the Union, and ample reserves elsewhere".@@@

He then goes on record with the thought provoking dictum that:-

> "In all the settler countries the practical issue is not even to make the reserves more 'adequate'; it is to secure immediately the position of those Africans, who, on the theory of the segregationists themselves, must spend all their best working years outside them". ##

We shall have cause to return tothis point of view later, but in the meantime may profitably examine a few of the facts leading up to, or bearing upon the constitution of the General Council. The annexation of the Territories began with proclamations relating to Fingoland and Griqualand East in 1879, and was completed by the incorporation of Pondoland in 1894.

Lord Hailey writes:-

> "The various annexation laws recognized that the natives were not sufficiently advanced in civilization and social progress to be admitted to the full responsibility granted and imposed respectively by the ordinary laws of the Colony"; while, therefore, magisterial rule was extended to them, and as in the Ciskei, the chiefs were reduced to the position of stipendiaries, native law was administered. This procedure was facilitated by the fact that legislation was by proclamation, which both made it possible to recognize native law, and to adjust its terms where necessary to the needs of the new conditions which had arisen. Whereas colonial laws operated in the Ciskei unless specially reserved, they applied to the Transkei only when extended by Parliament or by proclamation". @@

It was not until the Cape Native Laws and Customs Commission of 1883 studied the subject, that uniformity was introduced. It also recommended the establishment of a formally elected Native Council. Captain Matthew Blyth, the first Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, had proposed in 1882 that "a sort of Municipal Council be formed in each District", and Sir Theophilus Shepstone suggested to the Commission a council of chiefs. Hence there is an honourable and long-standing tradition concerning this.

Although the Glen Grey Act of 1894, introduced by Rhodes, referred specifically to a Ciskei district, "its importance in the history of native administration is due mainly to its subsequent

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@@@ Macmillan, op. cit. p. 213. ## Ibid p. 214. @@ op. cit. pp. 350-1

application to the Transkeian Territories"**

It introduced individual land tenure and initiated a system of local government in Native areas. One reads:-

> "THE ACT CONTAINED AT THE OUTSET THE SEED OF THE THEORY OF POLITICAL, AS A COROLLARY TO TERRITORIAL SEGREGATION, in that the holding of land in quit-rent tenure in districts to which it applied, did not constitute a qualification for the parliamentary franchise. Rhodes described it as a 'Native Bill for Africa', and its principles regarding local government by means of a council were progressively extended by proclamation". xx
>
> (Capitals mine)

This is of particular interest to us in view of the avowed connection between this legislation and the Natives Representation Act of 1936, and of the absence of any finesse concerning the alliance between political and territorial segregation, when the later Act was introduced. Kenyon points out that as the various Territories were annexed the Governor assumed the legislative functions of the paramount chiefs who were granted "substantial stipends by way of solatia"; and that the sub-chiefs became paid government headmen whose duties were defined in Government Notice No. 2252 of 1928, (there were approximately 1,000 when he wrote).

It is a little difficult to reconcile with this, his statement that "Native custom was recognized and the result was that the life of the ordinary Native was hardly affected". Moreover he advances as the reason for the earlier government by proclamation that it was

> "In order to enable the Government to legislate for the special needs of a comparatively primitive people whose evolution had been accelerated through contact with a higher civilisation, and whose changing conditions required closer attention than could be given by a legislature whose time was taken up mainly with European affairs".... @@

Relevant here are the proclamations and regulations issued under the Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927, for they included the "Constitution of Native Appeal Courts" (Proclamation No. 301 of 1928),

"Duties of Native Commissioners" (Government Notice No. 2250 of 1928)

Duties etc. of Chiefs and Headmen" (G.N. No. 2252 of 1928).

Native Appeal Court Rules" (G.N. 2254 of 1928), and

** Ibid p. 352. xx Ibid p. 352. @@ op. cit. p. 13.

"Regulations for Chiefs' Civil Courts" (G.N. No. 2255 of 1928). ++

Each of the above illustrates convergence of culture, as of course does the whole of the administrative system in the Territories. (With Union, laws ~~apply~~ applying automatically unless the Territories are specially exempted).

Although in Chapter VI we studied in some detail problems connected with law and justice, including native law, the attitude of Government towards a related resolution from the 1921 Session of the Transkeian Territories General Council, deserves notice. The resolution read:-

> "That Government be respectfully requested to appoint a Commission with a view to investigating all the Native laws and customs in the Transkeian Territories and codifying them".

To this the Government reply was:-

> "The South African Native Affairs Commission of 1903-1905 was opposed to the enactment of a code of Native law and the Government holds that there are objections to the crystallisation of primitive and occasionally discrepant customs which may be expected to lose much of their inherent value as the people progress"....."Native law is customary, and it would be incongruous with its essence to deprive it of its elasticity as lex non scripta". ++

It would be quite impossible to estimate the effect in later administration of this wise decision against petrifying native law.

According to Kenyon, the establishment of Native Councils in the Transkeian Territories under a formal constitution, dates from the beginning of 1895, when four districts sent representatives to a General Council or Bunga, the system being extended until at the end of 1930, 19 districts were represented, including East Griqualand and Tembuland. (It is explained that there was no coercion but that Government waited for the people to express their wishes in the matter). In 1911 a General Council was established for three districts of Western Pondoland, the four districts of Eastern Pondoland being included in this Council of 1927.

The councils were federated as "The United Transkeian Territories General Council", as from January 1st, 1931 (Proclamation No. 279 of 1930)

++ Ibid p. 15. ++ Ibid p. 15.

The functions and powers of the General Council are defined as follows:-

> (a) the initiation and consideration of any matter relating to the economic, industrial or social conditions of the Native population of the Union or any part thereof, in so far as it affects the Natives within the area of jurisdiction of the Council;
> (b) the consideration of any proposed legislation or existing law which specially affects the Native population of the Union in so far as it affects the Natives within the area of jurisdiction of the Council;
> (c) the consideration of any specific matter submitted to it by the Governor-General or by the Minister;
> (d) the passing of resolutions on such matters". xx

It must be admitted that when such wide powers were legally vested in the Council, the further convergence of cultures within the territories was ensured, no matter how firm the conviction that political segregation has helped to buttress territorial, and by implication, cultural segregation.

The General Council consists of the Chief Magistrate of the Transkeian Territories as presiding officer, 26 magistrates, and 82 African members. Its annual session lasts between two and three weeks.

> "The District and General Councils are constituted as Advisories to the administration, associating the people with the control of local funds, giving them a voice in the disposal of affairs intimately affecting their own interests, training them to constitutional methods of expressing their wishes in regard to general and local policy, and also keeping Government and its officers immediately in charge of the administration of the Transkeian Territories in touch with Native feeling.
> In local administration the various District Councils stand to the General Council in the relation of individual parts of a single body. They are the executive organs of the General Council which distributes amongst them such duties as road maintenance, dipping operations, soil reclamation, construction of stock and domestic dams, and supervision of commonages, but remains financially responsible for their actions"....."The amalgamation of resources enables the undertaking of projects which would be beyond the means of any single district organisation". xx

An important provision in Chapter III of the 1932 constitution is the following:-

> "20 (2) The Chief Magistrate shall, together with three Magistrates and four Native members, constitute an Executive Committee, responsible for the administration and control of such Council affairs as are defined in Schedule 'A' hereof".

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xx Kenyon op. cit. p. 42. xx Ibid. p. 40.

The Schedule reads:-

"Establishments. Appointments, discipline and dismissal of pensionable officers.
Education. Scholarships.
Agriculture. (i) Establishment of new agricultural institutions.
(ii) New agricultural institution buildings.
(iii) Acquisition and disposal of farms.
(iv) Establishment, acquisition and disposal of plantations.
Public Works. Consideration of tenders for any service the lowest tender for which is over £[illegible].
General. The institution of legal proceedings." xxx

If the functions of the Executive Committee be compared with those of the General Council already cited, the extent of delegated executive powers would seem to be very restricted, and of these, namely the allocation of scholarships, one gathers that "The final selection of successful applicants is in the hands of the Chief Executive Officer". ##

Moreover, according to Lord Hailey, (speaking of the General

> "At the close of its meetings its resolutions are reviewed by a conference of the official members before submission to the Governor-General.
> This Conference was at one time viewed with some suspicion by native opinion, but since the native members of the Council have been allowed to be present at its discussions, suspicion has abated and less interest appears to be taken in its proceedings". ###

In addition, although of a membership of eight, four are Europeans, and although as we have seen its functions are restricted, the Executive even within its narrow terms of reference, is further limited, since apparently:-

> "Questions arising in the Executive Committee are decided by a majority of votes, but the chairman has the right to reserve for the decision of the Minister any resolution that is contrary to his own views". xOx

And yet, speaking of the assumption of executive powers, Kenyon bears the following tribute:-

> 'I, a Council official with 28 years' service, have attended every Session of the General Council during that period, and can say without any fear, that I am certain that these powers will not be abused". xxx

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xxx Ibid pp. 42 & 44. ## Ibid p. 62. ### op. cit. p. [illegible].
xOx Ibid p. 55. xxx Kenyon. op. cit. p. 46.

In essence, as Lord Hailey points out, although providing for a large measure of local government, the council system was an extension of magisterial rule, since the district magistrate is ex-officio chairman of the district council, and the Chief Magistrate is Chairman and chief executive officer of the General Council.

For our purpose the important thing to realise is how fruitful of desirable development the evolution of this system has been; how liberal its administration, and how effective, through the sympathetic contact between the two 'races', has been the training given to the African councillors in constitutional procedure. That, concurrently, there should have been stimulated a growth of 'racial' consciousness of greater freedom of expression regarding African aspirations, and of critical judgment concerning current party politics as they affect their people, is not to be wondered at.

That such training, since its inception, has effectively assisted the assimilation of western culture by the tribes of these Territories, is not open to question, and that its beneficial results should have helped to promote the extension of that process beyond their borders, was ensured by the consequential establishment of the Natives Representative Council.

The General Council is responsible for an annual expenditure of approximately £200,000, (Government approved Estimates of Expenditure for 1947/48 amount to £198,953), and since its inauguration the total expenditure controlled by Council has exceeded 6 million pounds[xx], much of which will have been devoted to agricultural schools and experimental farms, the payment of agricultural demonstrators and other officers, road maintenance, medical assistance, bursaries, soil erosion measures, the conservation and supply of water and fencing grants.

The taking of decisions concerning the spending of well over 6 million pounds by people who until comparatively recently had not been introduced to our cash economy system, but dwelt on a subsistence economy level, represents more than that capital investment in culture change.

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xx The aggregate expenditure up to 30th June 1946 was given as £6,379,602 in the 1947 Blue-book quoted below (p.lxxvi)

Undoubtedly one of the most interesting of all the blue-books published in or in respect of any African territory, is that entitled "Proceedings and Reports of Select Committees", annually produced for the United Transkeian Territories General Council, by the Territorial Printers, Umtata.

Within the compass of about 200 pages is available in most readable form a wealth of convincing evidence regarding the able, responsible, and dignified manner in which these African Councillors conduct business according to accepted parliamentary procedure on a great variety of subjects. The eclectic nature of these may be judged from the following samples, selected alphabetically but at random, from the Index of Proceedings of the 1947 Session:-

> Accommodation for Natives in Industrial Centres.
> Appeal Court Assessors.
> Bills and Bloodstock: Subsidies for purchase of.
> Clinics; Number and Staffing of.
> Co-operative Credit Societies, Native.
> Delimitation of Postal Areas.
> Electoral Circles and Divisions.
> Fencing of Forest Plantations.
> General Council Vehicles: Accidents.
> Home Welfare Officers.
> Industries: Establishment of.
> Lecturers at Schools of Agriculture.
> Medical Scholarships.
> National Health Scheme.
> Ploughing: Supply of Tractors for.
> Sister Tutor for Umtata Hospital.
> Social Centres: Establishment of.
> Telephone: Night Services for Hospitals.
> Union's Immigration Policy.

Not very many years ago it must be admitted that not one of the above subjects would have been intelligible to Africans resident in these Territories, from which it would appear that this is a further instance of a project largely intended to ensure political segregation, securing for the African development along "our own" lines.

Before concluding this section it may be helpful to draw upon the 1947 hansard, in order to illustrate that real competence is shown in discussing such subjects.

From Minute No. 89, the following excerpts are taken:-

> "Cr. M. Mokoatle moved:- 'That this Council requests the Government to allow qualified Natives in the clerical division of the Native Affairs Department to prosecute in the courts of law when Natives are involved'.

The Mover: This motion is similar in effect to other motions which have been discussed in this Council and on that account I will not be lengthy over it. The Native people of the present day are so educated that they have reached a very high standard, but we are surprised and wonder what the reason is why they are not able to advance.

Sometimes we think that the Government has not opened sufficient avenues for the advancement of such people, but I do not think the Government can prohibit the progress of anyone, because the advancement of a people is like the growing of a child. Whether you like it or not a child is bound to grow"..... "I submit therefore, that the time has now come that....we should make representations in this respect and see what the reply will be"...."When we take higher education we do so with the hope that there will be openings for such students, because if a man has the means and desires to advance his education, he does so with energy like an ox that is used to the yoke".

Cr. Chief J. Moshesh. "I have not much to say on this motion. We have our lawyers, our doctors, all of whom have qualified, and I do not see why, in regard to civil servants, if a man qualifies, he should be restricted from being allowed to practise, because that is exactly what the Government wants, that we should be able to do things for ourselves.

THIS BUNGA HERE IS A SCHOOL FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT. SUCH PEOPLE AS ARE MENTIONED IN THIS MOTION HERE ARE THE ADVANCE-GUARD OF THIS SCHOOL.

I do not especially remember any who have qualified and who have not been refused practice. I do not think for a single minute that such a thing could be. If a man is qualified he ought to use his qualifications"..... xx

(Capitals mine)

From Minute 90, the "Report of the Select Committee on Finance", the following are typical extracts:-

"Mr. Warner: I move the adoption of section (8) - Industrial School Grants".

Cr. H.E. Maini seconded.

Cr. D.D. Ndamase: "With regard to the recommendation of the Treasurer, what sort of results are expected to be shown by these schools?"

Mr. Warner: "The results expected are thriving home industries. People should learn to make these things at home".

Cr. C.W. Monakali: "I contend that this council should not support the recommendation of the Committee, when it says that this matter should be reconsidered because these schools are not carryin out their original intention. The Council did well to support these schools and we are grateful for that, but I think it is too early to say they cannot be supported because they do not show results.

The trouble of these schools is the same as the trouble of agriculture as affecting the demonstrators. A student from the School of Agriculture entertains the idea that he should be employed as a demonstrator, and not that he should work at his home, although the original object was that those ex-students should work at their homes and develop agriculture there.

It is the same with the girls who are taught at these schools. They entertain the idea of being employed so that they can get good wages. Their parents have no idea of supplying their children with capital so that they can start an industry. I think that the Committee's recommendation is premature. In course of time there will be people who will think of these enterprises, as times advance and people get used to new ideas. If these schools are not supported by the Council they will be finished and

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xx Op. Cit. p. 91.

> will go out of operation. I therefore say that this recommendation will give us trouble".
>
> Cr. T. Ntintili: "I wish to say a few words in order to throw some light as to why the Committee has recommended as it has done.
>
> You will notice that the Committee recommends that the grant should be paid on condition that the results achieved fully justify the continuance of the payment of the full grant.
>
> These schools submit a report, copies of which were tabled by the Treasurer, and it is from that one can say with definite certainty, whether a school is serving a useful purpose or whether it is on the downgrade, and it is where schools are going out of existence that we say the Council should not pay these grants. If the school is serving a useful purpose, we say that the Council should continue paying these grants". [44]

It will be conceded, I feel sure, that these two brief illustrations serve to support one's contention regarding the competence shown, and the attainment of a reasonably high standard of debate. More convincing evidence concerning this will be taken from a motion which was less parochial, and therefore more contentious, for it left the placidity of the Transkeian kraals for a larger and more turbulent setting, although the issues with which it was concerned impinged forcibly upon these rural territories.

I refer to Minute 80: "Union Immigration Policy", from which one reads the following:-

> "Cr. G. Pana moved:- That this Council representing two million Native people domiciled in these territories is gravely disturbed by the statement of the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. J.C. Smuts on the Union Immigration policy to the effect:-
>
> 'That the census figures just released had emphasised the disparity between the European and native population in South Africa. Immigration is the call of today. If I had to put our problems in their proper order, he said, I would put first the matter of strengthening our European population. It is no use talking about the future unless you place first first of all the paramount question of our European population"....."South Africa is crying out for man-power, he said. We have entered a new stage of development and we are expanding in all directions with the result that the Union needs far greater European resources than ever before.
>
> We want our European population to increase by leaps and bounds. General Smuts said that we wanted a European influx into South Africa that would recreate our country. Let us not be afraid. We shall digest them.
>
> Let them come to the industry that is clamouring for them. General Smuts added that situated on a black continent we want a strong flow of good Europeans to supplement our human resources. He, the Prime Minister, is not one of those who shivers at night over the black spectre in Africa. We have held our own for over 300 years, and we can hold our own for another 3,000 years.'

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[44] Ibid. P. 93.

The Mover: "You have heard General Smuts' remarks that this question of immigration is a living problem in South Africa. I think everybody was disappointed who read these remarks of the Prime Minister's. I am glad to find that there are many Europeans who do not support the Prime Minister's immigration policy. I do not mean the Opposition in Parliament. I mean other European people. I think the Prime Minister had it in his mind that the Native is a menace to this country. It would appear that the Prime Minister was surprised at the numbers which were returned at the last population census. He refers to the economic position of things in the future, and he does not mention the Native at all in any respect, except at the end of his address when he said that we are in a continent of Africans and that the Europeans have maintained their position for 300 years and would continue to hold it for 3,000 years.

Not only the Prime Minister but other Cabinet Ministers share this view. I have in my hand a speech of the Minister of Native Affairs, Major Piet van der Byl, that the Nationalists are demanding White supremacy in South Africa, and yet they oppose the Government's immigration policy which would bring many more Europeans to this country and would be on way of ensuring White supremacy.

Senator Conroy, Minister of Lands, made similar remarks at Port Elizabeth when he said that the European population would be committing national suicide if they do not bring more Europeans to this country. Senator Clarkson also hoped to double the European population of this country within ten years.

When the Prime Minister left Paris on his way to America, he made a speech in the Dutch Parliament. He said that although South Africa was progressive, yet it lacked trained European power. We African people are opposed to General Smuts' view. All that we can say is that South Africa lacks trained man power. It is quite easy to put that matter right. It does not mean that we must seek for immigrants from Europe. There are nearly nine-million non-Europeans in South Africa. They should be taught skilled work. I have stated that inthe Prime Minister's version of future economic development it does not mention the Native at all.

I do not know whether the Prime Minister was merely indulging in political propaganda in view of the coming election.

In 1929 the Prime Minister made a speech at Edinburgh. He was addressing the Royal Geographical Society. He was again speaking on the future economic development of South Africa, only on that occasion he was not addressing a political meeting in South Africa.

I will read one paragraph of his address. 'I wish to impress upon you the magnitude of the task upon which we are engaged in South Africa. A grand experiment in racial and economic contact is being carried out, which is fraught with numerous dangers for the future of our civilisation'....'If black and white, faithful to themselves can manage to evolve a plan upon which they can develop the resources of this country, a great service will be rendered for the future of the human race.' That was the Prime Minister's address when he was addressing a scientific society overseas.

The immigration policy....seems to suggest that the African cannot be trained for skilled work, but we find that in America and also on the Gold Coast, Africans can perform skilled work if they are trained"....."Let us see if it would not be possible to introduce an alternative policy"....."the training of Africans for skilled work and their employment after training, which would mean that they should have facilities for acquiring education. That means the erection of technical colleges for the African people, and more agricultural colleges, and that

the apprentices who are Africans should be employed. That policy would mean the removal of the present economic colour bar".....
....."Again the Prime Minister's immigration policy is just like the present horse-shoe of the magistrates who are surrounded on all sides by African councillors, which would mean if General Smuts' view is carried, that the Africans who surround the magistrates' horse-shoe are rivals and enemies of the Europeans, which would mean that the Europeans in South Africa are surrounded on all sides by an African population which is hostile to them". xx

Towards the end of this vigorous and thought-provoking speech, the mover said:-

"The civilisation which is being produced in South Africa is not being produced by Europeans alone. Civilisation has no colour and it is not the monopoly of Europeans. Civilisation belongs to the whole community. IF AFRICANS ARE TAUGHT SKILLED WORK THEY WILL NOT BE ENEMIES OF CIVILISATION. THEY WILL BECOME PARTNERS OF AFRICAN CIVILISATION." ## (Capitals mine)

Councillor T. Ntintili who supported, said, inter alia:-

"We all feel sore on account of General Smuts' speech. We all say that we feel sore if it represents his sincere ideas, because we have been waiting for what is called reconstruction, which was announced by the same Prime Minister when he said that after peace is declared we would proceed with reconstruction. We regarded reconstruction as resurrection, but instead we see that the meaning of that reconstruction is to oppress the African and go and seek new numbers of Europeans for this country".... "We have just voted in favour of stopping the influx from our part of the country into the towns because we thought that was a right thing to do, but today we see that the idea is in order to increase the influx from overseas countries....."we had hoped that after the war we ourselves would have opportunities in the industries. We have established our right because we played our part in the war. We should get opportunities, therefore, in this country"....."The President of the Chamber of Industries made the following remarks in support of what we are saying now:-

'The proposed wholesale immigration into South Africa, can only be justified if it is accompanied by a complete change of outlook towards our non-European population, and if we are determined henceforth to give to all in this country, regardless of their race and colour, equal opportunities of acquiring the skill and knowledge they are capable of acquiring and of undertaking the work which needs to be done.'" ≠

One can pardon the last speaker for his concluding inference when he added:- "When the Prime Minister addressed his people, he urged them not to be afraid: 'We shall digest them'. We take that to mean that we shall do away with those people who have no discrimination against colour, but instead we will instil into them the South African spirit of discrimination." xxx

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xx op. cit. pp. 80-81. ## Ibid Idem p. 81. (In the last paragraph reference is to the horse-shoe seating plan in the Bunga) -≠ Quoted from address by r.G.E.Williamson at the 29th Annual Conference of the African Federated Chamber of Industries. xxx op. cit. p. 81.

It makes sad reading, but undoubtedly so did the Prime Minister's statement on immigration policy, when read and pondered over in the Transkei and elsewhere. Nevertheless the purpose of so fully reproducing this contribution to the Bunga debate, was not to join issue on this inter-party and inter-'racial' matter, although of such major significance, but, by quoting from the official hansard, to let the evidence speak for itself concerning the degree of insight and political penetration which comes so readily to the emerging African, and which, if only it could be wisely used, and sympathetically guided in the central legislature as well as in local government bodies, would contribute a sense of reality which our parliamentary debates will continue to lack, so long as the majority group is not represented there.

Kenyon, the loyal enthusiast of long and intimate experience in the working of the administrative system of the Transkeian territories, ends his informative summary, on the following note:-

> "It is trusted that this publication will help many South Africans and others interested in the development of the native races to realise that the General Council under wise guidance has advanced to a stage of development which will serve as an example to other parts of the Union.
>
> It shows what can accrue from mutual co-operation between the people and the officials of the Native Affairs Department. Much has still to be done, but when important matters of development can be discussed in a spirit of tolerance, frankness and goodwill such as has prevailed in the General Council Chamber, it is possible to solve many difficulties.
>
> May the success and progress that has marked the past be an augury for future development". ^^

His confidence was more than justified, for no apologia is needed for the admirable record of the General Council, a record which has deservedly earned the cordial appreciation of other administrations and of other areas, which in many cases lagged lamentably behind. As we have seen, this record paved the way for the important Natives Representative Council, whose further evolution is imminent, so that Councillor Chief Moshesh, in the debate quoted, was perfectly correct in describing the Bunga as a training school for self-government.

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^^ Kenyon op. cit. P. 121.

In South Africa, the distribution of the population according to the ethnic groups, the indivisible nature of their joint economic system, and the steady development of common interests under a single administration, should make it crystal clear that local self-government in a Native area is no justification of our insistence upon the concurrent renunciation by the African leaders of their claim to participate in the European political system.

In the later perspective of history, it may well be considered that the General Council's chief contribution towards improved 'race'-relations and constitutional development, was the preparation of the African for this fuller participation, and of responsible European opinion concerning it.

In the meantime we cannot set aside the testimony we have examined regarding the powerful influence of the Council as an agent in the dissemination of "European" culture in the Transkeian Territories.

.....

CHAPTER X

CONCURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN OTHER AFRICAN TERRITORIES.

When dealing with government as an agent in cultural change, we referred to the last paragraph of the "Report of the Native Affairs Commission, for the Year, 1945-46" (U.G. 14-'47). from which was excerpted the following:-

> "In concluding this brief summary, the Commission desires to draw attention to the great developments that are taking place in Native Administration in African Territories beyond the Union, not only within the Empire group, but also in the vast territories administered by other European countries" ..... "These developments are bringing about changes in Native outlook that must ultimately spread their influence to the Union".

This point of view we naturally support, for we hold that among the dynamic forces of cultural change which, cumulatively, must of necessity have great repercussions among the indigenous population of the Union, those operating in other territories must be reckoned with, in spite of our own political opinions and ineffective insolationism.

Before examining recent constitutional changes beyond our borders, to ascertain the degree to which they are likely to affect African opinion here, it may be of interest to note that there are those who, from a very different motive, take cognizance of possible wider affiliations.

In an article entitled "Other Territories," in the Cape Times of March 3rd. 1947, Dr. A. Shedrow, Chairman of the South African National French Association, wrote:-

> "With the signing of the Anglo-French Alliance, a new page in international good-will and co-operation opens up. This momentous event completes the triangular chain of existing alliances between England, France, and Russia, and no missing link is left in that chain of solidarity"...
>
> "Both South Africa and France have vast native populations, both countries have territories under mandate, both countries have proved of mutual value to each other during the war from economic and commercial points of view. Both countries have to face the resurgence and awakening of the coloured masses".

He then added that there are two other factors making it imperative to strengthen the Dunkirk Alliance. The first is that "The centre of gravity of the British Empire is shifting to Africa", and the second is that .....

> "the severe shock of colour impact felt on this continent

> compels all European component parts of Africa to achieve a measure of unity, so as to avoid in future, misunderstandings, misrepresentations, and undue friction as was witnessed at the last session of UNO"....

Could anything be more pathetic than this doctrine that throughout Africa there must be unity among the Europeans to counteract world opinion regarding their attitude towards the non-European?

> "during the war", the article continued, "General Smuts advocated a form of Pan-Africanism which resembled that of the French Governor General of French Africa.
>
> General Smuts spoke of a loose federation of States of Africa.
>
> He avoided details and possible constitutional readjustments but envisaged larger human groupings, closer co-operation and constant and intimate consultation.
>
> In that rather limited form the question of colour had to be omitted, owing to different views of the component forms of Africa".

The last sentence is very revealing.

Shedrow continued:-

> "That was Smuts' plain in 1943, but ..... "To-day we have UNO. To-day we tend to group in regional alliances and mutual confidence is instilled; to-day we in Africa face problems which must be approached and solved collectively; to-day we are faced with circumstances which compel us, from a reaction of self-defence and survival, to enter into an African regional alliance"

Also revealing is the reference then made to a conversation with General Smuts:-

> "If a unified policy with regard to natives could be devised, whereas at present Belgium, France, England South Africa, and Portugal have different ones, said General Smuts, we would have achieved one of the greatest tasks."

At times it may well be embarrassing to the Union Politicians to realise that other Colonial Powers pursue a different policy towards the subject 'race', The conclusion follows that more cohesion would lessen the disequilibrium in a satisfactory manner, provided, of course, that South Africa's policy received general assent, a conclusion shared to a large extent by many of the Europeans in Keyna who seek responsibile government on the Southern Rhodesia model.

Reference to Part 11'A' of the Colonial Office List, 1946, illustrates with customary official restraint, how closer

co-ordination between regional dependencies in Africa had been established. Although the position described has already been left behind, the following extracts have value for our purpose.

After brief reference to the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940, as amended in 1945, which made available £120,000,000 for development, welfare and research for the 10 year period ending on 31st March, 1956, and admitting that no general Colonial conferences had been held since 1950, it stated that measures had nevertheless been taken to promote consultation and co-operation between the Governments of Colonial territories which had common regional interests.

"East African Governors' Conference:

In pursuance of a recommendation of the Parliamentary Commission which visited East Africa in 1924, a first Conference of Governors of the British East African Dependencies was held in ..... 1926, for the discussion of matters of mutual concern. It was then decided that a permanent Secretariat ... should be established at Nairobi, and conferences held as and when necessary. Subsequently the Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa recommended that the machinery of the Governors' Conference should be increasingly utilised for the purpose of ensuring continuous and effective co-operation and co-ordination in all matters of common interest to East Africa.

As a result, it was decided that the Conference should be deemed to be in permanent session with a view to its being convened at any time when necessary, and that there should, in any case, be an annual meeting of the Governors of Kenya, Tanganyika Territory and Uganda, attended, if desired, by the Governors of Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and the British Resident, Zanzibar." .....

"Central African Council:

The creation of a Standing Central African Council was announced in the House of Commons by the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 18th October, 1944.

The object of the Council is to promote the closest possible contact and co-ordination of policy and action between the Governments of Souther Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on all matters of common interest to the three territories.

The Govenor of Southern Rhodesia is Chairman of the Council and the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are expfficio members. The council meets at intervals of not less than six months and has a permanent Secretariat".

..... "Standing committees have been appointed to deal with trypanosomiasis, civil aviation, conservation of natural resources, distribution of goods, industrial problems and publication of statistics, African housing, public relations and medical research Special committees have also been established to study problems of migrant labour, European education, finance and currency".

West African Council:

This section describes how shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1939, the Secretary of State approved the formation of a West African Governors' Conference, but that:-

"It became clear ... that West Africa was to play an increasingly

important part, not only as a vital centre of Imperial communications, by both sea and air, but also as a source of man-power, and as a principal producer of raw materials urgently required for the prosecution of the war."

Inconsequence a Minister of Cabinet rank was appointed in 1942 with the title of "Minister Resident in West Africa".

With the end of hostilities in 1945 this post was abolished and a West African Council was formed, of which one reads:-

"The Secretary of State is himself Chairman of the Council, with the four Governors as members. Meetings of the Council are to be held two or three times a year, andif the Secretary of State is unable to preside in person, his place will normally be taken by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary".

It is clear from the above that beyond the borders of the Union, all British Dependencies in Africa participate in large regional groupings to consider matters of common interest and to promote related co-ordination of policy. They do not meet to promote the solidarity of the Europeans, in order to withstand the better the menance created by sharing "their" culture with the Africans.

Even though lacking executive functions, therefore, these conferences or councils in which the officers administering the various governments regularly meet, by the broad sweep of their terms of reference, and by serving as a connection link between the Colonial Office and local legislatures, and as an inter-territorial agency at the higest level for the examination and furthermore of administrative and departmental programmes, must thereby accelerate the expansion of his social services, and the improvement in the African's standard of living. In other words they ensure and help to co-ordinate convergence of culture, in directions considered desirable by successive Secretaries of State. The trend of such convergence fluctuates less than one might suppose, for the force at work and the momentum gained withstand radical change, apart from which, under different ministries, the objectives remain very largely the same even though the rate of advance towards these may vary.

It is common knowledge, however, that it is only within the last generation or so, that a change of outlook has influenced the United Kingdom, the United States, and certain other countries to accept as a major government responsibility the active promotion of social welfare and security, with all that this connotes. Intervention is these matters, as in the economic system generally, would not have been tolerated years ago. Consequently this has

led to the application of new criteria to colonial administration, which must increasingly result in an insistance upon more rapid development. To this may be attributed the high-power drive in post-war planning through-out the Colonial dependencies, and although many of the high hopes so raised may, for the time being, have been thwarted because of international conditions, a new dynamic of atomic force has been supplied to many African communities by means of fuller share in democratic institutions, and of the magnitude of the schemes in which they have been led to hope.

Since in this chapter we are considering political growth, rather than the development of social services which will concern us in later sections, we will now turn to three or four territories for our examples.

Nigeria

Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1945, on the "Political and Constitutions Future of Nigeria", which was laid on the Table of Legislative Council on March 5th 1945, consisted of the Governor's Despatch to the Secretary of State, dated 6th December, 1944.

In his opening paragraph, His Excellency, Sir. A. F. Richards referred to the work of Lord Hailey, Sir Bernard Bourdillon and Lord Lugard, Of the last he wrote:-

> "He was confronted with the difficult setting of an artifical unity which existed only on the map. His problem was to build a system which would allow organic growth and make the unity originally superimposed from outside into a living thing which might progress from varying stages of adolescence to adult nationhood"

After stating that political progress could not be left to Time and Fate, but must be planned, he added:-

> "The problem of Nigeria is how to create a political system which is itself a present advance, and contains the living possibility of further orderly advance - a system within which the diverse elements may progress at varying speeds, amicably and smoothly, towards a more closely integrated economic, social and political unity"
>
> (Underlining mine)

I would submit that the first part of this interesting statement has kinship with the General Council system of the Transkei, but

that the concluding words which I have underlined, set up a target which South Africa has not yet adopted, because of which a further dictum of the Governor's is worthy of consideration:-

"To refuse to take risks is to admit political insolvency".

He then outlined proposals whereby the Legislative Council would legislate for the whole country, including the Northern Provinces; (not previously included), and would have an unofficial and an African majority.

Adding that concurrently there would be progressive devolution of authority to Native Authorities, but that they must continually adapt themselves to modern conditions, he made clear that:-

> "The system of indirect rule cannot be static; It must keep pace with the development of the country and it must find a place for the more progressive and educated men".

This certainly has relevance for the Union, and for our study, especially when it is emphasized later by the unequivocal explanation that:-

> "The progressive modernization of the Native Authorities is an essential part of the policy which I put forward".

Later followed the proposal that under the Presidency of the Governor there should be 20 Official and 29 Unofficial Members, and an African majority of 25 to 24. There followed the proviso that:-

> "The Governor would be provided under the Constitution with the usual reserve powers to be exercised, if necessary, in the interests of public faith, public order and good government".

In connection with this liberally conceived constitutional developments, which in essence was adopted, it is of importance to note its complementary aspect, for the Despatch included also the following warning:-

> "But if the mass of the population are to play an effective part in the constitutional scheme, it will be necessary to foster more resolutely the formal meetings of village, district, and in some cases Provincial Councils, as part of the system of Native administration. It is in these councils that the habit of political thought will be inculcated". ....

This lends support to our earlier conclusion that there is nothing antithetic between the African's participation in central

government, and his concurrent assumption of fuller responsibility in local government.

Two years later, the Rand Daily Mail, in its issue of March 15th 1947, had a news item which announced that:-

> "Nigeria, the biggest of all the British colonies in Africa, with a population of 22,000,000 is to have a Parliament with native members forming the majority party.
>
> This is a major step towards granting responsible internal self-government to the natives of the Colony.
>
> Nigeria thus becomes the second British African dependency to have a Legislative Council with native members in the majority. The first was the Gold Coast, where the inaugural meeting of a Legislative Council with a native majority took place in July of last year." ..... "The members of the new Legislative Council will be the Governor (as President), 13 ex-officio members, 3 nominated official members, 24 nominated unofficial members and 4 elected members. Of the nominated unofficial members, 18 will be appointed by the Regional Councils and 6 by the Governor, while 2 will be chiefs appointed by the Governor from members of the Western House of Assembly.
>
> The Legislative Council will have an unofficial and an African majority. While existing direct election will be retained, the majority of unofficial members will be appointed from their own bodies by the Northern House of Chiefs and by the unofficial members of the Houses of Assembly, which will also act as electoral colleges." ..... "The new constitution will be reviewed at the end of the ninth year after its introduction, but this will not prevent the earlier adoption of particular modifications from time to time when sufficient progress has been recorded to justify it."

On March 17th 1947, the relevant leader in the Johannesburg "Star which was entitled "One Step at a Time", had some interesting comments to offer:-

> "The significance of the new constitution granted to the natives of Nigeria lies less in the distance than in the direction it takes them" ..... "While the extended Council takes the native peoples a step further on the road to self-government and, to this extent, interprets fully the proper post-war attitude towards subject peoples, the changes being made have little direct bearing on democratic practices as Western peoples know them." ..... "What Nigeria is doing, in other words, is extending self-government in domestic matters to all parts of this considerable colony, while at the same time, resting this wider representation on local custom and tradition by admitting the Houses of Chiefs to a greater share in the government as a whole."

Whether this assumed a little too lightly that this development had little direct bearing upon democratic practices, even though one rapidly recognizes the wisdom of adopting for Nigeria a constitution which does not follow the Westminster model, may appear from the

extracts which follow from Sessional Paper No. 5 of 1947 which is devoted to messages and to the Governor's addresses at the first session under the new constitution, on 20th March, 1947.

The Message from His Majesty the King contained these opening words:-

> "The first Session of the Legislative Council under the new Nigerian Constitution affords me an occasion to express the deep satisfaction I feel at the great step along the path of orderly constitutional development now being followed by My people in Nigeria. The difficult problems which lie before Nigeria call for leadership by men unflinching moral courage and high honesty of purpose. It is therefore the more gratifying to Me that at this juncture it has been found possible to entrust the people of Nigeria with a wider measure of control over their own affairs." xx

It concluded with these:-

> "I am confident that those who are now called upon to undertake the heavier responsibilities which the new Constitution has laid upon them will discharge their duties with a full sense of the trust reposed in them, and that they will thereby promote at all times the progress and prosperity of Nigeria". xx

Consistent with this was a message from the Rt. Hon. A. Creech Jones, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, who after conveying his greetings, said:-

> "Two years ago Legislative Council unanimously passed a resolution that proposals for this Constitution should be approved and adopted. Since then the work of preparation has been pressed ahead with vigour. The Regional Councils have already met and the new Legislative Council meets to-day. For the first time in the history of Nigeria it will be a Council representative of the whole territory with a majority of Unofficial Members. I rejoice with you on this notable advance towards self-government and territ - orial unity.
>
> I feel confident that those who now have the high privilege to serve on the Council will justify the trust that has been placed in them; that they will retain the full confidence of their fellow citizens; and that by jealous regard to the dignity and high responsibilities of the Council they will create a tradition which their successors in years to come will be proud to follow" xx

Pausing for a moment, one may reflect that the African majority in Council on this historic occasion, as well as the vast population they represented, the majority significantly referred to as "fellow citizens", must have appreciated not a little the trust

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xx op.cit.p.i

xx Ibid idem.p.iii

reposed in them by the King and by his Secretary of State, and the fact that, because of it, a new chapter rich in meaning had been opened, and would later bear witness to the use they had made of it. Sir Arthur Richards' inaugural speech contained the following passages:-

> "Honourable Gentleman,
> In speaking to you this morning I can say without affectation that I feel it to be a privilege to preside over this, the first meeting of the Legislative Council under the new Constitution. You all know what this Constitution sets out to do.
> It is planned to enable the leaders of Nigeria, both natural and elected, to take an increasingly active part in framing the policy which will govern its progress, in directing its progress, in directing its revenues to desired ends and in adjusting its income to its politics as well as fitting its policies to its potential income.
> As I look around me I see what an immense change is embodied in this new Council — sitting at these tables are representatives of all shades of opinion in Nigeria and for the first time the Northern Provinces are directly represented. I extend a particular welcome to the Chiefs of the North and to the chosen members of the Northern House of Assembly. They have come here to prove that they mean to have a say in the future of Nigeria, so large a proportion of whose revenue is derived from the industry of their people. If I interpret their aims aright, they have come here in the truest civic spirit to lend the weight of their knowledge and experience to the deliberations of this Council". xx

After welcoming the other members, His Excellency continued:-

> "In dealing with a country of this magnitude, peopled by races of such different traditions and ways of life, it is, I think, clear that there must be within the main structure of Government a large measure of devolution — in short, a great deal of local self - government." ..... "The new Constitution by dividing Nigeria into three Regions - the North, the West and the East, in addition to the Colony, aims at providing public opinion with a recognised channel of expression by accredited representatives of the people — initially in their Houses of Assembly and ultimately in this Council.
> Furthermore the special position occupied by the Emirs and Chiefs of the North is recognised by the institution of a House of Chiefs." ..... " I claim for this Constitution that it is firmly based on African institutions and that it is built up through village Councils and Native Authorities and Provincial Councils to the Houses of Assembly and this Legislative Council. In short I CLAIM THAT FROM IT CAN GROW A GOVERNMENT BROAD-BASED UPON THE PEOPLE'S WILL" (capitals mine). xx

This surely suggests the language of democracy rather than that of totalitarianism, as does a further statement:- "

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xx op.cit.p.v

xx idem.pp.v & vi.

> "The new Constitution is designed to encourage the sense of unified interest beyond the realm of tribal jealousies, and to provide the training for ever swifter advances towards self-government." @@

Is it assuming too much, to think that an occasion ushered in with messages such as these, would exert an influence among Africans, and among Europeans who contribute to the formation of African opinion, far beyond the confines of Nigeria? And may it not be that even in the Union are Africans who would reflect deeply upon this categorical assurance also:-

> "Let me state in the most unequivocal terms that the Nigerian Government is entirely opposed to racial discrimination in any shape or form, that in matters within its own sphere it will not countenance it, and that in public life outside its own sphere, it views racial discrimination with complete disapproval" .... "Divisions which have their origin in different social and economic standards are inevitable, but divisions based purely on race, where the social and economic standards are equal, cannot be supported".

For the purpose of our study, the essential enquiry is not whether statements such as the above are reasonable or unreasonable, wise or unwise, opporunte or inopportune, but rather whether they contribute in situ to the assimilation of European culture by the African, and whether indirectly they assist the same process in contiguous or more remote territories. The question admits of but one reply, namely a strong affirmative.

The estimated revenue for the year 1947-48, i.e. for the financial year under reference, was given as £16,125,000, the estimated ordinary expenditure for the same year being £15,800,000. xx To the above expenditure must be added over two million pounds from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, and over two million pounds from Loan Funds. Since space does not permit an account of matters on the Order Paper, the figures given may serve to indicate something of their scope, and hence of the responsibility range of the African members.

To say that there are difficulties ahead is to state the obvious. In concluding this brief examination of the inauguration of the new Constitution in Nigeria, however, it may be well to quote a few words from the concluding paragraph of the Governor's address

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@@ Ibid
idem.p.vii.
xx op.cit.p.3.

which was laid on the Table on the same occasion.

> "Now recruits to the Service are now steadily arriving. They are very welcome. They come at a time when Nigeria is in transition and the field os work before them has infinite possibilities.
>
> Speaking of the Administrative Service in particular there was never a time when a patient, sympathetic and constructive approach to their daily difficulties was more urgently needed, or more likely to yield results, in the confidence of the people whose interests they come to serve." **

Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti

A few pages back we quoted a statement to the effect that Nigeria was the second British African Dependence to have a Legislative Council with Native members in the majority, the first being the Gold Coast where a similar development took plave in July, 1946.

Before examining very briefly a few features of this earlier constitutional development, it may be helpful to remind ourselves of the background by turning to Lord Hailey's African Survey, which was published in 1938.

The position then described was the following:-

> "The Gold Coast is divided into three sections; the Gold Coast Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories; the southern section of the mandated territory of Togoland is included for administrative purposes in the Colony, and the northern section in the Northern Territories.
>
> The governor is empowered to legislate by proclamation for Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and Togoland; in legislating for the Colony he has the advice of a legislative coucil." xx

The executive and legislative councils in the form then obtaining, had been constituted in 1925, the former consisting of 5 officials, and the latter of 15 officials, 6 Provincial African members elected by councils of head chiefs, (although the Governor was empowered to nominate provincial members, owing to the initial opposition of chiefs who feared the curtailment of their powers), and three African municipal members by the towns of Accra, Cape Coast, and Sekondi, the then franchise qualitifaction being occupation of a house of the rateable value of £6.

It is correspondingly interesting to observe the radical changes introduced in so short a period, under the Order in Council issuing from Buckingham Palace on February 19th, 1946 and

** Ibid. xx Op. Cit p. 172.

published as a Supplement to the Gold Coast Gazette No. 17, dated 11th March, 1946. Section 5 reads quite tersely that:-

> "The Legislative Council shall consist of the President, six Ex-Officio Members, eighteen Elected Members and six Nominated Members."

Section 7 states that:-

> "The Ex-officio Members shall be:-
> (a) The Colonial Secretary;
> (b) The Chief Commissioner of the Colony;
> (c) The Chief Commissioner of the Ashanti;
> (d) The Chief Commissioner of the Northern Territories;
> (e) The Attorney - General;
> (f) The Financial Secretary.", and Section 8 that:-
>
> "The Elected Members be:-
> (a) nine Provincial Members elected for the Eastern and Western Provinces .....
> (b) Four Ashanti Members .....
> (c) five Municipal Members .....

Section 9 explains that "The Nominated Members shall be appointed by the Governor by Instrument under the Public Seal".

Subject to later provisions,

> ....." any person who is a British subject or a British protected person or a person treated as if he were a British protected person, who is of the age of twenty-one years or upwards shall be upwards shall be qualified to be an Elected or Nominated Member of the Council, and no other person shall be qualified to be elected or appointed thereto".
> ..... (Section 13)

Part III of the Order deals with the Provincial Members referred to in Section 7, quoted above. It is laid down in Section 23 inter alia, that:-

> "(1) For the purpose of this Part of this Order, the Joint Provincial Council shall consist of:-
> (a) The Paramount Chiefs of the Colony (or their duly accredited representatives as provided for in this section) .....
> (b) one member of the Native Authority for every area within the Colony which does not include a State, or part of a State ..... "

Part IV, dealing with the Ashanti Members prescribes inter alia, that:-

> "The four Ashanti Members of the Legislative Council shall represent the peoples of Ashanti" (Section 27), and that
> "No person shall be elegible for election ..... unless:-
> (a) he is a native of Ashanti; and
> (b) the Chief Commissioner of Ashanti shall have certified in writing that his ability to speak and ..... to read the English language is sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Council" .....
> (Section 29)

Part V which is concerned with Municipal Members, lays down in Section 31 that of these:-

"(a) two shall be elected for the town of Accra:
(b) one shall be elected for the town of Cape Coast;
(c) one shall be elected fro the town of Sekondi;
(d) one shall be elected for the town of Kumasi:" .....

after which the same linguistic qualification is required as that already defined in the case of Ashanti, a provision of potent influence in ensuring that in the Gold Coast the African shall acquire a sound knowledge of written and spoken English, or in other words the far-reaching constitutional development embodied in this Order in Council, depends for its effectiveness upon the assimilation by the African of the culture of the ruling 'race'. Here unequivocally is the process of convergence legally entrenched, quite apart from the decisive influence of the composition of the Council, and of the fact that, in consequence, its legislative responsibilities will be shared by Africans who represent all parts of the Territory and all communities, Africans whoe further political training is to be received at the hands of experienced and sympathetic Europeans who, with them try to obtain common objectives.

Accompanying the Letters Patent of March 7th, 1946, were Instructions of the same date passed under the Royal Sign Manual and Signet, to the Governor of the Gold Coast, Apart from the provision made for the inclusion of Appointed Members (making possible the present inclusion of selected Africans), as well as ex-officio Members of the Executive Council, the following provisions are of special relevance to our study:-

The preamble to Clause 16 of these Instructions, reads:-

> "The Governor shall not, without having previously obtained instructions through a Secretary of State, assent to any Bill within any of the following classes, unless such a Bill contain a clause suspending the operation thereof until the signification of our pleasure thereon".

And then follow ten specified classes, one of which reads:-

> "Any Bill whereby persons not of European birth or descent may be subjected or made liable to any disabilities or restrictions to which persons of European birth or descent are not also subjected or made liable."

For the Gold Coast, therefore, above the personal signature of His Majesty, it is categorically laid down that no legislation

involving racial discrimination may be promulagted without royal assent. Is it arguable that this does not involve, by the monarch's own direction, that for the meanest of his subjects there, the absence of legal segregation must lead to the absence of cultural segregation!

Clause 17 is equally arresting. It reads:-

"(1) In the making of Ordinances, any native laws by which the civil relations of any native chiefs, tribes or population under Our protection are now regulated shall be respected, except in so far as the same may be incompatible with the due exercise of Our powers and jurisdiction, or clearly injurious to the welfare of the said natives.

(2) THE GOVERNOR IS TO THE UTMOST OF HIS POWER TO PROMOTE RELIGION AND EDUCATION AMONG THE NATIVE INHABITANTS, AND HE IS ESPECIALLY TO TAKE CARE TO PROTECT THEM IN THEIR PERSONS AND IN THE FREE ENJOYMENT OF THEIR POSSESSIONS, AND BY ALL LAWFUL MEANS TO PREVENT AND RESTRAIN ALL VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE WHICH MAY IN ANY MANNER BE PRACTISED OR ATTEMPTED AGAINST THEM". (Capitals mine.)

This is no mere legal or academic formula defining the degree of respect, anthropological, juridical or sentimental, which should be accorded to Native law, It is synchronously a Bill of Rights for the African, and an authoritative mandate that the most dynamic and explosive of all agents of cultural change, namely Christianity and education, should not be merely tolerated, or unobtrusively assisted, but should be promoted by the Governor "to the utmost of his power".

Even though the Order in Council, together with its Letters Patent and Royal Instructions, were not endorsed "South African papers please copy", it is not unreasonable to assume that their influence, needing no tryptique nor passport, will cross the borders of Nigeria and will travel southward.

Uganda.

When dealing with national sentiment in Africa, we found it fitting to describe briefly the scope of the Buganda Lukiko to illustrate a dynamic source of such sentiment, In the present context, therefore, it would seem desirable to refer to recent re-organization in the administration of Buganda, before considering constitutional changes in the wider Protectorate.

On May 25th, 1944, the Governor of Uganda The Honourable Sir Charles Dundas, in the course of an address to Legislative Council, foreshadowed early re-organization in Buganda. His excellency said:-

"Briefly states, the object in view is to relieve the Resident of functions that are not the direct concern of the Buganda Government, and to place him and his staff more definitely in the position of advisers and supervisors of that Government, that is to say, the correct and de facto position of Protectorate Admin - istrative Officers under the terms of the Uganda Agreement of 1900. This re-orientation of the existing system has been in contemplation some years, and in no wise introduces any new political feature but rather re-affirms in precise manner the fundamental principals of the Agreement.

The Resident will have assistants, styled Assistant Residents, the title District Commissioner being mis-leading, since they cannot exercise the powers vested in District Commissioners outside Buganda. " ..... "For the remainder of public business devolving on the Protectorate Administration in Buganda, District Commissioners will be retained in Kampala and Masaka.

I think it important to stress that the distinction between the duties of these District Commissioners and those of the Resident staff is not one of Non-Native and Native affairs, but of Protectorate and Buganda Government affairs." ..... "the main purpose of the re-organization is to give the Buganda Government greater responsibility and a greater measure of control over their own affairs." .....

This public announcement prepared the way for the inauguration a few months later, of what became locally known as "Home Rule for Buganda", the following excerpts being taken from the Governor's address to the Lukiko on October 2nd, 1944:-

"Your Highness,

I have requested you to summon your Lukiko Council to meet me in order that I might make to them a pronouncement on certain changes in the system of Administration in Buganda, which I have decided upon in agreement with your-self and consultation with your Ministers.

Under the terms of the Agreement of 1900, Buganda was to be a Province of the Protectorate and for many years the Senior Administrative Officer was styled Provincial Commissioner. Some years ago it was recognised that since his position and authority differed from that of a Provincial Commissioner in the other Provinces, that style was unsuitable and it was changed to Resident, a style in common use in other parts of the Empire, where Native Rulers govern under the over-rule of His Majesty The King."

After describing administrative details, the Governor continued:-

"The Agreement stipulated that "The Kabaka should exercise direct rule subject to the King's over-rule', which, of course, is delegated to the Governor. It is for this reason that a Resident cannot have the authority nor fill the functions of a Provincial Commissioner. His duty is not to direct affairs or to control your officials but to advise your Government and to advise me in the exercise of my authority.

But since he cannot direct and control, he cannot assume responsibility for the actions of your Govern - ment and its servants. The responsibility lies with Your Highness acting on the advice of your Ministers and Council, subject to the Governor's over-riding powers."

After emphasizing that it was no longer desirable to have dual administration, whereby the chiefs were under two masters, it was added that:-

"Ultimate responsibility for ensuring good and just administration still rests with the Protectorate Government and this responsibility I may not in any circumstances relinquish. But I wish to intervene only to the extent necessary to the faithfuly discharge of that duty" ..... "I am ... confident that it will be the aim of all in office under Your Highness to prove that my trust was not misplaced. If you do this, Buganda will become an out-standing example and a model of governance of Africans by Africans, and that aim should be one to stir your pride and ambition. I open to you the opportunity. May you take it with r eselve to prove yourselves capable of using it wisely and honourably." xx

As one who was present with other senior government officers, when Sir Charles Dundas addressed the Lukiko on this occasion, I know something of the impression created by its terms upon educated Africans throughout Buganda, as well as upon those in the Council, from young Mutesa II, the Kabaka, to the most veteran Saza chief there. Although fully aware that their progress had always been the primary concern of the Protectorate Government, they were now convinced that fuller citizenship was being accorded them.

After his official pronouncement, the Governor added a few words of advice to the Kabaka, stressing the importance, not only of satisfying the requirements of the Central Government, but the needs of his own people also who in future would look much more to him.

"It is therefore my advice to Your Highness, that you should now give serious consideration as to the manner in which your Lukiko may be so reconstituted that it will include adequate representation of the people, both peasants and the professional classes. If you do this it will be an enlightened act," ..... "and do more than anything else to ensure to you an untroubled and successful reign". ##

To this the Kabaka replied suitably, and that the early reconstitution of the Lukiko along the lines advised took place, may be judged from the following reference to it by Sir John Hathorn Hall, successor to Sir Charles Dundas, at the opening of Legislative

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xx From "The Uganda Herald", October 4th, 1944.

Idem. Ibid.

Council in December, 1945:-

> "The new law, already in operation, which allows a substantial proportion of the Great Lukiko and of the Saza and Gomobolola Lukikos to be elected by the popular vote, gives to the tribe an opportunity to voice through constitutional channels their grievances, real or imagined, and to make known their needs and aspirations. By grasping this opportunity and putting it to good use, they will be able to work out their own destiny in orderly and peaceful fashion.
>
> That law I regard as a first instalment of the representative principle. If it works well it should give place to progressively more liberal measures." xx

Not the least interesting feature of this development is that it illustrates the application of the democratic principle to an indigenous institution, (European culture invading the very heart of a Central African society), and that there is reason to believe, that contributing to this advance was a booklet in luGanda, written by an African teacher, Mr. Eridadi Mulira of Budo, who is now the Editor of a Vernacular paper, "Mbifa", the title of the booklet when translated being, "The Rule of the Baganda". This further illustrates, then, how an African whose culture has been profoundly affected by our own, can apply his education so that his proposals receive the approval of both 'races', and lead to still further convergence. ##

The Twenty-Fifth Session of the Uganda Legislative Council, from whose Proceedings we have taken the above quotation concerning the constitutional development of the Buganda Government, was also noteworthy in that, for the first time, African members were admitted to the Protectorate Legislature, They were greeted in the following terms:-

> The Governor said:- "I welcome in the most cordial spirit our three new African Councillors, whose presence here today gives me, and I know all members of this Council, great pleasure and a great hope and confidence in the future. They will learn from us, and we also shall learn from them; and our combined wisdom and experience will, I am confident, contribute much to the progress and well-being of this country."

The Hon. H.K. Jaffer, the Senior Unofficial Member said:-

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xx "Proceedings of the First and Second Meetings of the Twenty-Fifth Session of the Uganda Legislative Council, 4th and 18th Dec: 1945"

For this information I am indebted to Mr. R. A. Snoxall Deputy Director of Education, Uganda.

"Your Excellency, on behalf of my Honourable Colleagues and myself I beg leave to associate myself with Your Excellency in welcoming the Hon. Kawalya-Kagwa, the Hon. K. Nyabangaki, and the Hon. Y. Zirabamuzale, representing the African interests, who take their seats in this Council to-day.

In doing so ..... I assure the Honourable Members of our whole hearted co-operation and assistance in all matters affecting the welfare and advancement of the African community.

This Council has attained a high tradition for the co-operation, mutual trust, and friendliness in which both the officials and unofficials have carried out their tasks and ..... "we shall not fail ... to maintain that tradition and work in a democratic spirit in the interests of the Protectorate as a whole."

In replying for the African Members, the Hon. Kawalya-Kagwa said:-

"Your Excellency, on behalf of the African Unofficial Members I wish to express our gratitude and appreciation for the welcome extended to us, and for the precious step taken by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in allowing Your Excellency to appoint three African members to serve on this Council.

The honour conferred on us is great and I am sure will please the African communities, but we are not unmindful of the task placed on our shoulders and we feel that our presence here may well assist the Council to reach decisions on matters affecting Africans with a better understanding of the African mind". xx

He the spoke of the need to improve health, to eliminate ignorance and to improve living conditions, and he referred to the disturbance of African society by their introduction to the cash-economy system, urging in consequence that the African needed training in the new economy.

Among the Bills dealth with were:-

"The Co-operative Societies Ordinance, 1945"
"Excess Profits Tax (Amendment) Ordinance, 1945"
"Coffee Export Duty Ordinance, 1945,"
"Bugishu Coffee scheme (Amendment) Ordinance, 1945,"
"The Control of Life Assurance Business with Natives Ordinance, 1945"
"The Rent Restriction (Amendment) Ordinance, 1945"
"The Registration of Nurses Ordinance, 1945" and the
"Appropriation Ordinance, 1945". xx

These are mentioned to indicate something of the range of culture - contact inflicted on the new members during their first session, apart from which it is of interest that when the first Bill was referred to a Select Committee, an African was appointed a member of that Committee.

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xx Idem. Ibid.

Tanganyika Territory.

At the Twentieth Session (1945/46) of the Legislative Council in Tanganyika, very similar concurrent developments were reported in the Proceedings.

In his opening address, the Governor, Sir William Batershill, said, inter alia:-

> "Apart from the fact that this is a memorable occasion by reason of the end of two wars, it is memorable in the annals of the Council by reason of the fact that, for the first time in the history of this Territory, two Africans are to-day sitting with us as members of the Council.
>
> I personally welcome Chief Abdiel and Chief Kidaha to this Council and, I am sure, can welcome them on behalf of all honourable members."

This sentiment was endorsed by the Hon. J. H. S. Tranter who speaking on behalf of the Unofficial members said:-

> "I would also like to take this opportunity of saying how very happy I am to see two African colleagues amongst us here, and to assure them that they will receive from this side of the House all the help we can give them in the attainment of African advancement."

Chief Abdiel in his maiden speech referred to the impact of cultures in these words:-

> "The African is changing rapidly and I think we Africans are in a better position to notice these changes than anyone else.
>
> As more and more of us are becoming literate, we are absorbing new ideas and require more and more assistance to put them into effect. We are in a difficult position as we are torn between new ideas and old. The new ideas are not always accepted by the tribal elders and the old ideas and customs are not always acceptable to the literate Africans, and without the continual advice and support of Government and its officers, the progressives may lose the battle, or at least affairs will become chaotic and we shall not develop."

It is significant but not natural that on such an occasion the Chief should be conscious of chaning culture and resultant problems.

Not unrelated to this was the following statement by the Governor in opening the Budget debate:-

> "Just as the productive capacity of the territory is dependent on an adequate supply of labour, so too is the ability of the Government to raise the general standard of living and education which we can import, and the speed with which we can impart it to the African, to enable him to take his proper place in the progress of this Territory."

There is a distinct difference between "keeping him in his place",

and enabling him "to take his proper place", the latter necessitating a new way of life.

At the same Session the Governor referred to a paper of great importance just laid on the Table, dealing with inter-territorial organization in East Africa. Of this he said:-

> "I have arranged that Sir Charles Lockhart, the Chief Secretary of the Governors' Conference, and admittedly expert ..... should visit Dar es Salaam in order to be available to discuss any matters which honourable members may wish to raise".

Referring to this in his maiden speech three days later, which touched pertinently upon many points, Chief Kidaha said:-

> "Yesterday we happened to be in touch with Sir Charles Lockhart of the Governors' Conference. He tried to explain to us what he knew about the amalgamation of some of the common services throughout East Africa. I feel it my duty to express the views as stated by other Africans in the country as well as in the towns, that generally speaking they are rather suspicious about this move. In the paper it is stated that there is no proposal regarding political union. This is alright but if the economic services are amalgamated, then it is a common belief that it won't be very easy to separate politics from the economics of the country".....

In this comment, it must be admitted that this African newcomer, in his introductory remarks concerning a white paper just released in Great Britain and in East Africa, went straight to the root of the matter by showing the connection between the control of the means of production, and of government.

One other quotation from the same speaker must suffice. It is selected because of its essential similarity to the point of view expressed on the same subject, already cited, in the Transkeian Bunga over two thousand miles away.

Chief Kidaha, in speaking on the Second Reading of the Emergency Laws (Transitional Provisions) Bill, 1946, an interim measure dealing with Immigration, pointed out that his people had not other place than Africa in which to live. He added:-

> "If there are so many immigrants who might be allowed to come into the territory, that might hamper the general well-being of the Native peoples" .....
> "My people are very anxious to develop on modern lines. They need the co-operation of people belonging to other races, but ..... if immigration is going to be

allowed, the people who should come to this Territory should be those whose interest is for ..... native development. They should not be an encroachment on native advancement".

It would seem superfluous to gather together the evidence led from Tanganyika, regarding the convergence of culture fostered by the inclusion of these first African members of Legislative Council.

Kenya.

Uganda has a long established tradition of 'racial' harmony. Rightly or wrongly, the contiguous territory of Kenya is establishing a tradition of 'racial' tension, which suggests later conflict. This does not justify any superiority- complex within the borders of Uganda, for the proportionate population figures for the various ethnic groups in the two territories are very different; Uganda is a Protectorate whilst by far the greater part of Kenya is a Colony; in Uganda there is nothing comparable to the "White Highlands" of Kenya and in Kenya there are no true Native Authorities, still less anything at all comparable to the Uganda Government. Moreover, so far as present medical knowledge goes, Kenya is far more suitable for European settlement than Uganda, and consequently, quite apart from the question of availability of land for settlement, since in Kenya there is a growing white population with a permanent stake in the country, economics, politics and 'race-relations assume different aspects.

To pass from Kenya to Uganda, therefore, so far as the average unofficial attitude towards the African is concerned, is somewhat akin to the change in attitude experienced in passing from the Union of South Africa, to one of the High Commission Territories, within which for some of the same reasons, a superiority-complex would be equally unjustified.

In recording this, the validity of principles basic to liberal administration is not in doubt, nor is that of the inevitability of cultural convergence in either type of situation. Principles of social justice in their bearing upon economics, politics and the common weal, must be of universal application. And as we have seen earlier the Africans may be led to assimilate "our" culture, either because of the number of Europeans making contact with them in the territory concerned, or because the absence of a large European population leads to the intensive training of the Africans to fill posts of responsibility.

This has a bearing upon constitutional developments in Kenya,

for although these derive from a common source, and hence share in the family likeness, and in the period and method of their introduction, they operate against a different background from that of the other territories we have just considered, and in consequence reveal adaptations to environment.

Replacing the earlier proposals made in the white paper, Colonial No.191, a further white paper, Colonial No.210, entitled 'Inter-Territorial Organization in East Africa - Revised Proposals" dated 24th February, 1947, was issued under a forward by the Secretary of State, to the Governors of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, indicating that the modified proposals would be debated at an early date in the three Legislative Councils. From this paper the following extracts are taken:-

"It is proposed that there should be established by Order in Council the following constitution for the administration of the scheduled services:-

A. An East African High Commission consisting of the Officers for the time being administering the Governments of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.
B. An East African Central Assembly.
C. An executive organization supported in appropriate cases by inter-territorial advisory and consultative bodies".

Of the Constitution of the East African Central Assembly, under a Speaker appointed by the High Commission, the membership proposed is:-

7 official members appointed ex-officio from the staff of the High Commission services;
5 members appointed from Kenya;
5 members appointed from Uganda;
5 members appointed from Tanganyika;
1 member of the Arab community appointed by the High Commission.

It is then proposed that the five members from each of the territories should be appointed as follows:-

"(i) The Officer administering the Government of the territory concerned would appoint one territorial official.
(ii) The unofficial members of the Legislative Council of the territory concerned, voting as a whole, would elect one member from among their number.
(iii) The Officer administering the Government of the territory concerned would appoint one European, one Indian and one African unofficial member"
(Underlining mine)

The powers and Responsibilities of the Central Assembly are

defined as follows:-

"(i) To consider the annual or any supplementary estimates of Revenue and expenditure of the High Commission, of the Assembly and of the scheduled services" ♯
(ii) "To approve annual or supplementary estimates of expenditure"...
(iii) "To consider, by question or motion in the Assembly, matters arising out of or affecting the scheduled services.
(iv) To legislate on specified subjects."

Although it was considered necessary to lay down that Unofficial members could not initiate legislation, and that before a Bill was introduced into the Assembly there must be prior agreement at Government level, unofficial members were empowered to introduce motions on any subject within the scope of the Assembly.

Clause 20 throws light upon this scope. It reads:-

"The subjects upon which the Central Assembly would be empowered to legislate during the initial period of four years would be as follows:-

(i) Appropriation, providing for the expenditure of the High Commission, of the Assembly and of the scheduled services, the Appropriation Bill in respect of non-contained services being introduced after the relevant contributions from the East African Governments concerned had been approved by the territorial Legislative Councils.
(ii) Civil Aviation
(iii) Customs and Excise - administrative and general provisions not including tariff rates.
(iv) Defence.
(v) Income Tax - administrative and general provisions, but not the rates of tax and allowances. Rates of tax and allowances would be fixed by the territorial Legislative Councils for application within the Territory concerned.
(vi) Inter-Territorial Research.
(vii) Lake Victoria Fisheries.
(viii) Makerere College and related institutions.
(ix) Meteorological services.
(x) Pensions, Widows' and Orphans' Pensions, Provident Fund and other matters affecting the staff of the High Commission and of the scheduled services.
(xi) Posts and Telegraphs, Telephones and Radio Communications.
(xii) Railways, Harbours, and Inland Water Transport - after a date to be agreed when a decision has been reached on the amalgamation of the two railway systems.
(xiii) Specific Loan Ordinances in respect of self-contained services.
(xiv) Statistics, including census".

Normally the above list would not be augmented within the first four years, but this might be done if approval were expressly obtained from the separate legislatures.

♯ The Scheduled services include such inter-territorial services as the East African Income Tax Dept: the East African Industrial Council, The E.A.Posts and Telegraphs Dept: the East African Research Services etc.

Although the proposals in the White paper quoted, have far-reaching significance for East Africa as a whole, they are introduced here because of the consequential developments in Kenya. Before turning to these one may pause, however, to reflect that here is the germ of Closer Union, or of a federal system for East Africa, and that from its very inception there would be three Africans on its Central Assembly, participating with its European and Asian members, in deliberations concerning expenditure, common services of a very extensive and growing nature, and related inter-territorial legislation. Whatever differences there may be, therefore, between national sentiments and 'racial' attitudes and policies in Kenya and across its borders in Tanganyika and Uganda, it is clear that cultural convergence will be stimulated by and disseminated from a Central Assembly, the influence of which will directly bear upon millions of Africans from the Abyssinian and Sudan frontiers to those of the Belgian Congo, Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

Sessional Paper No.1 of 1947 was issued from the Secretariat, Nairobi, as an undated covering note to Sir Philip Mitchell's Despatch, No.44 of 14th March, 1947, explaining that if the proposals embodied in Colonial No.210 were accepted, the composition of the Kenya Legislative Council would be affected. The Governor therefore felt it desirable to put his views before the Secretary of State, and had directed the publication of his despatch on the subject. Among other things the Governor said:-

....."it has been agreed that the African membership should be increased to four, and I recommend accordingly.

It is my intention that these four Africans shall each be assigned to represent the African interest for a separate area, namely (1) the Nyanza Province, (2) the Central Province, including Nairobi, (3) the Coast Province and (4) the Rift Valley Province and the remainder of the Colony.

I do not think that any object would be served at this stage by embarking upon theoretical calculations as to the proper number of African Members. In a multi-racial community of this kind it is of much greater importance that

> such constitutional questions as the composition of the legislature should develop from time to time with the goodwill of all concenned, rather than as a result of political controversy, or theoretical calculations of rights, concessions should be extracted from one party or another". .....
> ....."I consider the wisest course will be to follow the present practice under which suitable individuals are nominated by the Governor after seeking advice from the local Native Councils, although...they will in future be selected as representing the interests of a particular area instead of the general interests of all Africans in the Colony".

This may seem opposed to the more liberal, but possibly less realistic view, that the African today should be given general, rather than tribal representation and responsibilities, and yet it is in principle the same as the system applicable to Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Uganda, Tanganyika, the Transkeian Territories, and the Natives Representative Council of the Union, although electoral procedure and other details may vary. Granted that in all these territories one may reasonably expect the growth of inter-tribal from more local representation, one must concede that the preliminary stages thereto inevitably prepare the way for the fuller assimilation by the African of European culture.

The Despatch then showed that in the new legislative Council there would be 15 Officials and 22 Unofficials, the latter group to be composed of 11 Europeans, 5 Indians, 2 Arabs and 4 Africans, so that in the territorial legislatures of East Africa we have 9 Africans as well as 3 in the Central Assembly, which clearly demonstrates how fully they have been admitted to an inter-'racial' political structure with its many democratic implications, which include the free expression of opinion, the sharing of responsibilities, the extension of horizons beyond tribal concerns, training in leadership and growth in stature.

On April 16th, 1947, Sir Gilbert Rennie, Chief Secretary, in the Kenya Legislative Council, moved:-

> "That this Council accepts the proposals for inter-territorial organization as set out in Non-Parliamentary Paper, Colonial No.210"

In speaking very fully to the motion, he made the following statement:-

> "If this Paper 210 is accepted and put into force, the constitution of the Kenya Legislative Council will be affected.
>
> Hon. Members are already aware from the note that was published in the paper recently at the same time as your despatch, Sir, No. 44 of the 15th March, was published, and that the Secretary of State has already agreed in principle to an unofficial majority in this Council. I am authorised to say that he has also agreed to the constitution as proposed in that despatch, namely, 15 official members and 22 unofficial members with a Speaker. So far as the 22 unofficial members are concerned, the members would be 11 European, 5 Indians, 2 Arabs, and 4 Africans"...

It is not possible to quote fully from the interesting debate which followed, but the following extracts from the official report are of interest. They are excerpted from the full statements made by the members concerned:-

> Sir Alfred Vincent (Nairobi South):-
> ....."I welcome the proposals in their present form, because I believe they will give us the opportunity of close collaboration with all the peoples of this and the other territories and, provided that the matters which come before the Assembly are regarded from an inter-territorial point of view, and not from a parochial point of view, this first step of an inter-territorial line-up is bound to lead us forward to progress.
>
> But if matters which come before the Assembly are immediately translated into racial or political issues, then that Assembly must assuredly fail".

Mr. E. Mathu (an African representative) in a speech which touched a high level, expressed appreciation on behalf of his community for the action taken by the Government to increase the direct representation of Africans in Legislative Council, but held that at an early date they should consider its further augmentation.

He then turned to the introduction of the unofficial majority, and continued :-

> "Personally, I did not feel very comfortable, and I am still not comfortable on this question of an unofficial majority. Sir Samuel Wilson said in his report on Closer Union in 1929, 'A re-arrangement of the Kenya Legislative Council by the addition of nominated unofficial members, thus creating an unofficial though not an elected majority, the High Commissioner being given special powers of veto and certification'. When, therefore, he recommended that there should be a rearrangement of this Council so as to have an unofficial majority, though not a majority of elected

> members, the Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament which sat in London in 1931 observed in their Report...'Different considerations, however, arise directly the question of an unofficial majority is admitted into the discussion. This was suggested with the safeguard, however, of the Governor's veto and power of certification. But it appears to the committee that, even with the safeguards suggested, an unofficial majority, whatever may be said to the contrary, does morally and in fact become responsible.
>
> I should like to underline the words 'does morally and in fact become responsible.' My query is whether the proposals contained in your despatch, Sir, do not really go further than they actually say. Are we embarking definitely on self-government?. If we are, I contend it will be self-government of a minority in this country, and I should like to sound that as a warning, because I should like to get the assurance of Government that this is not responsible government.
>
> The Joint Select Committee on Closer Union in East Africa in 1931 said that an unofficial majority did actually mean responsible government, and it was, I think, for that reason that they advised against it."

After this most trenchant point, Mr.Mathu, the first African appointed to the Kenya Legislative Council, quoted pertinently from the evidence led by Sir Philip Mitchell himself, when Secretary for Native Affairs in Tanganyika, to the Joint Select Committee, concerning the growth and influence in the press, of outspoken unofficial European comment in favour of racial domination.

To this the African member linked the argument that:-

> "That can be said in certain cases in this country today, and ...the Africans feel most alarmed to realize that political power could be vested in the hands of a few people in this country, and indeed I would go further and say that, if that is the intention of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the attitude of Africans in this country would be entirely different from what it has been up to now, because we feel most strongly that we should play a very important part in the development of this country".....
> ....."I am not opposed to the principle of an unofficial majority, provided that in the near future there will be more Africans in this Council, and secondly, provided that the question of the elective principle is considered, so that Africans can return their elected members into this Council, instead of this present nomination principle".

In the first of a series of informative and well-written articles in the "Star", Johannesburg, on some aspects of East African Affairs, dated May 12th, 1947, the writer (a special representative), referred to this speech in the following terms:-

> "Two Africans now sit in the Kenya Legislative Council.

> I heard one of them address the Council - Mr.Mathu, a former teacher with an Oxford education - and he spoke as cogently and indeed eloquently as most members of the Union Parliament. He was opposing the White Paper which substitutes territorial for equal racial representation in the proposed new Central Assembly for East Africa, making common cause in doing so with the five Indian members sitting beside him".

He omitted reference to the second African member, Mr. Ohanga, who concluded his contribution to the debate with the following words:-

> ....."it is encouraging to note that increased representation in this Council of Africans has been welcomed here. Social progress will be accelerated, not by the imposition of the claims of one race, however superior, against the claims of other races, however inferior, but by the mutual understanding and co-operation of all races. (Applause)".

At the end of the debate, the Chief Secretary in reply, said:-

> "It is my submission that the principle (equal racial representation) is still inherent in the proposals".

In consequence of this, according to a report in the "Star", dated May 13th, 1947, "It needed the specific assurance of the Governor that no departure was being made from the terms of the White Paper concerned to soothe the feelings of the European elected members and persuade them to vote for the proposals".

The question was then put and carried by 30 votes to 8, so that 1947 was historical in that it saw the acceptance of the White Paper, Colonial No.210, in each territorial legislature.

Even though in Kenya, therefore, they may regard this settlement as a small measure of federation and of administrative convenience rather than a real advance towards the true political union desired, for the reasons already given my submission is that it must prove of profound and growing importance to the Africans of three territories.

That this has more than passing relevance for the subject of our study has been demonstrated. It was implicit too in the concluding remarks of Mr.W.G.P.H. Nicol (Mombasa) in the debate, when he said:-

> "I would ask them (the African members) to accept the

hand of friendship and the help and the guidance which we are prepared to extend to them, and LET US LEAD THEM ALONG THAT DIFFICULT PATH OF ADVANCEMENT TOWARDS SELF GOVERNMENT, improved endeavour, and eventually to looking after their own affairs. (hear hear)" (Capitals mine)

The Rhodesias.

Because the amalgamation issue is again the forefront of politics in the northern territory, it may be well to consider the countries together, although references will be brief since constitutional development has lagged behind that of the territories already studied.

Until 1938, the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia consisted of 9 official and 7 unofficial members, when it was agreed that the official and unofficial membership should be equalized, by the removal of one official member and the introduction of an unofficial member nominated to represent Native interests.#

In 1947 was established an African Representative Council, concerning which one reads in the "Colonial Review" for March, 1947 that:-

> "Members of the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia, whose function is to advise the Governor on matters directly affecting the African population of the country, have replied to greetings sent to their inaugural meeting by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, assuring him of their unswerving loyalty and appreciation of the responsibility placed upon them, and stating 'We who have been elected, will always endeavour to present the views of our people impartially to the Government, and are confident that the institution of the Council is a great step forward in the advancement of African affairs".

In his message Mr. Creech Jones had said:

> "It has given me great pleasure to learn that, so soon after the establishment of Provincial Councils, their successful progress has made it possible to convene an African Representative Council for the whole of Northern Rhodesia. I wish to congratulate you on your past achievements and to bid you look forward to your future responsibilities.
>
> The Governor has recently announced that it is the intention that in 1948 two members shall be elected from among yourselves to the Legislative Council....and I am most anxious that you should move forward to greater and greater responsibility, and with your confidence, goodwill and co-operation contribute to the well-being and prosperity of your people".

Hailey, op.cit. pp 170-1.

Concurrently it had been decided to increase the number of Europeans nominated to represent African interests, to two. Of this projected development, Mr. Welensky, the leader of the amalgamationists argued, by a somewhat obscure process of reasoning, that 'At this rate of progression there will be an all-African legislature in 1968"

(quoted from the 'Star' of March 17th 1947)

In the same article by the "Star" correspondent, one reads that, ----the words being his and not Mr. Welensky's----

> "It would be idle to deny that the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia are not actuated by the primary instinct of self-preservation. Politically the country lies between two extreme systems - that of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, where the colonisers are determined to establish White States, and that of the Congo and West Africa, where Black States are in the making, with European officials and industrial employees in those countries for only limited periods.
>
> In the trough Northern Rhodesians find a political wave on the lines of the latter, engulfing them while they attempt to climb an economic wave on the opposite side".

Apart from the irresistible onsweeping of waves, for the metaphor must not be pressed too far, it is a little unconvincing to accept as a fact, equity apart, that in a country where there are approximately 18000 Europeans to 1,500,000 Africans, it would be possible to create a White State, no matter how liberally the white-wash were applied. Moreover the same is true of Southern Rhodesia in spite of a somewhat feverish acceleration of immigration, and of the Union in spite of its much larger European population which crusaders for a White South Africa, whatever their political affiliations and party doubts, also must augment by supporting an immigration policy.

To return to Mr. Welensky, the amalgamationist leader. He is reported as having said:-

> "I am against the principle of pass laws, and I would never countenance going back on our word in the matter of trust land".

He pointed out that the powers of the chiefs had long since been cut, in the interests of administration by the British Government, and that their outmoded conservatism was an increasing source of

irritation for educated natives.

To this he added a most interesting prediction regarding African representation, for he said:-

> "Southern Rhodesia may do without it for three, or perhaps five years, but the time must come".

This is deserving of consideration in connection with Sir Godfrey Huggins' different point of view.

Under the title 'Black and White' the Tribune, a London weekly journal, published a letter by T.R.A. Arnold, a public relations officer, written on behalf of the High Commissioner's Office, replying to criticisms of the Prime Minister's statement of policy to the Fabian Colonial Bureau. The letter said:-

> "The Tribune's assertion that Sir Godfrey Huggins' suggestion closing the common roll to African voters for the next 20 years, and their representation by two Europeans, did not round out the picture.
> The Prime Minister proposed this as an immediate step accompanied by the development of a native council system, (already functioning well in some areas), leading possibly to the election by Africans, of Africans, to the National Parliament".

There does not seem much immediacy about "20 years". Incidentally one gathers that 30 Native Councils have been established in the Reserves of Southern Rhodesia.

It may be well to reflect, at this stage, that in spite of the more cautious statement of possibilities, and of the slower tempo envisaged, Salisbury follows Lagos, Accra, Nairobi, Kampala, Dar-es-Salaam, and Lusaka, in first admitting the African to a fuller participation in local government, before conceding him a place in the central legislature. By now the reasons for this common pattern of constitutional development should be obvious. That they have not yet been accepted as obvious in the Union is due to colour blindness, but since in the United Territories General Council of the Transkei, and in the developing Natives Representative Council of South Africa, the statesmanship originally shown ante-dated that of many Crown

Colonies, even though there was a lag in later evolution, a lag due to difficulties unknown in any other African territory, it may safely be predicted that, both in the Union and in Southern Rhodesia, it will not be very long before the African enters upon the fuller citizenship inherent in membership of a common Parliament. And surely a common Parliament must connote a common culture.

To those familiar with the pace of development considered inevitable elsewhere, a little conviction is carried by the following statement, although locally it may seem the voice of commonsense:-

> "He stressed the view that the Africans needed to gain political experience in local government before they were entrusted with political responsibility on the Westminster model".....
> ....."Sir Godfrey was emphatic that it was doing the African no service to encourage him at this point to believe that he could work successfully a parliamentary system on the British pattern. He gave his view that there were more urgent tasks: to improve the health, education, economic status, diet and housing of the African, on all of which tasks Southern Rhodesia is engaged at present".[9]

No question arises of a few African members "working successfully" or otherwise "a parliamentary system on the British pattern". What matters more profoundly is, that before 20 years have elapsed, their representatives should be given an opportunity of contributing towards the improvement of "health, education, economic status, diet and housing" of their own people, at the centre where policy is decided, legislation is promulgated, and related expenditure is examined and sanctioned.

If this were to receive effective attention, it would be correspondingly less necessary for [illegible] Smithey, when outlining the "new policy" of the Liberal Party, (the official opposition), to say at a recent party conference in Bulawayo, that:-

> "He felt that propaganda should be used to restore the lack of mutual respect between the black and white race. Much propaganda was needed to make Rhodesia's native problem understood overseas"
> (The "Star", February 13th, 1947)

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[9] Idem. Ibid.

If only the African were given the opportunity of thinking his own legislature of expressing his views on problems which vitally concerned him, there would be less urgency about the internal and overseas need for propaganda to explain to it why he must wait 20 years to do this.

The Colonial Review, dated March, 1947, contained abridged extracts from an address given by Mr. ... Todd, High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia, to a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies, on October 7th, 1946.

He said inter alia...

> "Now I come to the most important feature of our planning and that is to be found in the significant change that has taken place in the mental outlook of the European population. It can be epitomised in a few words:- whereas at the time, say, of our assumption of responsible government, we talked and thought of a population of 35,000, today we think of ourselves as a people 1,500,000 strong: in other words there has been a vast change in the outlook of our 52,000 Europeans.
>
> WE REALIZE THAT THERE CAN BE NO [illegible] COMMUNITY SPIRIT, OR LOYALTY, ISOLATED AND IGNORANCE, THE AREA OF CONTRIBUTION OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE MUTUAL WELFARE DEPENDS ENTIRELY ON NATIONAL ACTIVITY, AND, AS A RESULT OF THIS IMPROVED 'PRODUCTIVITY' OF THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN"...
>
> "THE RHODESIAN FARMER HAS BECOME CONVINCED THAT THE KEY TO OUR LAND FOR FOOD AND HIS HEALTH, HIS TRAINING, AND HIS ECONOMIC 'WORTH-WHILENESS' IS OF PRIMARY IMPORTANCE NOW. (Capitals mine)

In his Report on "Industrial Relations in Southern Rhodesia", Professor H. Clay, in 1930, gave foremost place to the African as an economic asset. Recent comments upon the 1946 Census figures in the Union suggest that his numbers represent a potential menace to the majority of politicians. Southern Rhodesia, which for some cryptic reason, until comparatively recently appeared to share the Union's feeling of superiority regarding what was called "The Black North" now uses demographic data concerning the African to secure a better status and recognition for the young dominion, but in doing so is still reluctant to accord him appropriate status or recognition. That this is a little odd would seem apparent, but it is emphasized by the following further extract from the High Commissioner's address under reference:-

....."Southern Rhodesia definitely looks north to some form of closer union with the neighbouring territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland"..."Thousands of their Natives come to Southern Rhodesia for employment: we have a common railway system with Northern Rhodesia, who looks to us for a large measure of educational facilities for her children, and as an entre-pot for her supplies.

The three territories have a common coinage, common air services and with the formation of the Central African Council...enjoy a large measure of co-operation upon a wide range of subjects such as health, housing, veterinary research, education and economic matters.

IN ALL THINGS WE MARCH TOGETHER".

(Capitals mine)

So far as constitutional development is concerned, the last sentence is not yet apposite, but that inter-territorial influences are at work to make it so, is undoubtedly true. In the meantime the thousands of Africans who enter Southern Rhodesia, as immigrant labour from the two northern territories, bring news of African progress between Livingstonia in the north and Livingstone in the south, news carried still further by those going to work on the Rand. Moreover the creation in 1944 of the Central African Council to promote closer contacts, and the co-ordination of policy and action between the Governments of the two Rhodesias and of Nyasaland, must irrevocably lead to direct participation by the African in the Southern Rhodesia Legislature, at a much earlier date than most of its politicans would at present concede.

The High Commission Territories.

It was pointed out by Lord Hailey that:-

"If in South Africa the term 'native administration' must be interpreted as expressing the separate regime applicable to natives in a country governed primarily in European interests, in the High Commission Territories it has almost an opposite meaning; it describes the system of control exercised over the traditional native authorities who are mainly responsible for the internal government and administration of justice in an area where European interests are less important".♯

This distinction obviously applies more appropriately to Basutoland and Bechuanaland than to Swaziland, where it is not

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♯ op cit.pp.393-4.

open to argument that the territories are governed primarily in African interests. In consequence it may be considered that any system of administration which obtains within the High Commission Territories, has much less relevance for the Union with which they are contiguous than, say, have constitutional developments in Kenya or Southern Rhodesia. What is of even greater significance, however, is that although a political boundary may prevent the movement of cattle from one country to another, it is an ineffective barrier against the passage of ideas and experiences concerning 'race'-relations. And this is probably the most important commodity which, together with labour, the High Commission Territories have for export, for they have established no legislative nor executive councils nor other constitutional developments worthy of note, and their material resources are woefully limited.

Proclamation No.23 of 1884 is still the source of the authority exercised by the Crown in Basutoland, empowering the High Commissioner, as it did, to make laws by proclamation, for the peace, order, and good government of the territory. According to Lord Hailey:

> "Some effort to systematize the relations between the British and native authorities was made when the Basutoland Council was instituted. This body grew out of the national Pitso, a general meeting of the men of the tribe of which the first recorded was in 1870"....."It meets annually and is presided over by the Resident Commissioner; of its 100 members ninety four are nominated by the paramount with the approval of the Commissioner, and five by the Commissioner directly"....."both in form and in fact the Council is an association of chiefs, and has been conspicuously conservative in its outlook"...."The competence of the Council vis à vis the British authorities is limited to the passing of resolutions; it is within the discretion of the Resident Commissioner whether the budget estimates shall be referred to it, and taxes have on occasion, for instance in 1920, been raised against the wishes of the chiefs.
>
> The disadvantages of this system of rule are obvious. It gives political protection, but divides responsibility; it provides for intervention without defining its limits or the principles on which it shall be made".[1]

Apart from problems arising from economic dependence on South Africa, Sir Alan Pim showed that problems of internal

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[1] op.cit.397-8

development demand urgent attention. To quote from the "African Survey" again:-

> "As he points out, a more effective administration, unless it is secured by supersession of the native authority, can only be achieved by the revision of a system in which the chiefs enjoy so large a measure of uncontrolled and undefined power. The council has little to recommend it as a potential organ of government".....-"it should be possible to secure, by the composition of the paramount's council and by the control exercised over it in its rule-making capacity, an instrument which could be progressively adapted to the needs of improved administration" #

In Swaziland about two-thirds of the land is in European hands, and on this land roughly one-sixth of the African population resides. "In 1921 an advisory council was instituted to assist the administration in purely European matters; it has nine elected members, and the budget and draft legislation are referred to it. In regard to purely native affairs the position of the traditional authorities is not anywhere defined"...##

When the "African Survey" was written, Lord Hailey ended his brief section on Swaziland with the words:-

> "the present system does little to stimulate a sense of responsibility in the Swazi, and economic developments seem to be producing a progressive disintegration of such traditional institutions as still exist".###

Of interest, therefore, is the following announcement in the "Star" of February 5th, 1947:

> "The proposal to set up a small representative committee of the Swazi National Council with whom the Government could transact business was described by Mr. E.B. Beetham, the Resident Commissioner of Swaziland, as an interesting development, when he opened the tenth session of the Seventh Advisory Council at Mbabane.
>
> "This committee is to be representative of the various districts and should serve to speed up discussions with the Native Authority and ensure closer and more frequent contact with the natives in matters affecting their interests".....'the Administration and the Council will welcome this considerable advance".

Progress is a relative term, and in the light of constitutional developments right across the Continent, one can but assume that "this considerable advance" is measured against the

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Ibid idem.pp 399-400. ## Ibid idem.pp.401-2. ### op.cit.p.405.

previous somewhat static position described by Lord Hailey in words which were applicable to the only High Commission Territory in which European interests were so prominent.

In Bechuanaland, although such interests are very real, and of undoubted importance to the country, they are not so widespread and are much less obtrusive.

We have already referred to the lack of the strong sense of nationality which characterizes Basutoland, but to the emergence, nevertheless of national consciousness.

Of earlier days one reads that:-

> "The conception underlying the original theory of a protectorate depended for its operation on the protecting power finding a strong political organization in existence: here, as elsewhere, it broke down when no such conditions were encountered".[p]

This should be remembered when assessing the evolution of political and other institutions. The 1891 Order in Council remains the authority upon which the High Commissioner issues proclamations, the fullest legal competence of the government in this respect having been twice substantiated in the courts.

Having referred to the full tribal assembly which "exercised an effective power under earlier conditions", when, to check the tendency for the tribes to split up into sections under sub-chiefs, "a head chief had every incentive to maintain his position by carrying his majority with him ", Hailey records his finding that:-

> "All observers agree that the establishment of the protectorate, by affording the chiefs an alternative basis for their authority, has tended to make them less dependent on tribal assent, and to give them a position of autocracy uncommon in Africa".1.

This autocracy he illustrates from the grave abuse by some chiefs of their judicial powers, their wasteful use of tribal resources, and the difficulties encountered in improving the position of the Masarwa serf population, so that:-

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[p] Hailey op. cit p 405.
1. ~~idem~~.p.407.
Ibid

> "the growing autocracy of the chiefs, meeting in its turn a growing consciousness among tribesmen, the result of experience gained by them either in trading in European markets or as wage earners outside the territory, was producing conditions which might have led to a disintegration of the tribal structure". #

Hence the choice lay between progressive intervention by Crown officers, or regularizing the position of the chiefs and of their councils, the latter course being adopted under Proclamations No.74 (Native Administration) and 75 (Native Tribunals) of 1934, which were issued under an explanatory Memorandum by the High Commissioner. The Memorandum indicated that it was desirable that the Kgotla, or tribal council, should include in addition to those who were qualified by the right of birth, others qualified by education and experience, thus placing a premium upon cultural assimilation.

Although elements of indirect rule were thus introduced by proclamation, and greater legal precision was given to the appointment and dismissal of chiefs, one reads that:-

> "the Bechuanaland system differs from the form adopted in most areas under indirect rule in providing that the members of a chief's council must be explicitly nominated, and can be removed by the administration" ##

Lord Hailey, towards the conclusion of his section on this Protectorate, makes a statement deserving of close consideration:-

> "the general policy of the administration has shown no lack of a desire to support the chief's authority. When two authorities with different standards of rule are operating in an undefined field of jurisdiction, it is not possible to avoid conflict, and both Basutoland and Bechuanaland have demonstrated the difficulty of a dualism which attempts at the same time to maintain unimpaired the traditional authority of native chiefs, and to achieve a more progressive system of administration.
>
> The maintenance of customary native authority is not an end in itself; its justification lies in the extent to which it can be utilized as an instrument for promoting general welfare. ALL EXPERIENCE GOES TO SHOW THAT THE BEST GUARANTEE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF

Ibid Idem p.409. ## Ibid p 411

TRADITIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN MODERN CONDITIONS LIES IN INTEGRATING THEM WITH THE GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS NECESSARY TO SECURE GOOD ADMINISTRATION"... con.

The scope of this chapter precludes the study of indirect rule per se in the present context, but one cannot evade some attempt to explain why the High Commission Territories have failed to keep pace with the far-reaching constitutional developments which have been introduced with such vigour and resolution, in practically every other British African dependency during the last few years, for the separate establishment of advisory councils, without any nexus, for European and African affairs, cannot be regarded as a counterpart of the representative parliamentary institutions established elsewhere.

To say that by virtue of their existing systems the High Commission Territories possess neither legislatures nor executive councils, is to beg the whole question, which seeks the reason for the maintenance of the status quo. Of many possible reasons, the haunting influence of such commitments as have been entered into or implied, concerning transfer to the Union, appears the most compelling. For a summary of the earlier steps taken in this direction, one need look no further than the "African Survey", from which the following excerpts are taken:-

> "When the constitution of the Union was discussed by the National Convention of 1908-9, the Secretary of State said that it would be practically impossible to secure the consent of Parliament to any constitution which did not include safeguards for native interests in the High Commission Territories.
>
> It was agreed to retain for the time being the existing system of administration through the High Commissioner, while providing for the future transfer to the Union on terms set out in the schedule to the South Africa Act.
>
> These included the provision that the revenues derived from each territory were to be expended in it, that no differential duties should be imposed, and that no native lands should be alienated. On transfer the territories were to retain their separate existence, and to be administered by a permanent commission under the Prime Minister, the legislative authority being not

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~~Ibid~~
~~Idem~~ pp 412-13
pp.173-5.

the Union Parliament but the Governor-General in Council".

> "The Union has invited the British Government to consider the question of transfer on a number of occasions, the first being in 1925, when they were told that 'certain obligations' made it impossible at the moment"...."The position of the British government was stated in a memorandum drawn up in agreement between General Hertzog and Mr.J.H. Thomas, and made public in the House of Commons on June 20, 1935. The British government is pledged to Parliament that no transfer shall take place until the inhabitants of the territories, native as well as European, have been consulted, and Parliament has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion; it believed that native opinion was at the time strongly opposed to transfer".

The Memorandum therefore added:-

> "The policy of both Governments for the next few years should be directed to bringing about a situation in which, if transfer were to become a matter of practical politics, it could be effected with the full acquiescence of the populations concerned"

In 1936 £35,000 was provided in the Native Affairs estimates of the Union for development in the High Commission Territories, a step defended by General Hertzog on the ground of their impending transfer.

One reads that:-

> "The offer was not accepted by the High Commission because of native opposition, especially in Basutoland; and in 1937, General Hertzog in expressing his disappointment at the attitude of the British Government said: 'The Union's right to the transfer of the administrations of the territories is indisputable. That the time for their transfer to the Union has already expired was conceded two years ago"[1]

In 1938 Mr. MacDonald announced that an agreement had been reached to give effect to the 1935 programme, whereby:-

> "It had been decided to constitute a standing joint advisory conference consisting of the Secretary of Native Affairs and two other officers of the Union together with the Resident Commissioners"...."The function of the conference will be to study openings for co-operation between the Union Government and the administrations in matters affecting the development of the territories and to consider any matters of joint concern to the Union and the territories.
>
> Meanwhile until the transfer of the territories can be effected the responsibility for their administration remains, of course, with the British Government, but the

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[1] Ibid ~~Idem~~. p.175

> agreement further provides for the Union Government to prepare memoranda setting forth the proposed terms on which they contemplate that the transfer should take place".#

For the Secretary of State to announce that an agreement had been reached, and to reveal its terms, would appear to take the question of transfer outside the realm of political speculation. Lord Hailey, after admitting that there are many who argue that "the natives of the territories generally, and in especial those of Basutoland, would regard transfer as a breach of an old-established understanding between them and the British", and after having explained the attitude of the British Cabinet, states significantly:-

> "The pledge given to Parliament does not imply that the formal assent of the natives is a necessary condition to transfer; but a far greater measure of goodwill is required on their part"..."every argument therefore is in favour of establishing at an early date the machinery which may assist to produce that goodwill.
>
> It may perhaps be added that the task of those who oppose the transfer might have been easier if it could have been shown that the British Government had made more active attempts in the past to improve the material condition of the territories; the facts given elsewhere show, however, that it is only since the question of transfer has come to the fore that they have made any serious efforts to do so".##

That the Africans would give the strongest expression to their discontent if active negotiations for transfer were re-opened, does not permit of doubt, a fact clearly indicative of their preference for the present administration, and suggestive of the influence which their attitude must exert particularly upon the very large number of others in the Union whose mother-tongue is Tswana, or a variant thereof. From this combined ethnic group, in spite of the poverty of its people, have come leaders of marked personality and ability. Of these one is the present Regent of the Bamangwato tribe, Chief Tshekedi Khama, son of an illustrious father; another is Professor D.D.T. Matthews of the Union Natives Representative Council, another, Dr. Moridi Molema of Mafeking, also a member of the same Council, and a fourth Chief Batheen II,O.B.E,

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Ibid
Idem.p.175
Idem.p.176
Ibid

Chairman of the African Advisory Council of the Protectorate.

There is nothing fantastic in the thought that there must be a constant interchange of political ideas, experiences and aspirations across the border, and in consequence the growth of national consciousness, even though people of common stock are thus divided among two different administrations. It would be difficult to assess the respective contributions or their influence, but in spite of the lag in their constitutional and social development, it might reasonably be assumed that from the High Commission Territories would issue, along with their real or imaginary grievances, the same kind of confidence in Britain's over-rule and justice, as is felt by the Africans of Uganda towards the protecting Power. For this reason we stated at the beginning of this section our belief in the fact that their experience in wholesome 'race'-relations, is probably the most important commodity exported from these territories.

.....

The restrictions of space have already been overtaxed, and will not permit any detailed description of the policies of other colonial governments.* Nevertheless brief reference to the French system is unavoidable.

French policy has been described as a national mission in that they regard themselves as "the apostles and disseminators of an all-sufficing and dominant culture"#

> One reads that "The French themselves are obviously entirely convinced that this course is a definite moral obligation; faith in their national mission is responsible for the certainty and enthusiasm which are such attractive characteristics of their staff"##

It follows that:-

> "So far from developing a local government which is intended in time to separate from the metropolitan, French theory aims at ever closer connection with the mother country. So the early stage of an autocratic administrator gives way, not to a measure of Home Rule, but to the sending of representatives to France"..."A local council may deal with home affairs, but the dominant government is that of the Republic, one and indivisible". ###

"Africans learn to be French" by Mumford and Orde-Brown (Evans Bros).p.79.
Ibid Idem.p.79.
Idem.p.72.
* Ibid

The above was written after a tour by the authors of French West Africa and Algiers in 1935, but remains essentially true in principle. This policy leads to the opening to Africans of careers in Government service, the merging of local patriotism and nationalism in loyalty to the Republic, military training regarded as a duty and a privilege, alternatively for those not so conscripted compulsory labour for public works as an obligation in return for the advantages enjoyed, and, of course, the furtherance of French as an indispensable implement for the acquirement of national culture.

Speaking of the economic and legislation councils appointed to advise the French Colonial Minister, Lord Hailey pointed out that certain delegates were elected for four years by the French citizens of the territories concerned.

> "this electorate may include natives who fulfil the requisite conditions, but it is more usual to elect a delegate resident in France than a member of the local community".#

In the "Star" of January 8th, 1947, appeared an article entitled "African Natives as Electors", which dealt with criticisms made by the Belgians of the Congo, regarding "the new French policy of extending the privileges of citizenship, including the franchise, to large numbers of Africans". This article, based upon an analysis made by the "Nation Belge" (Brussels), of elections held in French Colonies for the Constituent Assembly, was most critical, chiefly because so many votes were cast for candidates considered undesirable, or because the African voters committed elementary errors in procedure.

The following excerpt is of interest, nevertheless:-

> "The Europeans of French Equatorial Africa feel that the decision made in Paris to extend the privileges of French citizenship and suffrage was unavoidable in view of the present attitude of the natives, and the difficulties France is meeting in her Empire".

So far as French Equatorial Africa is concerned, it will

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op.cit.p.187.

be remembered that when this, the first French Colony to do so, decided to declare itself on the side of Free France, as against Vichy France, during the Great War, it had a Negro Governor who took the decision, a Negro of undisputed administrative ability.

The frontiers of many British dependencies march with those of French West Africa, and those of the Sudan, the Cameroons and the Belgian Congo with the frontiers of French Equatorial Africa. It accordingly follows that the French, the Belgian and the British interpretations of trusteeship are the more easily compared in the neighbouring territories, and it is obvious that the results are available to Africans in the Union, whose own 'racial' record is transmitted to Brazzaville, Leopoldville, Lagos and Dakar, as well as to the international forum at UNO.

It would seem unnecessary to summarise the evidence to which this chapter so inadequately refers, concerning recent constitutional developments in other parts of Africa, which cumulatively must make a deep impression upon the educated Natives of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, and which it were folly to ignore.

Alexander Campbell writes:-

> "We can neither close our eyes to developments elsewhere in Africa, nor can we (if we were so foolish as to think of it) launch a 'white crusade' against those territories to force them to alter their policies to the shape we have chosen for ourselves".¢

In the meantime the cultures converge, and, for good or ill, the process cannot be reversed.

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¢ op.cit.p.120.

Chapter XI

UNO AND WORLD OPINION

The preamble to the United Nations' Charter, commonly attributed to General Smuts, opens with the following words:-

> "We ..... re-affirm faith in fundamental rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women of nations large and small" .....

Senator Edgar H. Brookes, in surveying South African race-relationships at the annual General Council meeting of the Institute of Race-Relations in January, 1947, said:-

> "I doubt if ever there has been a more difficult year than 1946 so far as race-relations are concerned, since the Institute was founded. The year has seen the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure Bill, the organisation of the passive resistance movement, the Native mineworkers' strike, the breakdown of the Natives Representative Council, and most significent of all, the debates at UNO on the South West African and Indian issues, which from many points of view, must be regarded as a considered, judgement passed by the organised world upon South Africa's racial policies." xx

The purpose of the present chapter is not to attempt a retrospective analysis of the justice or otherwise of UNO's verdict, but rather to ascertain whether the reference of South Africa's problems to this new parliament of mankind, with its consequential judgment and the commentary of others, will promote or retard the assimilation of "our" culture by the African.

The leader in the Sunday Times of December 15th, 1946, bore the thought-provoking title "The Answer is Unity". Should this answer find acceptance in the Union, it would mean that the majority of the electorate accepted the preamble to the Charter quoted above, and, whatever the admitted difficulties in the way, were prepared to apply its terms to their treatment of the non-Europeans of all communities. Granted this, of course, there could be no doubt concerning the improvement of intercultural relations, as well as of 'race(- relations. Unfortunately in a country whose motto is "Unity is Strength", the perpetuation of racial disunity masquerades as strength, so that we cannot assume that we are within measurable reach of the removal of limitations upon human rights. It follows that our enquiry is more concerned at the moment with the influence exerted upon the African, whatever the reactions of the European,

although the two are clearly connected.

In the newspaper leader cited, occurred the following passage:-

> "It is embarrassing to have the world searchlight turned on our shortcomings. It is also stimulating. In these dynamic days no country with a racial problem can afford to be complacent. The European in Southern Africa has taken his position too much for granted, and it should not have needed a UNO debate to remind us that Western civilisation in Southern Africa cannot be guaranteed by colour bars or unnatureal repression.
>
> All races in this country must progress; whether the European will remain the leader depends on his intellectual capacity and his fitness to govern".

Before considering other articles, such as the above, which were read by Africans everywhere, many of which gave vigorous support to their case for fuller citizenship, it may be well to turn to the debate initiated by Dr. Malan in the House of Assembly, on January 21st, 1947. The leader of the Opposition stated that in view of the resolutions adopted recently by the United Nations Organisation

> "and in view of the serious implications of such resolutions for South Africa and more particularly for the white race and its future, this House is of the opinion that:-
>
> "(1) The Union should give no effect to the request that South-West Africa should be placed under the trusteeship of the United Nations Organisation and/or that the Union should accept any responsibility towards the Trusteeship Council of UNO with regard to the manner in which the Union as mandatory is governing that territory;
>
> "(2) The Union should by virtue of its rights and powers as mandatory grant to South-West Africa the status with the rights and powers equal to that which its various Provinces enjoy, including fair representation in the Senate and the House of Assembly;
>
> "(3) The Government should give no effect to the demand by UNO that the Union should confer with the Government of India regarding South Africa's own measures relating to the Indian question and be under an obligation to report thereon, except in so far as such negotiations have the express and exclusive object of having the Indian population of South Africa removed to India or elsewhere;

> "(4) The Government should take the necessary steps to withdraw the group representation of Indians in Parliament and in the Natal Provincial Council granted recently as it is now apparent that such representation is both undesired and futile."

Finally Dr. Malan proposed a joint-committee of both Houses to devise a comprehensive policy in respect of the colour problem, based on the principals of separation.

To follow the debate would be beyond our terms of reference, but after stating that the locally agreed policy of incorporating South West Africa had been frustrated by UNO, and that South Africa stood convicted in the eyes of the world, Dr. Malan, according to the report in the "Star" of the same date, spoke to this effect:-

> "The difficult work of the past 100 years had been partly destroyed. "It was an attack on our freedom as a nation and on our sovereignty."
> The UNO decisions had had serious repercussions on the non-European community. Already there had been ferment among the non-Europeans as a result of the war and more particularly as a result of the arming of non-Europeans.
> This ferment had now been aggravated by the decisions of UNO, which carried to the non-Europeans this message: "To you an injustice is being done. You must make demands to remove those injustices. Behind you stands the United Nations Organisation - the majority of the nations of the world."

The ironical thing is that, disregarding the attempt to make party capital out of racial unrest, whether in connection with South Africa's participation in the war, or with her participation in UNO, Dr. Malan is essentially right in the interpretation which, broadly speaking, many non-Europeans would place upon the majority attitute at Lake Success.

Repercussions have already occurred and will continue. To illustrate this, full extracts from an article by an African journalist will follow later.

Among the contributions to the debate that would be of especial interest to the Africans, were Colonel Stallard's warning, that having voluntarily undertaken to abide by the principles of the Charter, South Africa could not escape the consequences if she now repudiated them, and that she should certainly not adopt an attitude of defiance for this was both dangerous and undignified; Mr. Hofmeyr's contention that Dr. Malan wanted to do two quite incompatible things, to maintain a vertical colour bar and to be just and equitable to the non-Europeans, and Mr. Hofmeyr's claim that if Dr. Malan's motion were accepted it would mean that the cause of re-action had triumphed accordingly, and Mrs. Ballinger's statement that at present it would be completely impossible to

persuade the United Nations that the Union's approach to non - European problems was right.

Colonel Rood's amendment, which was carried by 82 votes to 48, read as follows:-

"To delete all the words after 'that', and substitute the following:-

> "This House approves of the way the Prime Minister and his colleagues at the UNO Conference in New York defended the interests of South Africa, both in the matter of South-West Africa and the complaint of the Indian Government against the Union, and expresses appreciation of his services.
> "It also expresses approval of the policy of the Prime Minister with regard to the non-European community in the Union, as it feels that a conciliatory but firm policy is calculated to contribute to the peace and wellbeing of South Africa as a whole and to the good-will of the world generally."

It will be seen that this retained the preamble stressing that the UNO resolutions had serious implications in particular for the white 'race' in South Africa, confirmed the Prime Minister's non-European policy, and went on record in reply to world opinion with a rather astonishing reason to justify the Assembly's preference for this policy rather than for that advocated by UNO, namely that to secure the wellbeing of South Africa and the goodwill of hostile world, it was essential that policy should be 'conciliatory but firm'. Whom this would conciliate remains conveniently vague.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the Union's 'race' - policy immediately thereafter should have been criticised overseas, nor that an article in the "Economist" should have been reproduced in many South African papers, one of which was the "Star" of January 27th, 1947 from which the following excerpts are taken:-

> The Economist says:- "Dr. Malan's views on the colour problem are no secret. Fortified by his recent success in the Hottentots Holland by-election he was bound to try to capitalise on the resentment of all South Africans at UNO'S strictures on the Union's colour policy.
> "Clearly he hoped to split the United Party ranks, but before he could do this his fangs were drawn by General Smuts, and in a manner that will surprise many of General Smuts's admirers in Britain.
> General Smuts argues that he has not thrown up the United Nations Charter; to do so would be provocative The Union, he says is ready to go on administering South-West Africa under the old mandatory rules (which means to submit reports about it, but not to admit

inspectors). It is also ready to review its Indian policy, but as a purely domestic concern.

"But, whatever the domestic interpretation of these statements, they in fact knowck a very large hole in UNO'S frail structure. That hole is of a kind others can only too easily enlarge.

"The consequences of this speech is to split UNO into two camps, one white and one coloured, one reactionary and the other eager for change and readjustment of values. This deplorable division was already discernible in the first Assembly, when Russia and India took it in turn to lead the innovators.

retrograde "The retrograde move of the Prime Minister affects all white nations, but it has a special consequence for white men who inhabit Africa.

"It will adversely effect all the three big groups of these - in the Union itself, British settlers in Kenya and French colonials in Algeria - if there three, the Union in particular, claim leadership in African affairs. To this the Union clearly possesses title on both economic and strategic grounds. It has now jeopardised its claim to political supremacy." (underlining mind)

To the above trenchant criticism the Economist added that "if General Smuts were to read the omens, now apparent everywhere from Karachi to Manila, he would move with the times and not against them".

It is worthy of note that the above article was given prominence in the Vernacular press, as were other in similar strain, thus supporting Dr. Malan's somewhat natural discovery that the UNO decisions would have repercussions on our non-European communities. Another discovery which they must have observed, was made by the Cape Argus, which announced in its leader of January 22nd, 1947, that:-

"As far as the realities of the situation created by the hostility of the United Nations to South Africa are concerned, there was not the difference of a feather between the pronouncements of General Smuts and Dr.Malan in yesterday's debate.

Both asserted that the Union would resist external interference with its domestic affairs. Both insisted that the political safeguards necessitated by the peculiar multi-racial conditions that prevail here must not be hastily undermined. Upon these fundamentals, General Smuts was every whit as firm and uncompromising as his critic.

Where they were at variance was over the immediate steps necessary to vindicate our rights and protect our traditional way of life".

In spite of the trust and parry of political debate, the parties demonstrate their cohesion whenever, as on an occasion of this kind, their right to formulate policy on a basis of colour is called in question. Is it unreasonable to think that this strengthens

solidarity on the same basis, across the colour bar?

The leader of the same date in the "Star" concluded with the somewhat complacent finding that General Smuts and his supporters had nothing to fear from their critics, since "the course he outlined yesterday, is one of political realism, short through with the sober colours of a long-range understanding, that permanent political repression is now and forever completely outmoded". In spite of the lyrical interpretation placed upon a speech which the 'Argus' thought showed not "the difference of a feather" from that of Dr. Malan, and which the 'Economist' thought might well split UNO into two camps on the basis of colour, it is clear that the Africans will need much more re-assurance before they begin to believe that in this country repression is forever completely outmoded, even though it be explainged to them that the operative phrase is "long-range understanding".

Since in this study we are concerned with the impact of Western culture upon the African, and in this chapter with any influence which UNO and world opinion may have upon this process, we should now turn to an article by an African journalist, entitled "South Africa before the World Court". Since it appeared in "The Democrat" of December 21st, 1946, it may be taken to reflect the impressions of an educated African immediately after UNO, and hence before the parliamentary debate and the press comments it evoked. It is significant of many things, one of which appears to be that if the non-European has as yet, no voice in government, he is using his voice with fluency and power outside it. Another would seem to be that in employing his English, his journalism, and his freedom of speech in this democratic way, he supplies further evidence of cultural assimilation.

Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane wrote as follows:-

> "The rulers of South Africa have not enjoyed the heavy draught of international fresh air which has been blowing over the stuffy atmosphere of the Union's racial policies for the last five or six weeks, and if their reactions to events in the United Nations Organisation indicate anything we might all prepare ourselves for very interesting developments in the relations between black and white here, within the next five years.
>
> Needless to say, South Africa asked for what she got

from UNO. The Union Government rushed through Parliament the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill in the teeth of strenuous, local Indian opposition and in the face of clear warnings from India that the Indian Government would take a very grave view of any tendency likely to give a legal sanction to discrimination against Union Indians. But while South Africa had made up its mind and was not going to allow any Asiatics to dictate what its policy towards non-whites should be! So the Bill went through Parliament; the Indian High Commissioner was withdrawn; and trade sanctions were imposed by Indian against South Africa.

Since these indications of India's earnest desire to make South Africa see better reason on the Colour Question failed to produce any positive results, the Indian Government had perforce to haul the Union before the United Nations' Organisation in an effort to get justice done to the Indian minority in South Africa. As circumstances turned our, events at UNO placed South Africa in a position where her whole policy of racial segregation was placed on trial at the bar of world opinion, and as the decisions of the Trusteeship Sub-Committee, Joint Legal and Political Committee and the General Assembly of the United Nations have shown most of the world is unmistakably opposed to South Africa's Colour Bar.

This is as things should be. The world is fresh from a war which started when Hitler began discriminating against and persecuting the Jews in an effort to establish by force the "superiority" of a "master" race. The nations gathered at Lake Success are in no mood to allow themselves to be dragged into another holocaust because 2,000,000 white in South Africa want to cling to policies of race and colour discrimination which hold the seeds of another world war. It has been demonstrated before UNO that in no other country in the world has the colour clash taken so violent and dangerous a form as in the Union, and that because of this South Africa - now that there is no Nazi Germany - stands foremost in the world as the exponent and advocate of race discrimination."

Ngubane continued by stating that India, with her four hundred million people, both within the Commonwealth and in the United Nations Organization would insist on equal treatment for all, regardless of race or colour. He then added poignantly, with a sting most revealed when used discreetly within the brackets:-

"It is possible that within the white-dominated Empire, South Africa might score against India on the Colour Question and succeed in driving India out of the Commonwealth into an Asiatic bloc now in process of formation. It is not too pleasant to reflect on the possible tragic out come of such a development (regret not being felt for the dismemberment of the Empire, but for the division of the world into racial blocs), but the fact might as well be faced now that India will fight determinedly for equality for all men, no matter what their racial origin, and in this will be actively supported by China, the Soviet Union, Indonesia, Burma and the non-white peoples of Africa.

It is not that UNO was swayed by the oratory of the Indian delegation - in itself distinguished and a

> magnificent eye-opener to the Union's herrenvolk. The facts placed before the United Nations, and a cold and realistic appreciation of the potentialities of the situation under discussion, drove UNO to the conclusions it arrived at on South-West Africa and the Indo-South African quarrel. UNO - likes the League of Nations - had to choose between meting justice to every human being, regardless of race, and between propping up a tottering structure of white "supremacy". The choice lay between a united world and a divided world; between peace and war on an international scale. UNO - unlike the League of Nations - clung courageously, in spite of thinly veiled threats from the South African delegation, to its principles as embodied in the United Nations' Charter - the preamble to which was principally written by none other than the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa!"

He then claimed that if this were the worst rebuff South Africa had ever received at an international gathering, it was because of anti-democratic practices at home, and said that a furious search for scapegoats was going on. Moreover, he claimed:-

> "Threats have been coming in a developing crescendo, aimed at making it known that if UNO continues to "meddle" with South Africa's "domestic affairs" the Union would march out of UNO. There is quite a familiar ring about this tune. Japan said something very much like this when she left the League of Nations over Manchuria, and so also did Mussolini. The analogy goes further. There is also a very familiar ring in the Union Government's claim that the people of South-West Africa, of their own accord, want to come under the Union. Remember the Sudetenland "requests" for incorporation within the Nazi Reich? History has a queer way of repeating itself, even at a time when the world can no longer be fooled."

His reference to the various political parties showed, not only much insight, but close familiarity with Assembly debates.

His penultimate paragraph illustrated that, although the iron had entered his soul, he had not become so racially embittered as to lose all perspective so far as liberal tendencies are concerned, for he said:-

> "Perhaps the only silver lining in all this is the fact that a number of whites who maintained an attitude of indifference on the Colour Question have been stirred into agreeing with the progressives of all races that the Union's racial policies are due for revision. This might be a happy augury if it does not end merely in kindly thoughts and pious wishes."

But his concluding summary was incisive enought, and can leave us in no doubt whatever regarding the dynamic influences which world

Opinion

opinion to-day is pouring like molten lava into the receptive minds of our African leaders, for he said:-

> "For the non-Europeans, current world events have made one fact clear - that whatever the final outcome of the UNO debates on South-West Africa and the Indo-South African quarrel, UNO will have no truck with any herrenvolk. For African's specifically, the UNO debates indicate that at least the iron curtain behind which undemocratic and politically dark things were perpetrated against the African has been lifted - never to be lowered again."

How very much easier it would be if only they would develop on their own lines.

Neither are they a law to themselves, nor we a law to ourselves any longer, for that day has gone. Hence the basis of our racial policies calls for a more enduring foundation, since the present one is fast deteriorating. Only in this way will the non-Europeans be protected from the abuse of power, and ourselves from the evils which result. Our cause has been tried and found wanting. The Africans have known it for a long time. They have now discovered that world opinion shares their verdict, and that it has been re-affirmed in the parliament of nations, where, since common humanity is incomparably more important than colour, common justice has universal validity, and common culture is promoted through the outlawing of political, economic and social segregation.

.....oOo.....

Chapter XII

THE ROYAL VISIT.

In a study which deals with the convergence of cultures in Africa, one must inevitable consider the evidence provided by the Royal Tour of the Union, the High Commission Territories, and Southern Rhodesia, (with its short incursion into Northern Rhodesia), in 1947, for the occasion was historic, and upon the various African societies to whom chieftainship is the embodiment of so much, personal contact with the Head of the Commonwealth and with the other Royal Visitors, must have made a deep impression. Apart from this, other impressions were made and received of which some will endure, with carying effects

I am indebted to Mr. H. J. E. Dumbrell, C.B.E., representative of the Bantu Press, who travelled on the Pilot Train, for some of his own impressions recorded immediately after the tour. A keen observer with a judicial mind, Mr. Dumbrell during the last 40 years has had an extensive experience of African affairs, and is competent to comment upon them. He wrote as follows:-

> "The biggest native gatherings seen in the Union of South Africa were those held at King Williams Town, Umtata, Eshowe and Pietersburg, and of these the meeting at Umtata was in the opinion of the Africans the best. They attribute its success to the fact that through the Chiefs they had a greater share in its organization and general management than at other places. Having been present at all the meetings I am inclined to the view that an additional factor that contributed to its success was that Umtata is not so easily accessible to Europeans as the other places mentioned - with the possible exception of Pietersburg - and so there was no apparent attempt by European authorities to coerce the Natives into providing a type of show which would have satisfied Europeans brought up on a "Hollywood" diet, and the costumes for which are now mostly museum exhibits.
>
> At King William's Town the great majority of Africans felt that their welcome to Royalty was spoilt by their Chiefs and headmen attempting to stage something barbaric and old but for which there had been no rehearsals. An hour before the meeting I mingled with a large group of chiefs and headmen gathered around Sandile - probably 200 of them - and he was attempting at that late hour to instruct certain chosen men, decked out in tribal finery, about how they were to 'ginja' in the presence of the Royal Party and a first class debate ensured about the contents of the 'Izibongo' to be shouted."

When the time for action arrived, one was not surprised to learn that in the opinion of the reporter, the whole thing was a fiasco and that not a single "praise" was given.

Of the same occasion Mr. Drumbrell also said:-

> "At this meeting the Natives were much impressed by the

fact that His Majesty ended his own address with the words "God Bless you all". It pleased them greatly. At Umtata and later at other places where His Majesty addressed them they were anxiously awaiting those words and they were not disappointed. Here too and at many other places Natives to whom I spoke expressed themselves as being happy, for as one put it, "The man next to God is with us" and their feeling was expressed by people of all classes and types. The King is regarded as almost divine."

Before quoting Mr. Dumbrell on the Eshowe gathering, it is of interest to read from newspaper articles before and after the event. The fact that in spite of published warnings regarding the lack of accomodation for Europeans, endless streams of cars filled the roads leading to Zululand, was clearly indicative of the conviction that of all tribal headquarters in South Africa, here they could count on seeing an indigenous show on a colossal scale, in which the famous Zulu "amabuto", duly supported by their women-folk, could make the earth resound to the thunder of antiquity, in an 'Ngoma reaching the most dramatic crescendo of the tour.

The "Rand Daily Mail" in its issue of March 10th 1947, prepared the European stall-holders for exactly that. It began, rather ominously, with the following, in heavy type:-

"The Royal welcome of the Zulus, the 'Ngoma Mukosi', with which that nation welcomed their own kings in the days before they were defeated in this country, used to take two full days.

The time Allocated for this ceremony of welcome to our Royal Family, on March 19 at Eshowe, has been reduced to forty-five minutes" ..... " But it will have all the possible grandeur and enthusiasm that more than 4,000 Zulus can impart".

The account went on to explain that a description of this 'Ngoma Mukosi' and its music, had been given to the Daily Mail reporter by Mr. Hugh Tracey, who is directing research into African music and recreation. It then continued:-

....."this Royal welcome will be a gala performance, said Mr. Tracey. The dances will not be war dances, but secular regimental dances. Zulu regiments are not built up on clans, but on age groups, and two of these 'Ihubo' and a women's country dance will be given." ..... "The dancers will wear as complete gala dress as possible, and the hope is that all European clothing will be eliminated. It is difficult to-day to get sufficient leopard, otto and civet cat skins, so increasing attention is paid to decorations with head work.

Yet even these are difficult to get since the war" ..... "As much as £30,000 a year used to be spent on the wholesale importation of raw beads, said Mr. Tracey. This meant a retail expenditute of a million pounds on beads in Natal."

After this disclosure concerning profit-making on a scale somewhat difficult to justify, even though European traders in Natal and Italian traders in Ventoe were thereby lending colourful support to the pleasing belief that the best Bantu have always worn stuffed heads, the report continued:-

> "The final dramatic action of the event will be the advance of the Indunas with the imbhoula headdress. These black feathers will be flecked with red shoulder feathers of the same bird, and the colouring will enhance the dramatic gestures and motions.
>
> It is hoped that the time of the 'Ngoma Enkosi' may be extended so that the famous serpentine movement, the 'Ihele', so spectacular in its massed dramatic effect, with all 1,000 Zulus advancing to the Royal dais, may be included".

As one who has ridden thousands of miles in Zululand, and known it from its southern border to Kosi Bay; who many years ago visited the kraal sites of Cetshwayo, Dinizulu, Tshaka, and Senzangakona, and who retains an affectionate regard for the Zulu, and still has a working knowledge of their language, it is a little hurting to turn from this attractive but completely unrealistic picture, to the description of the actual event as recorded subsequently in the Press. Thus the "Sunday Times" of March 23rd, 1947, had in large headlines:- "Royal Ngoma at Eshowe Flopped," and the article continued:-

> "Hollywood would have done it better. As a mass spectacle the Ngoma was a flop, although it was a gala for Photographers. Both Movie cameramen and still photographers, using either colour film or black and white, could not fail to get magnificent photographs, particularly close-ups. Not for years has there been an equal opportunity of recording the authentic but vanishing Zulu.
>
> But when one ceased to look at the spectacle through a camera view-finder, it disappointed. The dance was disappointing because the Zulus did not get 'steamed up' until it was time to go home."

The writer, Carel Birkby, author of 'Zulu Journey', made another admission.

> "It has always been a matter of disappointment to me that the senior chiefs of the Zulu nation have taken to wearing gaudy uniforms that might well be the garb of characters in a Ruritanian comic opera."

We shall find similar sentiments expressed by Mr. Dumbrell in connection with the High Commission Territories.

Before leaving this extremely significant and penetrating account of the Zululand function, one must quote from its concluding evidence from Mr. L. N. Williamson-Napier. Describing himself as an admirer

of the Zulu race, he said that he came away humbled and disappointed and that 'what should have been a stirring and speech-making spectacle turned out to be a deplorable debacle.' After stigmatising the Europeans for their lack of restraint and disregard of the fitness of things, he added his own interpretation of the reason why the 'Ngoma had proved such a failure, his explanation being the following

> 'As for the Royal Dance itself, to an interested observer it would appear that the unfortunate fiasco was the result of the meddling of white people in a ceremony which peculiarly was one to have been handled entirely by the Zulus.
>
> There was no Royal dance worthy of the name and this, in itself, must have been a bitter disappointment to those thousands of patient black subjects of the King, who were so obviously anxious to exhibit this loyalty in their traditional manner, and were frustrated.'

To revert to Mr. Dumbrell, another light is thrown upon the debacle. He described it as follow:-

> 'The Nahowe meeting was just a shambles and the war-dance merely a pitiful parody of that staged on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit. It is true that the previous evening the two chiefs Mahingeni and Cyprian had had an argument but the fact is that during a period of a little more than 20 years - a generation - the sugar industry has increased to such an extent that the Zulus have exchanged the assegai for the cane-knife. Also, the measures taken to protect animal and bird life have not been without their effect on 'regimental' wardrobes. There was only one proper regimental group as such and that was the Ngoba 'makosi'; the other age groups were composed of individuals not attached to any particular one regiment and who mostly had never previously paraded together. The result was equivalent to what would happen if one gathered together a massed choir and orchestra three days before a public performance and then ordered them to perform without any knowledge of the score, or even the words, and then expected them to play their parts at the same time under different conductors some of whom did not know their language and who were as ignorant as many of the performers themselves of techniques required.'

Comment would be superfluous, for such a classic example of failure to revive even for the King himself, a culture that our impact has destroyed, needs no emphasis.

Mr. Dumbrell added that fortunately Mr. Carl Faye, who interpreted on this occasion as he had done during the visit of the Prince of Wales, was present, and, he adds, 'I think at the suggestion of His Majesty, saved the 'dance' from complete failure by personally guiding the Ngoba - 'Makosi group, and prevailing on some of them to give an exhibition of old time dancing. The

dancing by the women was just ludicrous" .....

Omitting comments by him upon many other gatherings in the Union, the following further observations by Mr. Dumbrell are of interest:-

> "At Durban and Pretoria there were special days for children and both were great successes and I have no hesitation at all in saying that the successes were due to the educational authorities concerned who had enlisted the co-operation of Natives. Natives commented upon this and also on the fact that at these welcomes and also at Youth Movement "Shows" the African children did their part with the European children and not alongside of them and that their efforts were warmly applauded by European children who were spectators. In the 'flower pageant' at Durban in which parts were played by children of both races the applause of the European children and their pride in the achievements and singing of their dark skinned school mates was particularly remarked upon by the Royal Visitors. One Native said to me, "There is no colour bar with these children and for that we can thank the Education Department and the Ministers of Religion."

Of the Free State he wrote, inter alia:-

> "At the square outside the Bloemfontein station when the Royal Family arrived at least half the space was made available for Africans. At small stations where the trains halted there was no attempt to keep out the Africans or to relegate them to the backyard and invariably at least half the platform space was occupied by Africans. At Kroonstadt, Bethlehem and Harrismith where there were organized meetings ample facilities were afforded the African to see the Royal Family and to welcome them. This was a surprise not only to the Africans themselves and to Press Reporters on the Pilot Train, but even to people on the Royal Train. As a result African views are of two kinds:- (a) 'The Orange Free State Europeans are alright at heart except for politics.' (b) 'The Orange Free State Europeans don't want to appear shamed before Royalty as they would be if they thrust us into the background.'"

In this connection Mr. Dumbrell expressed the view that "It is quite certain that the general result has been for the improvement of race-relations on the Orange Free State."

Of the High Commission Territories he reported as follows:-

> "The Welcomes at Maseru, Goedgegan and Lobatsi outshone anything staged in the Union. There was mor dignity; more spontaneity and excellent organisation. The Africans felt that they were 'their' shows and not arranged for the entertainment of Europeans. Also, that on their chiefs and upon them themselves responsibilities were imposed to see that proper decorum was observed. It is difficult to say which was the best in the opinion of the Africans and I'm inclined to think that each gave equal satisfaction. One thing was particularly noticeable and that was the amount of attention paid to Princess Elizabeth as heir-presumptive. It was a matter of comment too that Paramount Chiefs and Others used in their own

languages the words "My King" and one invariably heard the words "Here he is" rather than "Here They are" as was general in the Union.

Most Africans now regard the "Uniforms" worn by some of their Chiefs as being somewhat silly. It is not that they want them scrapped but that they feel them to be out of date - and loathe the idea that they may be objects for ridicule."

This remark about uniforms is akin to that quoted from Kirkby's article about Zululand. In the photographs of the Swaziland function, which appeared in the "Star" of March 26th, the Paramount Chief and his aides are seen in unifroms of purple and yellow specially tailored for the occasion, with them being an African graduate in cap and gown, who acts as the 'Liso lenkosi'. In the Rand Daily Mail of April 18th, one read that "Chief Tshekedi wore a uniform based on that of the Household Cavalry, which was given to his father when he visited Queen Victoria. It consists of Wellington boots and red-striped overall trousers, a tunic heavy with gold epaulettes, a purple sash, a gold hilted sword and a burnished red-plumed Life Guard's helmet".

Of the chiefs' uniforms in the Rhodesias, Mr. Dumbrell wrote:-

"Both in Southern and Northern Rhodesia African Chiefs and Headmen are now garbed in fantastic robes of office purchased by and chosen for them by the Native Affairs Authorities. They looked and felt uncomfortable in them and in their white pith helmets. They also carried wands of office but were completely nonplussed as to how to use them - when to put them down etc! Some of the things they did with those wands were amazing! The Africans themselves felt that their chiefs were being made to look ridiculous and felt the same sense of shame as that of a school boy at an English Boarding School when father turns up in an exotic waistcoat and tie that is not quite 'the thing'."

The visit to the Rhodesias called forth the following comment from Mr. Dumbrell:-

"What struck me with particular force was that at Salisbury and the Matopos the Africans appeared quite unable to "let themselves go". At the latter place, however, a couple of hundred of tribal Matabele after the rehearsed and thrice repeated shout of "Bayede" had been given, gave there own "Bayede" and burst into an ancient war chant of the Kumalos. They were, however, quickly stopped. I spoke to one or two of them later and they were extremely pleased with themselves and said that they had noticed that their impromptu act had received a smile of pleasure from the King and his family.

In Northern Rhodesia the Barotse barges and their paddles were excellent and the spontaneous enjoyment of the Natives and their traditional form of welcome were only marred by the bizarre garments already mentioned as being worn by their Chiefs. Muslim chiefs and headmen apparently would not don them."

In connection with the Bechuanaland function, brief additional points deserved mention. Thus well over 2,000 school children participated, many of whom had never been out of the Kalahari or out of Ngamiland before. Every stage of their journey was a thrilling adventure. Approximately 600 African Guides, with their officers and Colour Party, under the command of Mrs. Lawrenson, were inspected by the Princess Elizabeth, and a somewhat smaller muster of Pathfinder Scouts under the Rev. F. J. Shaw, as well as members of the Brigade Movement. Their Majesties spoke to diminutive pupils, Europeans and African: the King inspected returned soldiers of both races; he received addresses of welcome from the leaders of European, African and Indian, communities, and decorated representatives of both the European and African 'races' with military and civil insignia.

Moreover one read of the tea party which followed that:- "At a table near those at which the Royal family were seated were six senior chiefs of Bechuanaland and their wives. After tea the King and Queen went over to them and spoke of all of them for ten minutes. The King had an animated conversation with Tshekedi and Bathoen." xx

On a much larger scale was the Pretoria gathering of 25,000 non-European children, of which a most interesting description appeared in the "Star" of March 31st, 1947. From it are taken the following excerpts:-

> "The King was hailed as "The Lion of the White Crags," the Queen as "The Mother of Rains" and Princess Elizabeth as "The Eldest Sister of All People" when they arrived at Iscor Sports Ground, in Pretoria, this morning where they were greeted by 25,000 non-European children.
>
> All the names are Sotho. In full they are: The King, "Ke Tau Ya Magaga-seou-tan Ya Mela Diphego" (translated, this is, "I am the Lion of the White Crags - the Lion grew wings"). The Queen's name is "Mapula," which means "Mother of Rains."
>
> Special care was given to the choise of a name for Princess Elizabeth, as the heir to the Throne, and having no brothers. It is "Ke Mokgadi wa Batho-Berolo Ba Gagwe Se Rwala Dobidi-Se Rwalo Basemane Le Basetsana." This means, "I am the eldest sister of all people. My basket carries two-fold. It carries boys and girls."
>
> "If we want to approach the King," said an elderly native gravely, "we must approach him through his

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xx Rand Daily Mail, 18.4.47

eldest daughter. She, because she has no brothers, could if she wished, summon an initiation school." The basket carried on the head of a native maiden is her symbol and is her most prized possession. Hence this reference in the Princess's name.

By Native law and custom these names, bestowed quite spontaneously by the people themselves, are now the names of the King and Queen and their daughter for the rest of their lives, and wherever Sotho is spoken, it is thus that they will be known.

Resounding cheers greeted their Majesties and Their Royal Highnesses on their arrival among the 25,000 Native., Coloured, Indian and Chinese children who had awaited them since the early hours of the morning. Each child was wearing the bronze medal commemorating the Royal visit.

They came from 200 schools not only in Pretoria and its environs, but as far north as Warmbaths, west from Rustenburg, east from Middleburg and south from Kempton Park. Some of them had started to travel at 2 a.m. Many thousands were tranported by train, and all available railway motor transport, was in use." .. .. "Others trudged in on foot, or in donkey wagons, travelling through the night. All were clutching their packets of sandwiches, and all were presented with a bottle of lemonade and a packet of sweets before they left."

After the royal cars had motored slowly through line upon line of children, and after the presentations, one read that:-

"When the Royal Family left the dais the native anthems- Nkosi Sikelela and Kgosi Boloka, were sung by the children. The Royal Family was obviously impressed, the Queen quietly clapping at the end of the second anthem.

On the western side of the field there was a parade of Wayfarers, Guides and Pathfinders. African invalided soldiers were given promient seats fronting the dais, where also a party of African civilian blind people were seated. About 300 leading Indian, Coloured and Native citizens were seated in the en - closure.

The King and Queen, when they had descended from the dais, immediately went over to talk to the Native Military Corps men in hospital blue. Her Majesty inquired about their welfare and spoke to Sister, L. K. Batterham, who with two other military nurses and a medical officer, were in charge of the party.

Pte. Solomon Kaphile, a former prisoner of war, taken at Tobruk, who was seated in an invalid chair, was given a special word from Her Majesty who said she hoped that he was getting better.

Two other men who were noticed were; Sergeant Elijah Manye, in an invalid chair, who was <u>injured in the desert</u>, and <u>Corporal Reuben Morupa</u>, who was <u>mentioned in dispatches</u> and with the others, was proudly wearing his ribbons."

Underlined in error

This newspaper account has been reproduced almost verbatim because it is not embroidered in any way, and therefore conveys a faithful impression of the significance of the contacts made between the Royal Family and thousands of their young non-European subjects. That the occasion was essentially one for those who in schools and youth movements are assimilating "our" culture, in no way detracted

from its reality, and it is of especial interest that there no attempt was made to exhibit the Africans as anthropological specimens classified for royal inspection, the African tradition for verbal imagery was still manifest. There was nothing incongruous- on the contrary - in this mass expression of loyalty on the part of these thousands of non-European pupils, who are marching towards a common culture through the schools we have provided for the purpose. Similarly fitting was it that Their Majesties should wish to meet Africans who had been disabled, prisoners of war, or mentioned in despatches in our common cause.

One regrets that space precludes the description it deserves, of their meeting at Lovedale in the Tyumie Valley, the scene of so much bloodshed in earlier days, with thousands of others who, from modest schools to the larger institutions of Lovedale, Healdtown, St. Matthews and Fort Cox, and to the constituent college of the University of South Africa, Fort Hare, came together to render homage on behalf of the educated Africans. This is all the more regretted in that the Royal Family so obviously enjoyed the experience, and also because, throughout the tour, the tendency was for reporters and radio announcers to consider that this was not good copy at all, and that much to be preferred was a paragraph beginning "They come from all parts of the Colony, many of them dressed in animal skins" ..... (extract from the Star's report on the Rhodesia visit, 15th April, 1947.)

The gathering at Pietersburg was notable for the feat of organization performed by the Native Affairs Department in bringing together there Africans from as far afield as Kuruman, Witzies Hoek, Mafeking and Bekukuniland, and for the loyal address in English delivered by Dr. Moridi Moloma, a member of the Natives Representative Council. Because of its relevance for our purpose this is reproduced in full from the Rand Daily Mail of April 4th, 1947. Dr. Moloma said:-

> "With humble obedience, loyalty and respect, we bid you welcome to Pietersburg - the centre of Bantu local administration for the Transvaal. We are gathered here from all parts of the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Bechuanaland to greet you, Her Majesty and Their Royal Highnesses.

"We represent many tribes of Northern and Southern Bechuana, Pedi, Matebele, and Venda, Swazi, Zulu and Shangaan, but we are united to-day in our feelings.

"We have come long distances to see something which has never before been vouchsafed us who live in remote parts far from the great kraal of the King; we are permitted to see the person the Great Chief of all chiefs - the elephant about whom we have heard and whom we serve.

"Sir, we are honoured beyond measure by your presence and that of your Royal Family. To-day will be spoken of in the kraals for many generations, and those of us who are privileged to be present here will always be regarded as people who have been favoured above the ordinary lot of man.

"What would, in any case, have been a great event has been even more enhanced by the presence with you of our gracious Queen and your daughters, the two Princesses. Our wives ask us to describe them — a difficult task for a man. All we can tell them is that Her Majesty looks the great mother of her people that she is.

We wish to say a special word to Her RoyaM Highness, Princess Elizabeth, the Heir to the throne.

The older people remember the reign of a previous Queen — Victoria the Good. Now that we see our future Queen we know that she will emulate her ancestor and also deserve the cognomen 'the Good'.

We hear that in a few days time Her Royal Highness will reach the age of 21 years. We congratulate her and wish her a long life of peace and happiness.

We know, sir, that you are unable to spend more time with us, as you are King of vast territories and have many people to gladden your presence. We would have liked to have seen more of you and shown you our homes, our fields and our domestic life. As it is, we are profoundly grateful for your visit, and to our own authorities for making it possible for us to meet and greet you.

Finally we wish to thank you sir, and your government, for bringing us safely through the terrible war which threatened us and our way of living. We wish you a pleasant, happy tour of our country and when you again cross the great sea to your home, our hearts and thoughts will go with you.

"Your Majesties, Your Royal Highnesses, go in peace."

Replying to this address the King said:-

"Chiefs, headmen and peop le, it is a great joy to meet you and to see your beatiful country.

My father, the late King George V, visited South Africa before he became King many years ago, but until now no reigning King has visited your country. When your Prime Minister - Field-Marshal Smuts, invited me to come to this great land I hastened to remedy the ommission. I am most grateful for and heartily appreciate your presence and your expressions of loyalty and affection.

I congratulate you on the fact that this part of the country provided many thousands of soldiers during the last war, that their conduct in the field was brave, and exemplary and that many earned decorations for gallantry. This is a fine record and helped in no small degree to our success in vanquishing the enemy.

This war has caused great destruction in the world and we are feeling the effects now in shortages of food and other commodities. Everything possible is being done by my Government in South Africa to improve the position, but a return to normal must necessarily be slow and tedious.

> "I ask you in the meantime to do everything possible to increase your food production. The officials of the Native Affairs Department will do everything they can to assist you. Co-operate with them for your own benefit.
> I appreciate very much your touching reference to Her Majesty the Queen and Their Royal Highnesses, and on their behalf I thank you.
> The senior chiefs will each now receive a token in commemoration of this pleasant meeting today. May God bless you all. Stay in peace."

The loyal address illustrated among other things the obvious convenience of English in a polyglot community; the selection of an African professional man who had graduated in Medicine in Edinburgh, and who had previously been elected as a Member of the Natives Representative Council, to deliver it on their behalf; and the sentiment of common nationhood evoked by the presence of the "Great Chief of all chiefs", a sentiment which would undoubtedly be strengthened by the King's reply.

For convenience Mr. Dumbrell divided the Africans into three groups, when attempting to assess some of the political effects of the Visit, namely (a) those still merged in the tribal system, who are most illiterate, (b) the middle class which includes industrial workers, teachers and others, and (c) the'intelligentsia'. The effect on the first class, he said, was much as one would expect. "We are part of the Chief and the Chief is part of the King". There was also something of "the King's touch" — "We have seen the King and now we shall be blessed in all possible ways - rain, food, stock, children, and health".

Of the second class he wrote:-

> ....."the majority regarded the King as only a little less than the Almighty and they feel that so long as the Crown is there, all must eventually come right. Many of them know full well that politically he stands aloof, but they still feel that the standard of conduct he has set are such that the white politidans of South Africa would be ashamed to let him see that in their treatment of the African they are falling short of such standards. At the present time even the proposals for the reconstitution of the Native Representative Council put forward by Smuts and the legislation introduced in respect of the recognition of Native Trades Unions is attributed to the King's personal influence.
> The following are some of the questions actually put to me by Africans belonging to what I may term the Upper Middle Class Group of Natives:-

(1) "Who is the more powerful in South Africa, The King or General Smuts?".

(2) "If the King committed a crime would he be punished in the same way as an ordinary person?"

(3) "Could the King while in South Africa refuse to sign something agreed to by Parliament if it was not fair to the Natives?"

(4) "Could the King order Parliament to discuss a deal with the housing of Natives as a matter of urgency occuring during his visit?"

These are merely cited as being of interest. Members of this particular class were quick to see that the Royal Family really appreciated their singing - as they did and say that by their action in recognising "Nkosi Sikelela" by standing when it was sung, they have recognised the Africans as a group in the body politic with its own special aspiration and cultural background. This group too was pleased to see that on a number of occasions representative Africans were invited to Civic receptions where they mingled with the Europeans. A number of them, however, were disappointed that so few of their Missionaries, white and black, were presented to members of the Royal Family on public occasions,/ as compared with social welfare workers, civic dignitaries"

Finally of the reactions of the 'intelligentsia' he reported that:-

"As was to be expected their reactions to the visit were varied but one and all seemed to be agreed that they and their causes would receive indirect benefit from the visit, although they recognised that the King cannot interfere directly in South African domestic affairs. In general, they were critical of the control exercised by officials in respect of forms of welcome, speeches, etc. but I believe warmly appreciated the careful organising and planning accomplished in bringing the big gatherings together and something of the costs involved. Many realised for the first time how few of "the great masses" were interested in their own particular programmes and gained some idea of the immensity of the task of getting anything 'across', except through the agency and influence of a central institution, such as the Crown. One and all recognised that a boycott of the visit would have been a complete failure".

There are many imponderables which defy appraisal in any attempt to sum up the effects upon the Africans of the Royal Visit, or upon the Europeans of others which, indirectly will have repercussions upon 'racial' attitudes. Nevertheless certain visible effects are conclusive enough.

Many hundreds of thousands of Africans, speaking different vernaculars and representing scores of tribes, Africans of all ages and cultural levels, and spreading across the sub-continent from Capetown to Barotseland, from the Zululand Coast to the Kalahari, and from the placid Kraals of the Transkei to those

working 9000 feet underground on the hand, these have seen their King and his family. They have known that millions upon millions of other Africans in distant dependencies, are subject to his rule, for they served alongside many of them in the Middle East. And now they have heard him speak; some have spoken to him, and some have been decorated and thanked by him. They stood with him as they sang the National Anthem, and saw how he stood with them as they sang their own, and how it gave him pleasure.

In a country where, ever since Scouting and Guiding have been established among the Africans, many Europeans have opposed it, even though its first inspiration came from them, they have seen African Guides, and African-Pathfinder Scouts, (for the latter have not yet been allowed the purer designation) reviewed by members of the Royal Family. In a country where the battle for African education has been stern and unremitting, they have seen Their Majesties and Their Royal Highnesses visit one of its most famous centres to receive the homage of thousands of students, and they have seen them talk to Professors Matthew and Jabavu of Fort Hare, as well as to other African teachers.

In a country where there is no little present anxiety regarding the future of the Natives Representative Council, they have seen some of its members presented to the King, and have heard one of them read a loyal address on behalf of many tribes. In a country where a legal colour bar in industry prevents the African from placing his ability and skill at the service of industry, they have noted with pardonable pride the appreciation readily accorded to their arts and crafts by Their Majesties. In a country where too often they are excluded from public places, they were gratified to find that on this memorable occasion generous provision for them was frequently made. It was a source of pride, too, that in the High Commission Territories, Africans formed the mounted escort, guarded the royal train, and in general served as a bodyguard to protect their King and his family. This His Majesty would accept naturally, for under his flag he had seen Africans under fire.

They were rather conscious that when, under the instructions

of officials who ought to know what would please the King, they had re-assumed tribal dress which was obsolete, in order to perform the intricacies of a tribal dance which had not been seen for more than a generation, they had lacked the technique and the verve expected of them, so that the dance had misfired, but they felt sure that the King would know the reason, and that they had done their best.

He had told them too, to co-operate with his government in South Africa, as of course they would, but, being the King, he must know that two hands are required to wash each other, and that at times it seemed to them that the white hand was not there. P. III.

In general, however, they hoped that the feeling of goodwill and of high and common purpose, which marked the Royal Visit, would be productive of lasting good for those who lived in the eroded reserves, who worked in the mines, in the tow ns and on the farms. They felt that change was in the air, and that change for them also would be regarded as natural and right.

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PART III.

CULTURAL ASPECTS.

Chapter XIII.

EDUCATION.

Although it is convenient to gather together in the next few chapters, what are termed the cultural aspects of our problems, it will be appreciated that, with these, every chapter is directly or indirectly concerned, for all deal with changes of life for the African, and change of life or thought means change of culture.

It would not be difficult to show how devastating for him has been the impact of our government and of our economic materialism, and how seemingly ruthless, for it is written across the face of the Continent. We are well aware today that the inter-dependence of financial systems, the increasing complexity of production, and the development of communications, have caused people in one area to suffer from catastrophe in another area situated in a different hemisphere. Of this situation it has been said that:-

> "Mankind has not yet adjusted its institutions to the real requirements of the world it has created, and this cultural lag today threatens the very basis of international life". ¢

This international aspect is now being brought home vividly to some of our South African isolationists, however much it is resented as an intrusion upon our way of life. Equally true, but not yet admitted, is the fact that - for the principle is the same - the cultural lag between the African and the European threatens the very basis of national life. To some of the agencies which are more forcibly reducing the disparity we shall now turn, and of these the most obvious is education. Since African education is usually opposed because of this tendency, by those who cannot see the contribution it is thereby making towards the meeting of a national need to which chaos is the only alternative, it would

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¢ Ruth Benedict. op.cit. p. 161.

seem well to consider in broad outline the place of education as an integrating agency in a changing society .

Modern anthropologists regard cultural change as a central, inevitable, and most important phenomenon in the life of any ethnic group, so that change in the life of the African cannot, per se, be opposed by the anthropologist, even though deplored by the antiquarian. This is a refreshing advance from the position occupied by Pitt-Rivers, who in his book "The Clash of Culture", wrote with a dogmatism which was more esoteric than scholarly:-

> ....."all missionary endeavour among heathen and savage people, because in endeavouring to impose new and incompatible culture forms it is bound first to destroy the old ones, is incapable of achieving any result in the end, except to assist in the extermination of the people it professes to assist". †

Assuming that Pitt-Rivers belongs to a race which has not yet been exterminated by cultural assimilation, it is nevertheless true that his dictum, when applied to African education, is widely held by critics, who, through their own informal education of the African, are apparently hastening the extermination they decry. Professor Schapera of Cape Town, however, who may be regarded as one of the most accredited of living anthropologists, and who certainly has led the field for many years in South Africa; in his voluminous writings based upon intensive field work has upheld a diametrically opposite view.

Over 2,000 years ago it was realised that climate and environment influenced culture. Today there are those who share both with the African, but who contend that he has been retarded by the same climate which fails to impair their own efficiency, and who would restrict his environmental influences to those of a declared Native area. Living as he does on the frontiers of two contiguous territories, the African must meet the labour needs of the White area, but when he returns, as, they say, return he must to his own area, his right hand must carry back no acquired possessions nor skill, and he must surrender his

† Op. Cit p. 14

acquired impressions and knowledge, together with his altered attitudes and emotions.

Education is obviously a potent factor in the disintegration of culture, but unless we recognize it as an equally important factor in re-integration, we ally ourselves to this position, and our educational system, subserving party politics, will remain a racial treadmill.

The contrary view that the ultimate result is constructive rather than destructive, is a conviction shared by many wherever in Africa you have a meeting of cultures within the walls of a school, whether that school be a very humble kraal school in the Zambesi valley, a sub-grade school in the uplands of the West-Nile, a bush school of Nigeria, or an institution which has attained the dignity of college status such as Fort Hare, Makerere College, Achimota, Yaba, Fourah Bay, or the Gordon College, Khartoum, for they all stand or fall by the same principle.

In any event the choice is not between the African in happy isolation and therefore in equilibrium on the one hand, and the disintegration caused by education on the other, for we have made it utterly impossible for him to remain in isolation, and are therefore responsible for building up his new equilibrium.

Even if we considered that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them, we must admit that it is totally impossible for them, and so, because of the dangers of the new order, education must prove its integrative power or surrender its claims.

In helping the changing culture to conform to a changing environment, or in controlling environment and giving command over function, education must play a most vital part, for, as

Christopher Dawson pointed out, "the greatest of all agents of cultural progress is the human mind", and this surely is the concern of education. Having admitted the disintegrative effects of education, we may console ourselves by the thought that the African shares with us the capacity to build up from the parts which have first been broken down; that the older parts may grow in the process, and that by accrescence new material is added, environmental changes assisting. In other words the African comes to us with his complex but outmoded culture. Within the educational system as well as outside it, this is differentiated into simpler units, some of which are discarded whilst others are retained and enriched; other new meaningful material is added; integration follows, and desirable culture changes have been brought about.

It follows that fundamental to the whole process is the gradual building up of a community of thought, this very term suggesting integration built up by education, formal and informal out of the old fabric vitalized and enriched by the new.

But a community of thought suggests active,not passive participation in the learning process, using learning in its widest sense. There may be wrong thinking, but there cannot be thinking which is not active. Invariably, too, a community of thought suggests the influence of leadership without which the community would not exist, and in this connection education occupies the pivotal place. Both cultural and racial boundaries are transcended by the influence of leaders, and that influence is admittedly increased and made dynamic by education.

In the tribe we rightly respect certain features, and these were largely produced by outstanding men. It is men of the same stock and type who, helped by education, will produce the outstanding features of the newer culture which also will command

our respect. Such men, by developing a community of thought at a higher level, will help to produce a unity of culture, will invest it with reality and supply its dynamic.

In the tribe, social status was determin d at birth, and in the absence of individual aims there developed a passive attitude with concomitant lack of energy and initiative. Edwin Smith pointed out that we have injected individualism, not with a hypodermic but with a hose-pipe, but in spite of this shock treatment, individualism does make possible status through achievement rather than through tribal tradition. This affords an opportunity for education since, through it, may potential African leaders can realize leadership which would have been stillborn without it, but which will now prove stronger than tribal inertia and bear fruit more abundantly. Increased personal responsibility follows, and education soundly conceived helps the liberated individual African creditably to discharge such responsibility.*

Having broken up tribal unity by our advent, the only satisfactory means of replacing it is through a new cultural unity, harmonious with our own, based upon education, and of necessity the chiefs must share in this. (A later chapter will explain why the writer shares the conviction that such education must be Christian if disunity is to give place to unity). Across Africa one may meet with chiefs who have reason to be indebted for the education they have received. In the majority of cases it may have carried them no further than the village primary school; in increasing numbers of cases it will

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* In Buganda, the Saza or county chiefs have been appointed by the Kabaka for many years, not by succession, but by merit, procedure which has more than justified itself. In consequence a number of ex-teachers and assistant education officers have been so appointed, and have done extremely well.

have carried them through a secondary or vocational course whilst in some cases, such as that of Chief Poto of Pondoland to Fort Hare, or of Chief Seretse of Bechuanaland to Balliol, or of the Kabaka of Buganda to Magdalene. If we are right in assuming that the convergence of African culture towards ours is inevitable, it is surely of importance that, to compensate for waning power of many chiefs, others should be equipped through education to promote integration ~~in place~~ instead of disintegration.

Connected with this is naturally the place which must be held increasingly by educated Africans within tribal councils, courts, and treasuries, within local government in urban and rural areas, within consultative bodies at all levels, ranging from advisory boards or councils on African education, to territorial advisory councils such as the Natives Representative Council of the Union, the African Representative Council of Northern Rhodesia, the United Transkeian Territories General Council, and the African Advisory Councils of the High Commission Territories, and within legislatures such as the Buganda Lukiko, and the legislative councils of East and West Africa.

In all these and many other comparable instances there is ample evidence of the integrative value of education, as the study of the records would confirm, although it should be remembered that this does not end with debate in council, but is woven into the living fabric of a new pattern of life. One might go further and say that nine out of ten of these bodies could never have been formed, or could never have functioned effectively, had it not been for the products of the schools.

The African woman, the conserver of old usages, is definitely emerging. Emancipation is usually accompanied by grave dangers, and she demonstrates her common humanity by

sharing in these also. Legally considered, the tribal African owned his wife, any adultery being regarded as damage to his property for which he could claim compensation. Her personality was disregarded in marriage against her will to an old polygamist to whom she had been pledged, or when she passed by inheritance to a polygamous household. Christian education has altered this with a corresponding gain in dignity and human values.

Admitting again that the clash of culture has resulted in far reaching re-distribution of work between the sexes, we also hold it true that education is helping to cope with this, and that without it further social and moral chaos would result. I has frequently been stated that prostitution is the only recourse of the single African woman to-day, but a large number of single women of good repute and unselfish service, in the ranks of teachers, nurses, social workers, sisters in religious communities, domestic servants etc. help to refute this.

Here also education has helped to contribute to the upbuilding of things, and to arrest decay, a contribution that will increase with the growing output from the schools and vocational centres, to meet the rising need. It has been wisely said that "It is the religious impulse which supplies the cohesive force which unifies a society and a culture", and upon this moral, as distinct from social unification, we shall dwell in a later chapter.

In varying degree, every village in Africa would appear to have felt the touch of cultural change due to the advent of the European. It is equally apparent that much of this change is undesirable, and that in South Africa, however understandable the causes, the townward drift is responsible for so much of this.

Towards the amelioration of conditions education is helping, though synchronously it may add to the exodus. Even the rudimentary rural school by raising the level of village culture makes it easier for people to remain in the village and to share in its development. Agricultural training replaces wasteful methods and increases production, helping to maintain a larger number within the reserves than would otherwise be possible. The evils of over-stocking, accentuated by the absence of cattle raids and by compulsory dipping are, to an admittedly limited extent, checked by the demonstrators' assistance in castrating scrub stock, improving the herds, and urging quality rather than quantity. Education also lessons the influence of lobola, weakens the emotional attitude towards cattle and makes it easier to hald organize stock sales for the benefit of the community.

Similarly the schools help to form public opinion in such matters as the checking of erosion, the centralizing of arable lands, the improvement of diet, the care of children, pre and post natal care, more humane maternity work, the building of better homes, the repair of implements, the revival of crafts, of village recreation and of leisure occupations, personal and community hygiene, co-operative buying and selling, and countless other issues which help the rural African to build a better world out of the fragments of the old. This will receive further examination when we consider agricultural and other specialized training.

Although in urban areas there is much human wreckage, both European and African, there are also some of the best products of the schools, some of whom wisely exert a stabilizing influence. Moreover in the towns or on the mines, letter writing and the vernacular press, both made possible through

education, form a link with the remote kraal a thousand miles away, as do the road and rail transport services and the telegraph office, all of alien culture. This is not to be wondered at, for as Westermann says:-

> "Even in elementary education he needs an understanding of the new forces that are transforming his country, and he must assimilate at least the elements of these forces in order to be able to use them. Therefore modern education is bound to take its material mainly from European culture". †

To fertilize the remnants of the old life he simply must learn to be at home in the new. The night schools, the first aid classes, the helping-hand clubs, the concerts, the Bantu Social Centre, the Hofmeyr School of Social Welfare, the film shows, the court interpreting, the buying of his daily necessities, his game, his frugal savings, his religious life, his medical attention, his reading, and the rest of it, are all based upon the work of the schools. Such services mostly come to him through educated Africans, and introduce him to the new culture he cannot escape, even though at the same time a few kindly disposed Europeans a mile or two away may be debating in their Brains Trust whether this be really true, although they have a few Africans on the platform and in the audience who, even there, are unable to escape the same process.

Tribalism cannot be made to endure by any external reform or coercion. To accelerate its disappearance would usually, but by no means always, be unwise, but since it is being undermined by one impact after another, it is worth considering whether or not a liberally conceived education, as a basic part of a liberally conceived state policy would not make a unique contribution - for which there can be no valid substitute, - towards the cultural unity so badly needed by the African and

† The African To-day p 256.

by the European, even if so little desired by the latter.

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In Lord Hailey's African Survey, the statistical summary on page 1,308, supplied details concerning various African territories, from which it appeared that from the data available (in some cases for 1934, in others for 1935,1936 or 1937, for the statistics lacked uniformity,) there were nearly 3½ million African pupils at school.

The Survey was restricted to countries south of the Sahara, so that it excluded the whole of Mediterranean Africa, Egypt, the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somaliland, and omitted statistics concerning pupils enrolled in the unaided schools of the Union, Mocambique, Angola, and Togoland. If all territories were included, and if complete data were available, and if, moreover, the figures were brought up to date - for there has been a remarkable advance during the last decade - one might well discover that the schools enrol 15 million Africans taught by say, a quarter of a million teachers. In this there is no exactitude, but if one thinks of the number of additional contacts in the home circle and beyond, which each pupil and each teacher makes, a simple calculation will show that before long the whole African population will come within the orbit of the schools.

Under a totalitarian regime the pace can be set by the State. Under a democratic, even though funds were unlimited, a much slower pace may be set in some territories by tribal conservatism, and in others by the reactionary attitude of the European electorate, either cause being regretted where enlightenment is so badly needed. One thinks of the concluding words of the Atlantic Charter:-

> .... 'assurance that all men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want".

How sad a thing it is that so many Europeans cannot be freed from the fear of African development, and that in consequence so many Africans must continue to live in both fear and want, and see their children deprived of their birthright of education, so perpetuating this plight. To those who believe in the African's right to education, it is encouraging to realize that since the Act of Union a dramatic advance has been made in South Africa, and that concurrently with parallel advances in the Rhodesias and in the East and West Coast dependencies, many gains of real value have been registered during the last ten years. The "Star" of January 24th 1947, reported Senator Brookes' presidential address to the Institute of Race Relations, in which he said that Government expenditure on African education in the Union had grown from £340,000 in 1925, to an estimated £4,500,000 in the financial year 1947-48, an increase of 900 % even if amounts for school feeding and [illegible] capital expenditure are deducted.

> "There are few parallels in Africa to such a rapid rate of progress" he said..."the school feeding scheme is not only a vast philanthropic enterprise; it is of great educational value in introducing new and better habits of diet, in giving a real meaning to school gardens all over the countryside, and in improving the work of the children"...."Study of the figures from the provinces showed..an enormous increase in the total number of pupils, together with a rising percentage going beyond the lower standards"..."Not merely the quantity but the quality of education had improved. That could be observed most of all in the changing qualifications of teachers".

Mr. Brookes nevertheless admitted that rather more than half the Bantu children of school age were out of school, and that of those who attended, even in an advanced province like the Cape, only half went beyond the sub-standards, and approximately 2 % beyond Standard VI. He pointed out that in the towns thousands of children are growing up as juvenile delinquents, adding that "a State which is prepared to maintain a police force and reformatories is apparently not prepared to increase the expenditure necessary to keep them off the streets".

Saying that it was tragic that thousands of children had to be turned away from overcrowded schools every year, he claimed that the time was ripe for compulsory education. Then followed a trenchant paragraph of many implications. It read:-

> "Under recent legislation native education was no longer limited by the amount of direct native taxation. This was a public recognition by the State that African education was its responsibility and not something to be tolerated as a legitimate activity by missionaries and churches, the cost being met out of native funds. "It is clear now that the education of the African is accepted by the South African community as something which is a duty of the community as a whole and to the advantage of the community as a whole" "

He admitted that educational progress would lead to demands for political rights, and that there were other obstacles in the path of advancement, but that these should not deter us from further endeavour.

More and better high schools and training colleges were urgently required, since three or four times the present output of matriculants was essential to meet the needs of the different careers which were being opened to the African, for according to the report "it appeared likely that as many doctors, public health officers, health assistants, and nurses could be absorbed as could be trained for many years to come".

Senator Brookes was at one time the Principal of one of the oldest and most important of African educational establishments, and for the last 10 years has been a Senator who would naturally view African education in relation to government policy and finance. As President of the Institute of Race Relations, with which he has been intimately connected ever since its foundation, he would tend to consider it also as promoting or retarding the betterment of inter-racial relationships. And, through it all, he would endeavour to be scrupulously fair in dealing with opposing points of view.

In the result, however, in spite of the finding that African education has been accepted as a duty of the community as a whole, which benefits therefrom, and in spite of his frank bid for compulsory education, the record of his address (admittedly incomplete), conveys the impression of a vote of thanks to Government for its achievement, an admission that certain products of our schools have stood in the way of progress, a parallel admission that vocational openings, especially in industry and the professions must continue to prove difficult because of the prior and unfilled claims of the Indian and Coloured communities, and a warning that a by-product of education would be the growth of political consciousness. Knowing Mr. Brookes so well, I feel sure that his was an honest stock-taking in which he felt it was incumbent upon him, having paid his tribute, to face the dangers ahead.

That there was truth in everything he said is clear, even though it might be occasionally unpalatable, as when, for example, he affirmed that certain educated Africans had been among the most extreme advocates of non-cooperation or that large sections of responsible African opinion had failed to condemn indiscipline among students at a number of institutions, or that at such institutions the European staff frequently had little security and poor prospects. I cannot help feeling, however, although this may be a digression, that so far as education is concerned, it should not be necessary to brief a counsel for the defence, and as far as government is concerned, it should be clearly unwarranted to discredit African education in order to buttress an outmoded 'racial' policy. When continued frustration meets intelligence, potential skill and determination, bitterness of soul may be engendered and lead to non-co-operation, without any necessity to lay the responsibility at the door of education.

As Lord Hailey points out, since the circumstances of an undeveloped 'race' are fundamentally different from those of a relatively static modern European community, "IN AFRICA EDUCATION IS, AND IS INTENDED TO BE, AN INSTRUMENT OF CHANGE". (Capitals mine) * This is naturally the focal point of controversy regarding African education, whose opponents in general either do not see or, seeing, would ignore, Hailey's further finding:-

> "The environment of the African is being rapidly modified by influences to which he has hitherto been a stranger, and his school life must therefore be designed not only to equip him to deal with his existing environment, but to fit him for the new conditions which he will have to face, and to help him to take his own part in shaping those conditions.
>
> The method will be new, for it must be institutional and cannot follow the traditional form of tribal instruction. Accordingly the African child will be introduced to a world of thought, of achievement, and of conduct outside the experience of his parents; THIS ACCESS TO NEW IDEAS IS BOUND TO MAKE A BREAK IN HIS LIFE, HOWEVER MUCH THE EDUCATIONIST MAY WISH TO RESPECT NATIVE TRADITION". ** (Capitals mine)

From time to time emotionally coloured articles appear, or speeches are made, which suggest that the unpardonable sin committed by educationists, missionaries and other misguided iconoclasts, is that they have allowed the present generation to forget an incalculable wealth of knowledge and of skill possessed by their tribal ancestors, apparently of a magnitude, (and of a reality) equalling that of the fabled treasure-trove of Prester John. They suggest, moreover, that this neglected material offers all that is required for the curricula of African schools, and for adult education and recreation outside them.

The latest offspring of this emotional attitude, which, incidentally, may subserve commerce as well as sentiment, is the recent establishment of a distinguished committee, pledged to research in , and to the perpetuation of, indigenous recreation.

To this we shall refer in the relevant chapter.

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* op.cit. p.1207
** Idem loc.cit.
Ibid

Reverting to the anthropological study, already quoted, by Godfrey and Monica Wilson, the following extracts are pertinent:-

> "Knowledge in the old societies was parochial and unspecialized. There was no writing, and though old men could recite genealogies of chief, and epics of victory or migration, they were ignorant of the everyday doings of their ancestors more than two generations back. Now the accumulated knowledge of a world society is spreading in Central Africa".
>
> "Not only do societies increase in complexity as they increase in scale, but they also increase in their control of the material environment.
> Primitives ...have a rudimentary science, but their knowledge of their material environment, whether in space or time is infinitesimal compared with the accumulated knowledge of a civilized society.
> Similarly though they may be skilled in the cultivation of certain crops and in the care of stock, in carving or basket making or drumming, their techniques are always limited"...."the quantity of goods they produce is small in relation to the time and energy expended,..their methods seem slow and laborious, their standard of living low".[2].
>
> ....."the bulk of the Africans are still, by civilized standards, very poor, very ignorant and very unskilful"..
> ..."malnutrition is general and increasing; erosion threatens to destroy the fertility of large areas, and everywhere this is much preventible ill-health". [3].

One could develop this theme, which will be re-introduced in later sections dealing with agriculture, health, art and recreation. A personal experience may, however, be permitted. Some 20 years ago, when Director of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia, the writer being anxious to ensure that as far as possible school curricula should respect the Africans' past as well as their present culture, invited all Native Commissioners to contribute suggestions along these lines. In brief they were asked to select from indigenous culture, material which, in their opinion, the Department might usefully embody in its official syllabuses. Sad to relate, although there were many essays on the dignity of labour and respect for the elders, nothing of the slightest practical value was received. Ten years later when dealing with the type of education which sould be given to the African, Lord Hailey wrote:-

1 Op. Cit. pp. 9-10.

2. Ibid pp. 88-9

3. Ibid p. 120

> "Much that has been written, though admirable in its analysis of social factors and statement of principles, has failed to give that concrete guidance which the executive authority might have welcomed as to the manner in which the philosophy of education should be expressed in practice" #

To this he added significantly:-

> "Conceptions as to what is best in education are apt, moreover, to be coloured by political objectives; indeed.. what at times, has been put forward by administrations as a policy of education, has in truth been only the expression of a political determination, or an effort to implement the view held of the place which the African should occupy in the social economy". #

ducation has been described as the most important activity of the modern state. The value of contribution to the structure of society as a whole is increasingly admitted. In a country such as the Union which holds that in the political, the economic and the social spheres, the African must always occupy a subordinate position, it has so far relentlessly followed that the nature of his education must be 'race'-conditioned. It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, to discover that the 1935 Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, which included the heads of the Provincial Native Education Departments, and whose report, according to Hailey, "may be taken as representing the view of the more progressive educational authorities of the Union"## , should write that "The education of the white child prepares him for life in a dominant society, and the education of the black child for a subordinate society"

According to the same authority, who wrote most appreciatively of the Committee's Report, they thought the honest course was to accept "the fact" that the conception of segregation would continue to dominate policy, although they regarded it possible, nevertheless, to raise the general educational level.

Op.cit.p.1208
~~Op.cit~~.p.1221.
Ibid

That this was not merely making the best of both worlds, may be judged from an examination of their most liberal recommendations, and that, in practice there have been notable developments may be judged from the annual reports of the four provincial Chief Inspectors, the review made by Senator Brookes already quoted and the first report of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education, even though many urgent needs remain.

This development undoubtedly reflects the growth of more liberal opinion in the House of Assembly, even though utterance is still given to such sentiments as those referred to in the following quotation from a sub-leader in the "Star" of May 1st, 1947:-

> "The debate quickly uncovered the usual differences of opinion as to what sort of education is "suitable" for Natives. One Nationalist defined this negatively - so long as it was not same as Europeans get he would apparently be satisfied. Another warned that it should not be "academic", as this would be "of no benefit" to the pupils. The Natives should betaught to use their hands, especially in farm work, thereby increasing their earning capacity. He did not say whether if they increased their capacity they would get the increased earnings. It may be suspected that some farmers of a Nationalist political complexion want better work for the same wages; otherwise they see no gain to themselves in 'educating the Native" ".

It was significant that the editorial comment on this was:- "But education goes a little deeper than that. Its function is to produce citizens", consistent with which was the heading used:- "LIVING TOOLS OR CITIZENS". It should also be recorded that the leader opened with these words:-

> "Some encouraging things were said in the House of Assembly this week about Native Education. The grain was not unmixed with the chaff, but for once the Nationalists

> contributed to the former as well as to the latter. It was a Nationalist who suggested that night schools should be introduced..."

In the debate described, Mrs. Ballinger said that since Natives were now being used as operatives in factories they ought at least to have a smattering of reading and writing,# and Mr. Hofmeyr affirmed that compulsory education for Natives in the cities would have to come.

In connection with the principles that should help to determine the content of African education, even though we admit that this has undoubtedly been affected by the political theory of white domination, as have the tempo of development, the nature of the fabric, and the degree of financial support accorded, we cannot overlook the implications of Senator Brookes' major finding, which is therefore re-introduced:-

> "it is clear now that the education of the African is accepted by the South African community as something which is a duty of the community as a whole, and to the advantage of the community as a whole".

In the degree, to which this is true, and it is based on the hard fact that expenditure on this service is no longer limited to the revenue received from direct Native taxation, the door of liberation is being opened. It follows that the way to citizenship through education must inevitably be maintained by the State; that it must be an all-weather road whatever the storms ahead, and that it must enable some to travel along it from the village school to the House of Assembly, and all to journey to the fuller dignity given by the common culture, which will be attained by joint endeavour to realize common objectives.

Lord Hailey referred to those who insisted that education should be restricted to manual training and the minimum literacy necessary for a workman in European employment: Of this view which would scant justice to Mrs.Ballinger's he said that it could not be treated as serious educational theory" Op.cit.p.1279.

In the meantime it may not be unfitting to introduce an educational truism. Anyone who has been responsible for the drafting of school curricula in any part of the world, will be well aware that upon these, the immediate environment has less influence as the pupil ascends the school, the proportion decreasing as year succeeds year in the primary course, this process gaining momentum as the student works his way through the secondary course, and further momentum in post-secondary studies. This is not open to debate. It implies that in the Union, as in other African territories, each year admits largely increasing numbers of African pupils to knowledge and concepts concerning a very much wider horizon than that known to the tribe. Herein is to be found, therefore, a spreading and dynamic source of the convergence of cultures.

This hardly needs elaboration. Steadily and unobtrusively, in each Province of the Union, and in other territories from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, and from Cape Point to the Mediterranean, excellent work has been put into the building and re-building of curricula for African schools. Space limitations preclude illustrations of this. I would therefore affirm, in the absence of quoted evidence, that the curricula for the African schools in Natal, to take one illustration, contain much that reflects a very high standard and that is the outcome of long and sympathetic experience. They would not suffer in general, by comparison with any parallel curricula elsewhere. They are largely due to Mr.D.McK.Malcolm, until recently Chief Inspector of Native Education, and to his specialist colleagues.

Mr. Malcolm, a perfect Zulu linguist and author, who is at present lecturing on Zulu (and for a time lectured on anthropology) at the Natal University College, and who for over a third of a century served the Natal Education Department with distinction, was naturally deeply interested in Zulu history,

folklore, language, and crafts. He helped to gain recognition in education for such aspects of indigenous culture, long before it became the vogue in learned quarterlies or White Papers. He will forgive me for saying, that during the last 10 years of his administration, the Natal curricula in common with others, emphasized this tradition much less than accredited content acceptable to the European as well as to the African child. This does not mean that Natal was neglecting tribal heritage, where it survived, but rather that it was being supplemented, and even on occasion being replaced by more non-environmental content, thus creating culture-change.

Ten years ago, in America, I much enjoyed Professor Linton's lectures on anthropology in relation to the Indians, and also supplementary lectures by others on "The New Deal in Indian Education". I therefore took the opportunity afforded by American friends, of visiting an important Indian school in the Cherokee Reservation, in the hope of seeing curricular adaptation, but found that it was non-existent, for the school, so far as its course was concerned, was an exact replica of White or Negro schools of the same range.

Of more advanced education in the Union, Lord Hailey claimed that:-

> "The type of opinion which would at one time have emphasized its radical unsuitability to Africans, now tends to concentrate on the efficacy of measures, such as territorial segregation or the colour bar legislation, designed to confine the product of Fort Hare or similar institutions within the orbit of native life, and to prevent him from competing in the white economy. This change of attitude, for instance, seems to characterize the Dutch Reformed Church, which is taking an increased part in educational activity. Attention is, in short, now directed less to finding reasons against the higher education of the native than to regulating the field in which he can make use of it./

/ op.cit.p.1220.

What is decisive for our purpose, is not so much the element of truth behind Lord Hailey's contention that political finesse explains the recent lack of opposition to higher education for the Africans in South Africa, as the fact that each year Native men and women are graduating in this country and overseas; that when they master the calculus, the conquest of tropical diseases, nutritional deficiencies, or the problems of veterinary or agricultural research, or when they qualify in sociology, in law, or in comparative linguistics, one is less dogmatic about 'racial' differences passed on through germ plasm, and more inclined to admit that their cerebral processes must be the same as ours and that they possess the necessary ability to assimilate "our" culture, and that whether we like it or not, are assimilating it. To this one may add the discovery that these African graduates do not revert to type and spend the rest of their lives sitting in a blanket in the sun, as the legend used to have it, but that they are actually serving the community as teachers, doctors, lawyers, clergymen, editors, welfare-officers lecturers, chiefs, tribal secretaries, interpreters and the rest, thus sharing their new found culture with others.

The following data were kindly supplied by the Registrar of the South African Native College, Fort Hare. They refer to the number of African Students who had completed the courses shown, from the time when the College was established until the end of 1946:-

Matriculation (no longer offered).....	243
Bachelor or Arts Degree	230
Bachelor of Science Degree	75
Bachelor of Science (Hygiene) Degree....	15
University Education Diploma.....	15
College Diploma in Education.....	80
" " " Agriculture.....	17
Fort Hare Fort Cox Advanced Diploma in Agriculture.....	5
College Diploma in Interpretation.....	9

In addition to the above.
9 students have graduated in medicine in South Africa, and
9 have graduated in medicine overseas.....18
and 12 have taken post-graduate degrees in S.A. &
5 overseas .... 17.

Behind these bare statistics is a record of dramatic achievement which reflects the utmost credit upon Dr. Kerr and his colleagues, and which bears eloquent testimony to the successful attainment of "Western" scholarship, through the English medium, and against tremendous odds, by a few hundred Africans who were moved by divine discontent to cease developing along their own lines.

That does not complete the record, however, as the parallel data for the University of the Witwatersrand reveal. Thus enrolled in 1947 are the following African students:-

ARTS.

B.A. Degree	24
Diploma in Native Affairs . ..	1
Occasional students	2
COMMERCE.	6
MEDICINE	36
LAW.	
LL.B. Degree	2
Attorney's Admission	1
	72.

Moreover at this university the following degrees have already been earned by African students:-

Degrees:

1936 - B.A. Hons.	1
1941 - "	2
1944 - "	1
1946 - D.Litt.	1
M.B.B.Ch.	2
1947 - B.A.	4
" Hons.	2
M.B.B.Ch.	6
	19.

Diplomas:

1939 Dip.Soc. Studies -	1
1942 " Native Affairs	2
1946 " " "	1
	4

Of deep significance has been the liberal policy adopted by the Witwatersrand University towards higher education for non-

Europeans, in consequence of which 8 Africans have been enabled to qualify as doctors in the country of their birth, and 36 more are at present following the same course, a situation not yet paralleled in any British dependency in Africa, for although excellent work has been done in the six year course of training for assistant medical officers at Makerere, and in parallel training at Gordon College, Khartoum, such courses do not yet lead to a degree.

Of equal significance has been the deliberate removal of the colour bar within this university, in spite of organized opposition from reactionary groups in certain other universities, a fact which must have made a lasting impression upon the African undergraduates and graduates concerned.

In the Non-European section of the Natal University College, the distribution of African students, during 1947, is as follows:-

M.A. (Sociology)	1
(Psychology)	1
B.A.	47
B.Com.	1.
B.Econ.	1.
B.A. (Social Sc.)	10
Following lectures not for degree purposes	1.
	62

The policy in Natal has differed from that of the Witwatersrand University, in that it was decided from the outset when classes were first established in 1936, that the Non-European students were to be segregated from the Europeans. The courses are not differentiated, (except that the choice available is less), and the lectures are given by the same staff, although in buildings situated in the grounds of Sastri College, Durban. The greater proportion of the students are teachers in government schools, although others are employed as clerks, shop assistants,

health officials etc, so that the classes are held mainly at the week end, some students travelling considerable distances to attend. The Principal Mr. Malherbe, has ~~floated~~ launched a vigorous campaign for better facilities.

In the 1946 Report on this section, the Organizer, Dr. Mabel Palmer, recorded that 249 students were enrolled. They included 176 Indian students, 7 Coloured and 1 Chinese, apart from the Africans. The student body is therefore multi-racial, which must add interest to the seminars. Through the lectures and discussions, as well as through debates, sports and other social activities, through the use of the library, the qualifying courses and the reading prescribed, as well as through the contacts made at the annual residential Vacation School at Adams College, in which distinguished visiting lecturers participate, the convergence of culture is assured.

It was not possible to obtain comparable data from the University of Cape Town, but the number of non-European students enrolled there during 1947, is 92. It may be assumed that the bulk of these will be Coloured and that the smallest ethnic group represented will be African.

Sufficient has been said, however, to demonstrate that among the seeming miracles recently witnessed in S.A., has been the market extension of facilities to enable Africans of the requisite ability and determination, to graduate at our universities. It is the more regrettable therefore, that at Fort Hare, which was established to cater for such students, and to whose achievement we have alread paid an unqualified tribute, the attitude of the Council towards residential accomodation for catholic students, should have proved so intransigent that the ecclesiastic authorities concerned were led to establish separate university training for them in Basutoland. The number enrolled there would need to be included therefore, in any estimated aggregate of Africans in the

Union, following courses leading to degrees, as would also the increasing number who avail themselves of correspondence courses.

Other Africans there are who have graduated in Europe [+] and America, so that 'Western' culture has been assimilated in the universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Tuskegee, Columbia, Yale, Minnesota, Budapest and elsewhere, as well in the country of their birth which opposed university studies for Africans in vain, and then gave it recognition in one centre after another, building State secondary schools to accelerate the process.

Looking north one could supplement this by references to the results of Parliamentary Commissions for East and West Africa, to the moneys from participating governments and from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds which, in consequence have been voted in generous measure to higher education there, to the links established between their embryonic universities and those of Great Britain, and to the generous scholarship schemes to enable Africans to take graduate and post-graduate studies overseas.

One could speak of the earlier connection between the West Coast Colleges and the Durham and London Universities, of the students from the French Colonies who find their way to the Sorbonne, and of the professional, administrative, and other responsibilities creditably borne by African graduates in territory after territory, in which connection our survey would include also the products of Astrida College in the Congo, and of the medical schools at Leopoldville and at Dakar.

From the French Colonies, Africans who desire the full medical degree must go to Paris, but 10 years ago the course for "médecins auxiliaires" at Dakar, was described as the largest and the most successful effort, in Africa, to provide efficient African medical assistants for the colonial medical and health service.

+ Vide p. 324

At that time over 400 men had qualified at the end of its six year course.[1]

Further evidence would seem superfluous to support the contention that across the length and breadth of Africa, and from the rudimentary primary school curriculum to university post-graduate courses, or collaterally to a great, but still inadequate, variety of vocational courses, many millions of Africans directly, and many millions of others indirectly, through the medium of an alien education, are being irrestibly indoctrinated with a culture which cross-fertilizes their own, but which, being dominant, is steadily replacing it."

That in the French Colonies there is more deliberation in the pursuit of this as an objective, may be judged from the title of a book written in 1935 by Dr. Bryant Mumford, then Head of the Colonial Department, University of London Institute of Education and formerly Education Officer, Tanganyika, and the late Major St. J. Orde-browne, who having been Labour Commissioner, Tanganyika, subsequently became Labour Adviser to the Colonial Office. The book was called "Africans learn to be French". It was based on a joint tour of the Federated Colonies of French West Africa, to which they went to learn rather than to criticize. In the introduction, Dr. Mumford pointed out that to all her colonies, France is the ultimate model and the centre of inspiration; that in colonies such as Algiers where association with the mother country has been long, "they share French ways, French history and French ideals", and that in others more distant or only recently acquired, although the traditions are less deeply rooted, "the process of education has begun, and as time passes, they too will...become full members of the French family of peoples".

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[1] Hailey op.cit.p.1185.

To this he adds that Frenchmen describe any differences in policy throughout the empire, as merely 'nuances' of one universal theory.

In a statement of policy issued by Monsieur Brévié, Governor General of French West Africa, in 1930, he referred to the part played by education in racial evolution, and although he claimed that their system was not merely an exotic growth transplanted in African soil, for it had constantly "sought to adapt itself to the needs and necessities of the hour", he nevertheless spoke of its achievements in the following unequivocal terms:-

> ...."they represent the ever more certain and more closely attainable evolution of a native educated class whose quality will rise as the process of selection becomes more severe; a closer yet wider contact with French life and institutions through the diffusion of the French language; and the establishment, as circumstances offer, of a native élite, of whose zeal for a thorough and exclusively French culture signs are already visible".[1]

In a statement made five years later, the Governor-General said, inter alia:-

> "The school has ceased to be a purely scholastic institution; it has become the medium of popular education in the widest interpretation of the term, and is exerting a powerful influence on social progress and economic development"....
> .. HOWEVER PRESSING MAY BE THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC CHANGE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES, OUR MISSION IN AFRICA IS TO BRING ABOUT A CULTURAL RENAISSANCE, A PIECE OF CREATIVE WORK IN HUMAN MATERIAL, AN ASSOCIATION OF TWO RACES WHICH CAN BE BROUGHT ABOUT ONLY BY A FREE AND WHOLE-HEARTED ACCEPTANCE OF THE AFRICANS BY THE FRENCH"[2] (Capitals mine)

Very clearly the trend of policy here is towards the establishment of French culture among the Africand, whereas in South Africa the pressure of circumstance rather than the official acceptance of any such policy, is steadily moving in the same direction. Nevertheless, across the borders of the

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[1] op.cit p.89
[2] ~~op.cit~~.p.96.
Ibid

French colonies must pass the infectious enthusiasm of such administrators, strengthening the resolution and kindling the hopes of Africans elsewhere.

In January, 1947, under the auspices of the South African Institute of Race Relations, a representative conference was convened at Cape Town, to consider adult education for the Non-European, chiefly in relation to "The Report of the Commission on Adult Education", (U.G. 35/1945). The Conference accepted Mr. Maurice Webb's definition of adult education, which read:-

> "We define Adult Education as those educational services for adults planned and pursued with the object of overcoming ignorance, making good educational deficiencies, enlarging horizons of knowledge and interest, improving the relation of the individual with the community, increasing his understanding and appreciation of his environment, and so adding to the stature of the individual and increasing his usefulness and happiness.
> As a corollary, we affirm our belief that the non-Europeans of South Africa must have the fullest opportunities for the development of themselves as individuals and as integral parts of our South African community". ✱

From the co-ordinated findings recorded in the roneoed report of the conference, the following brief extracts are taken:-

> "The first concern of the new Department of Adult Education should be a mass attack on illiteracy. This should be regarded as a national emergency..." (this will be developed in the next chapter)...
>
> "Libraries are essential aids to any adult educational programme"
> (There followed recommendations regarding free library services, the extension of mobile services to outlying areas, the formation of reading-groups, play reading circles, writers' clubs etc. and the training and employment of non-European librarians).
>
> "A new body of adult education workers has to be created". ..."The early establishment of one or two pilot training schemes is recommended"....
>
> "It is essential that an adult educational programme should keep its vocational and technical training activities in line with changing industrial conditions".

✱ R.R. 23/47. p.22.

Of General Adult Education it was recorded that:-

"The variety of work is almostinfinite. It includes physical education, dramatics, child care, the making of jam and the making of films, cooking and poetry, gardening and singing, household budgetting and bee-keeping, football and food-values.

Specially recommended for early experiment is the community or people's centre"....

The above are merely sample recommendations taken from their context, and from 30 pages of detailed proposals, formulated, not as the ill-considered effusions of a group of rabid sentimentalists, but by experienced representatives, European and Non-European, of many organizations, as their suggestions to make effective the liberally conceived programme contained within the Blue-Book of a Parliamentary Commission.

These brief references, although doing scant justice to the findings of the Conference, and none at all to the Commission's Report, may serve to illustrate the fact, that if practical effect rather than lip-service be accorded to either, by meeting the urgent needs of adult education synchronously with those of juvenile education, there would be a social revolution before many years had passed, which would benefit all communities to an extent which could not be predicted. What could with confidence be predicted, however, is that of necessity this would connote the more rapid assimilation of "our culture". This would take place at all educable age levels, for as the interest of the adults was held, this would re-act favourably upon their children's educational welfare. Thus the progressive ideas and aspirations of the young would not be damped down, and so fail to fructify, because of parental apathy, as so often happens today.

In other British dependencies in Africa, the Colonial Office parallel White Paper on "Mass Education", is performing

a similar service in stimulating thought regarding the urgency of the need to tackle the problems of adult education, and welfare and public relations officers are already co-operating with officers of the development departments, as well as with voluntary agencies, in the planning and direction of campaigns. In general, therefore, the principle has been accepted and even though its application may be delayed because financial stringency has cooled initial ardour, when made effective it must lead to the more generous sharing of new cultural patterns and values.

.....

Space does not permit any detailed treatment of the growing importance of night schools as an educational agency for adults and juveniles. For 30 years or more, unco-ordinated voluntary work has been done, chiefly in rural districts, by missionaries and by Africans who teach during the day also, and in more recent years Provincial Education Departments have given guidance and a little financial assistance. But in the last 10 years a most encouraging urban development has taken place. Typical of its main features are the following extracts from a report written by Mr. J.C. Young, Recreation Officer in the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality:- /

> "Adult education facilities for Non-Europeans in Johannesburg are very limited. The numbers who would undertake this self-education if facilities were available cannot therefore be estimated.
>
> The African worker if he or she lives in a Native township, has less leisure time than the European, and owing to the lack of household lighting at night this leisure time can only be employed profitably at week-ends. Adult education usually pre-supposes a basic elementary education, it is a means of opening wider the doors of the mind that it might appreciate music, art and literature, comprehend science and learning or participate in weaving, sketching, modelling or painting. In the case of the African, the order is reversed and his adult education may be pursued in the absence of any elementary school education at all".

Having spoken of the "tremendous enthusiasm for elementary learning", Mr. Young continues:-

> "There are 19 night schools for Africans in Johannesburg, which are co-ordinated by the Johannesburg Central Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes and subsidised to the extent of £3,400 in 1947 by the Union Education Department. 1456 adults attend, most of them illiterate. In addition, there are several other schools run by missions. The Technical College has classes of 250 students for "Non-Europeans of secondary school standard".

He then makes the interesting statement that the Transvaal Workers Educational Association has expanded its work among Non-Europeans since the war and in Orlando is responsible for a secondary course there, as well as for a class in book-keeping.

Passing over some of the other welfare activities which

/ "Adult education among Non-Europeans in Johannesburg", 17th June, 1947.

will be referred to in a later chapter, it may be well to turn to a parallel report by the same officer, in which he reviews night school development, more specifically, during the last 10 years - his report naturally being confined to Johannesburg.* The brief excerpts can do no more than convey potted impressions of the admirable work done:-

> "In Parliament last week Mr.Hofmeyr made reference to the good work that was being done by the Johannesburg Central Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes. It is interesting to trace the history of the Johannesburg Central Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes from the inception of the first secular night schools for natives to the movement as it is today.
>
> The Night School movement is the result of spontaneous growth of activity in various groups, each playing an important part - mission schools, teacher groups, university and High School students, Institute of Race Relations, Native Teacher groups and many others.
>
> A few years ago in 1938, a group of University students, interested in Native problems, began classes for natives in a dancing studio in town. Within a few weeks they moved to the African National Club in Diagonal Street. Here, in a badly lit - hardly ventilated hall was waged a war against illiteracy.
>
> Tightly packed, almost a hundred students were divided into seven classes, not by partitions, but by narrow, rectangular tables. Many eager pupils had to sit on the floor. Often classes were interrupted or cut short by the tuning up of drums as other members of the club got ready for a dance.
>
> Two years later in September, 1940, another group acting teachers and University lecturers, daily becoming more aware of the effects of rumour and propaganda on a large mass of illiterate people, set itself the task of initiating a set of classes for Adult Africans with the avowed object of ultimately marking this a National Movement".

Of the early days of the Mayibuye night school, housed in a Kruis Street shop, Young tells us that:-

> .."Teachers and pupils became oblivious to the noise and dust as the lesson progressed. Apparatus was lacking, blackboards were shared; the ingenuous crude teachers used the shop front windows as boards; but the ardour of both teachers and pupils overcame all difficulties and soon there was another class over the way, and schools were opened in a garage at Rosebank and at St.Martin's Hostel in Doornfontein. Other teachers of this group began classes in Benoni location and later at Springs and Brakpan too".

Nevertheless there were compensations, for:-

> "The Mayibuye Night Schools had the advantage of having a

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* Night Schools for Natives". 1938-1947.

number of trained European teachers, and the rest were lecturers, chemists, engineers, accountants, journalists, cabinet makers and clerks by day, and they made up for lack of training in their freshness of outlook and strong social conscience.

In 1941 there were so many requests that pupils in both schools, were taken as far as J.C. and entered for public examinations, though the main object of the school was literacy".

In 1942 the whole aspect of things was changed when the Transvaal Teachers' Association agreed to sponsor and consolidate these efforts; the following year the Technical College opened a department for Non-European adults, and work was opened in other Reef towns.

Then one reads of a most interesting development:-

"In 1944 further development took place in the High Schools. Inspired, no doubt, by the example of other groups, senior students at the King Edward VII. School approached the Kayibuye Night Schools for help in order to begin their own school. Later, urged on to a fuller consciousness of social welfare and civic problems by interested teachers and students, the students formed an Inter High School Representative Council with the avowed aim of promoting social studies in schools, and fostering direct participation in community service and development of welfare projects.

The King Edward students formed the Northern Districts Night Schools and other schools followed suit. Garstown High Boys and girls opened a school in February 1945 at the Parkview Church and Jeppe High School Boys organised a school in their district for almost a year. Unfortunately, their project had to be abandoned later. However students from Highlands North and Forest High showed their interest by helping at existing schools.

Then in 1945 a school was opened at the University - an indirect outcome of the Inter High School Movement. The Medical students, too, took over the management of the school at the Hospital Compound. Since 1942, the Transvaal Teachers' Association had been supervising the work here at the request of the Hospital Board. At this time all European teachers were giving their services voluntarily".

A representative Committee for Non-European Continuation Classes was formed in 1946, and the Union Education Department has now placed the work on a sound financial basis by providing a grant of £3,400 in respect of 1947. It is very natural that Mr. Young should describe this Committee as a potent factor in the movement for mass literacy among the Non-Europeans of Johannesburg. Omitting his interesting

comments on individual schools, where the latest figures show that 1,548 adults are enrolled, and where the instruction is given by Africans, by senior boys from the King Edward School, by European medical and other students, and by lecturers and other altruistic Europeans, one may quote a few remarks from his concluding paragraph:-

> "It is clearly to the advantage of the citizens of Johannesburg and of the whole Union that natives working and residing in towns learn how to conduct themselves under urban conditions. Many of the habits and customs of the country cannot be maintained in a bit city without danger to health, morals, and even life itself".. ..."Even if compulsory schooling were introduced shortly hundreds of thousands of grown men and women would not be able to profit by it. It is imperative that these adults learn quickly. If they cannot read and write and do simple arithmetic they are a menace not only to their own people but to all Europeans. An unclean food handler, a cyclist who cannot read road notices, an industrial worker who cannot understand safety precautions, an agitator who knows catchwords without understanding their meaning, these are all 'dangerous Men'. It is possible for a native to remain a splendid barbarian among his cattle and his numerous wives, but a barbarian cannot cope with flats, cinemas, and machinery. It is for these reasons that the Committee feels that in their own interest it will profit Europeans to help the Natives to learn. It is even more important that a whole people should not be blinkered by their own ignorance".

The chief reason for the above references to recent developments in Johannesburg and along the Reef, is to reveal the magnificent spirit actuating the movement, a spirit full of promise for the betterment of 'race'-relations, and concurrently to reveal that agencies exist which are providing larger numbers of adult Africans with the means to interpret the new culture which would otherwise overwhelm them in urban centres. Such agencies, moreover, are to found to-day in many cities, rural townships and villages across Africa, for neither the inspiration nor the response is confined to Johannesburg, and as each gains momentum, so will the convergence of cultures.

.....

/ This figure does not include 25 secondary students at the Technical College.

Not unrelated to African education are certain aspects of European education which deserve mention.

Already recorded have been the notable way in which certain of the universities in South Africa have opened their doors to African students, and the encouraging manner in which some of their lecturers and European students have initiated activities in the field of adult education. The hospitality given by overseas universities has also been noted, in which connection one may refer to the full data described by Dr. W.M. Keith, O.B.E. (who after administrative service in Northern Rhodesia was placed in charge of the Welfare Department of the Colonial Office), in the Journal of the African Society for April, 1946. When he wrote, there were 200 Africans enrolled as scholarship holders at British Universities, whilst private African students were estimated to number between three and four hundred. The whole article relates to our study, but from it one brief excerpt must suffice. He said:-

> "A sincere and practical interest is taken in African students at the Universities themselves. For example, to mention only a few instances, Durham, Edinburgh and Glasgow have longstanding traditions in their dealings with Africans. Trinity College, Dublin, takes a special pride in the care and attention it gives to its African undergraduates. University College, Exeter, goes out of its way to make special provision for overseas students, and there are similar conditions in many Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge". #

Lord Hailey, admitting that in South Africa the promotion of closer relationships between the two white 'races' by the universities, had not been more marked because of the strength of the tradition deviding them, was nevertheless able to record the view that:-

> "More than one observer has found that the universities have taken no inconsiderable part in producing the change which has been seen of recent years in the attitude of the Union towards native problems. If there has not been a noticeable growth of sympathy towards native aspirations, there has been a keener interest in native life and a closer and more dispassionate study of native affairs". ##

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op.cit.p.72.
op.cit.p.1211.
Ibid

There are many who would regard this as an understatement; who would speak of the influence exerted by the universities upon the Press and upon Parliament, and who would cite the developments, already described, most of which have taken place since Hailey wrote.

In the present context, however, we are thinking rather, of the enduring effects upon European university students of their closer contacts with African adolescents and adults, effects which, in turn, must help to build up a better community of thought on each side of the colour bar. Many of the products of our universities will become administrative officers; others will follow the professions; some will become magistrates, others will be raised to the judiciary; some will adopt a political career; of these some may become Senators; others again will become journalists or authors, and others leaders in commerce and industry; some will teach, others train teachers or join university staffs, and a number will become public relations officers, and possibly serve South Africa with distinction at the UNO or at other international conferences.

Inevitably they will contribute knowledge and thought to a country badly needing both, and according to the values they have learnt to respect or disrespect, will contribute also the wisdom which comes from true enlightenment, or will give authoritarian support to values disruptive to society. Moreover they will either raise the standard of living of all communities by raising that of the Non-Europeans, or they will lower the standard of all by refusing equality of opportunity to the Non-Europeans. The evidence we have just examined has been re-assuring, but whether this liberal attitude gain ascendancy in our universities or not, their points of contact with the African are steadily multiplying, with resultant modifications of his culture.

The growing generation of Europeans enrolled in our primary and secondary schools, includes many thousands who through the teaching, formal and informal, received from liberally minded men and women, are already promoting better 'race'-relations by their sympathetic interest and by refusing to adopt the lower standard of courtesy towards the African, which is usually considered binding upon South African nationals. In spite of the sad fact that they are probably a minority group, and that others are assimilating racial prejudice, they give promise of better things to come, for it is they who will produce the leaders of reform tomorrow. Concurrently and most unconsciously, their less fortunate companions also contribute to a common culture by sharing the same environment with the African and by their very dependence upon him.

Although the immediate connection is not so apparent, similar principles operate when African dependencies are visited by Secretaries of State, their Technical Advisers, Members of Parliament, Royal or Parliamentary Commissions, and distinguished specialists. They make contacts on the spot with members of both 'races'; they bring earnestness of purpose, goodwill, and - usually - trained minds, to bear upon local situations; they make statements and draft reports which are given publicity and the stamp of authority: they not infrequently induce a greater measure of financial support than was previously available, to make their recommendations effective: they obtain an attentive hearing for urgent needs until then largely disregarded, and they stimulate more vigorous efforts to increase productivity, to develop the social services, to effect administrative reforms, or to promote inter-'racial' co-operation, as the case might be. And when upon their return to Britain, they give an account of their stewardship, they infect others, directly and indirectly, with the virus. In other words, this illustrates another

method whereby, at a higher level, inter-'racial' contacts fructify, the results almost invariably including the quicker assimilation by many Africans of a little more western culture.

Comparable would be the regional co-ordination of research, which is so marked a feature of life all over the world today, and which is rich in significance for our study.

It may embrace the making of socio-economic surveys, investigations of locust or tsetse-fly control or research concerning nutrition, anti-malarial drugs, sleeping sickness, pasture grasses, soil-conservation, animal husbandry, linguistics, mineral deficiencies, industrial and economic development, or any other branch of the natural and social sciences with claims to urgency. The Central African Research Council, to take one example, although it is to act in the joint service of the two Rhodesias and of Nyasaland, realized from the outset that it must appoint a liaison officer to the British Commonwealth Scientific Office in London, and that included within the functions of the Council would be the maintenance of the closest liaison with scientific and research organizations elsewhere. There are similar regional research groups in East and in West Africa, co-ordinated over a wide area, and in touch, not only with related groups in this Continent, but also with Colonial Office Research Councils and with other hierachies.

On such research work, so basic to human progress, enormous sums of money are being spent, and extensive establishments are being recruited, the whole network of activity representing the heights attained by "Western" scholarship. I would submit that the results of a great deal of this advanced research will impinge upon the life of the most primitive African tribe to a degree that is unpredictable. The scientists of Europe, America and South Africa, will undoubtedly add to human knowledge, and will share its results with the African menials who today carry their loads, but who, tomorrow, will join them

as fellow research-workers. In the meantime millions of Africans will enjoy with them an enlargement of life, and hence a very different way of living.

Education is the enterprise which supplies the means to ensure growth or adequacy of life given nurturing conditions, the principles being the same for all 'races'. As was to be expected, therefore, this chapter has greatly strengthened our conviction concerning the process of cultural assimilation, which like a powerful river moves along its course with increasing momentum, but which would be happier for wise direction in place of the opposition which occasionally impedes and so produces violent turbulence.

In succeeding chapters we shall have occasion to think of the place of education in connection with other cultural agencies and at the end of this study to consider the bearing of Christianity upon African education, in view of current tendencies.

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Chapter XIV.

LITERACY AND THE PRESS.

Miss Margaret Wrong, the well known Secretary of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, who has travelled widely in Africa and served the advancement of its people most admirably for many years, wrote an article with the title "Is Literacy Necessary in Africa?" That an issue of this kind could still be open to doubt is interesting but rather amazing.

There are many who think literacy dangerous because it gives access to much that is undesirable. There are many others who oppose it because they think it will adversely affect cheap labour, and give the Native wrong ideas about himself. In the same strain the President of the Royal Society urged in England in 1807 that "the education of the labouring classes would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness"*/

Some years ago, a communicative and friendly American in a Pullman car in Pennsylvania, upon hearing that the writer came from Africa, said with some feeling:- "I hope you don't get fooling around teaching nigger children to read and write". He had kinship with a large but decreasing body of people in the Union who regard any attack on illiteracy among the Africans, as mere 'fooling around'.

In the report on 'Mass Education in African Society'** adult literacy is regarded as 'an essential means of achieving all-round progress", for the following reasons:-

"(a) It has been proved that the attainment of literacy makes people aware of the need for social and economic improvements, and therefore they will co-operate more readily with welfare and other agencies working on these lines.

(b) The rapid changes in family and village life make it imperative to give the people every possible means of understanding and controlling what is happening among them. Health measures in the home and village, enlightened training of children, correspondence with absentees, budgeting and account-keeping - all become possible and in time acceptable to a literate people.

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* Fabian Colonial Essays. pp145-160
** op.cit.p.1219.
Colonial No.166.

> (c) In order to progress towards self-government in the modern world colonial peoples must learn to read, and to understand, not only about their own local affairs, but those of wider import. If control in local government is to be on a wide and democratic basis, it cannot nowadays be in the hands of a mass of ignorant and illiterate people".

It is then urged upon Colonial Governments that they should "submit as soon as possible their proposals for the elimination of illiteracy within the next two decades".

Professor Hancock shared this sense of urgency when he wrote:-

> "Progress towards self-government in British Colonies might have been quicker if the Colonial Office had been aflame with a passion to wage total and unremitting war against poverty, disease and illiteracy".[#]

(Of significance here is the unholy trinity:- poverty, disease and illiteracy, which are so closely bound together).

That the 1947 Adult Education Conference for non-Europeans, also considered a mass attack on illiteracy a matter of urgency, we have already seen, for they advised that:-

> "This should be regarded as a national emergency and faced in that spirit both in regard to action and financial provision".[##]

They accordingly recommended that there should be a survey of South African illiteracy, active co-operation with and further support for voluntary bodies already at work in this field, more publicity to make known the availability of present grants for this work, the adaptation of the Colonial Office White Paper on Mass Education to South African needs, the use of the vernacular wherever possible, an appeal to voluntary agencies, senior students and others, to give voluntary or nominally paid services in this drive, the stimulation of writing and the distribution of pamphlets, books, and periodicals in a variety of vernaculars and in both official languages, and also bold experimentation.

[#] "Argument of Empire".
[##] op.cit.

The literacy committee which reported to the Conference, in addition to the above findings, recommended also that:-

> "The urgency of the need of combating illiteracy among Non-European adults is so great that, in principle, the main responsibility for establishing at an early date the necessary organization, making on a complete survey, and voting commensurate funds, must be vested in the State".¢

Moreover it outlined a variety of approaches for different areas, suggested special wireless lessons as an ancillary method for African learners, advocated techniques of production and distribution to maintain and further to develop literacy when established, recommended chains of bookshops at registration offices, in urban locations and at suitable rural centres, Non-European bookstalls at big railway stations, and colportage. Other important recommendations concerned African authorship, and the possible establishment of an institute "to produce suitable literature for the adult education campaign for all Non-Europeans, such Institute to have its own director and staff, to prepare material, to examine key-manuscripts, to appoint authors, and to co-operate with all appropriate agencies".

Also suggested was an activity which has long provided valuable opportunity for social service in many territories, namely that

> "at each teacher-training centre for non-Europeans, the community work fostered by the environment should include the promotion of adult literacy among Non-European adults, in which the pupil-teachers would participate".

It seems reasonably clear from what has been written that authorities in South Africa as well as at the Colonial Office, are in general agreement concerning the urgency of the need to wage a total and unremitting war against illiteracy, and that whether in a White Paper (Colonial No.186), a Parliamentary Blue-Book, (U.G. 35/1945), or the report of a conference convened

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¢ o .cit.

by the South African Institute of Race Relations, (no.23/47), comprehensive proposals to meet the situations have been made, proposals which could be supplemented by co-ordinated findings in East Africa, West Africa and elsewhere. Equally clear is it that the implementation of these recommendations, intended to ensure as far as possible, that, within a reasonable time, universal literacy among all communities in Africa may be attained, would prove a powerful influence, of incalculable force and range, at the same time in connection with the ascendancy of western culture.

To obtain the very large amount of financial support needed for an enterprise of such magnitude, however, one is driven back to Miss Wrong's question, "Is Literacy necessary in Africa?", and so far as the Union is concerned, owing to political opposition in high places, the necessary funds are not likely to be voted until government and local authorities believe the answer to be an emphatic affirmative.

Even though a great advance has been made in the literacy rates of totalitarian states, which constitutes a challenge, this has been promoted as an integral part of popular education, in the interests of planned political, economic and social development, and it must be confessed that in South Africa it is the interests of the European and not of the African which have dominated the planning of such development. It follows, therefore, that until he is given an accredited place within it, other and more convincing reasons will be required.

Relevant to this need are the following excerpts from Miss Wrong's article:-

> ....."the illiteracy of the mass of the people is a barrier against the gradual circulation of new ideas necessary for orderly evolution from feudal to more popular forms of government; for a large illiterate population which is easily swayed by rumour, increases the likelihood of violent political change through sudden contact with the outside world and in particular with the return of men now serving with the forces, whose education has been advanced and outlook broadened by their experiences.
>
> Then too, when the masses of the population are illiterate, it is difficult, if not impossible, to

"protect them from deception by unscrupulous persons....."/

....."Nor can the economic development necessary for effective free trade be achieved without the spread of literacy. This development includes increased industrialization and mineral exploitation requiring the labour of African peoples. The illiterate African is condemned to remain an unskilled worker"..... He is also in more danger of bodily harm than is the literate worker because he is unable to read warning notices and safety regulations. Illiterates have been killed at railway crossings and injured by machinery because of this disability.

Then, too, the illiterate is easily deceived because he cannot read labour contracts, or the destination printed on the railway or bus tickets he buys"...../

....."The spread of literacy undoubtedly fosters a desire for higher standards of living and increases the demand for commodities"//

In the Report of the Native Economic Commission, in South Africa, a European business man said:-

"A Native who can read and write has a greater economic value to the community and commands a higher wage than one who cannot; indeed the manual work in shops and stores and factories could not be carried out without this qualification"///

Consistent with this is the following statement by Codfrey and Monica Wilson:-

"The ignorance and unwillfulness of Africans in civilization is...intolerable. The storekeeper is furious at the 'stupidity' of his delivery boy who delivers parcels to the wrong addresses because he cannot read, although he may disapprove of schooling for Africans in principle, he engages literates himself. The housewife is equally irritated by the incompetence of an untrained cook and demands proper training schools for domestic servants / /

to return to Miss Perrone:-

"Social advance also depends on the spread of literacy, for in this sphere too, illiterates are barred from full co-operation which alone will achieve success. For instance, the battle against disease cannot be won on the clinical front alone; preventive medicine on a grand scale is a condition of victory.

The prevention of disease requires a growing understanding of scientific cause and effect on the part of the African population ////

Professor Hutt once wrote some years ago an article entitle

/ op.cit.pp 146-6
// para 649.
/// op.cit.pp 154-5.
//// pp cit.,p.15 .

"European Influence upon the Development of Bantu Language and Literature", in which he said:-

> ...outside the small circle of the kraal, the mission station, the school, the trader's store, the native commissioner's camp, and to a smaller extent the white man's farm and the mines, the native found his own language little understood and less spoken, and was faced with an imperative necessity of learning at least a smattering of the white man's language... in order to earn a living at all, and with at least very urgent reasons for soon acquiring a working knowledge of a European language in order to get on better with his master and to have a chance of being given better paid labour. Small wonder then, that he set out valiantly to learn the new strange language as well as he could"....."Other reasons supervened; the new language was the bearer of the new and powerful culture, the key to the white man's supremacy"...."and in order to be civilized, one must learn the language of the civilized". ✓
>
> "Again", he said, "in intercourse with the Europeans, if that intercourse was to be of any higher plane than that which a kitchen kaffir allowed, the medium of communication was almost invariably the European language"...."and so, willy-nilly, the educated native lived his intellectual life, for the most part, in the European language world" ✓

Apart from these aspects, and apart from the countless situations in which employers, moved not by sentiment but by their own interests, require literacy in the African employees, is the growing demand for it by government. Thus government notices in the official languages and in the leading Native languages are published in the Vernacular Press, and are given publicity outside post-offices and other public buildings; propaganda from the development departments finds its way into the columns of the same papers: in time of war a special version of the news is printed for the Africans in a variety of languages, in order to counteract rumour and subversive influences; Native enumerators are expected to help their people to cope with census forms: others are required to produce the correct pass, tax receipt or licence; sign-boards on government offices or at railway stations are there to be read, and so are permits to move cattle as well as rail-way tickets,

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✓ Vide "Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa", edited by Professor I. Schapera. (Routledge) 1934.

luggage labels and consignment notes.

Included among the thousands of employees whose duties require literacy for their efficient discharge, are nurses, orderlies, police, mine clerks, and many others at work in polyglot situations, demanding oral and written competence in an official language, and probably in a dominant vernacular also. Full of significance is the further fact, that in a state of national emergency such as the Great War, so much importance was attached by General Officers Commanding, and by many others, to the work of the Army Education Corps, and in particular to its dramatic success in the furtherance of literacy among the African troops. This will be referred to more fully in a later chapter.

Before the Europeans came, there was an entire absence of writing, which made such traditional literature as existed purely oral, and, according to Professor Lestrade:-

> ....."subject to the vicissitudes of a purely word of mouth tradition; variations in text, and corruption of language leading sometimes to complete unintelligibility, instability of content and the inevitable disappearance of appreciable sections of the traditional literary heritage"[1]

Pointing out that the literature was confined to stories, mythological, fabulistic or legendary, to songs, praises, proverbs and riddles, Lestrade added:-

> "Though there are distinct literary fashions and canons of technique running through the workmanship of the stories, the rhythm and swing of the songs, proverbs and riddles... ...the absence of the written word rendered a conscious development of a literary tradition difficult"..... "Contact with the white man, his culture, his literature, and last but not least, his art of writing and printing, have brought about rapid and basic changes in this department of Bantu life. Writing and printing have made it possible to put on permanent record a fair proportion of his traditional literature"....."like Callaway's 'Nursery Tales of the Zulus', Jacottet's 'Treasury of Basuto Lore', Plaatje's 'Sechuana Proverbs', Mangoaela's 'Lithoko tsa marena a Basotho' (Praises of the Sotho Chiefs), Ndawo's 'Inxenye yentsomi zasezweni' (Selection of Folk Tales) etc."[2]

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[1] Vide "Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa", edited by Professor I. Schapera (Routledge) 1934.

[2] Op. Cit.

The above quotation serves to emphasize the central message of this whole chapter, which is, in effect, that indigenous literacy would be a contradiction in terms.

In this work of collecting and preserving orally transmitted survivals from the past, it is natural that Europeans should have played the greatest part, although of recent years this has infected many Africans in different parts of the Continent, who, in consequence, have tapped sources still available and reduced to writing the information gleaned, a pleasing result of culture-contact.

Quoting examples of typical literary productions by Bantu authors, Lestrade referred also to the outstanding historical novel - Mofolo's 'Chaka' - which he said showed vivid imagination, a sure dramatic instinct, psychological insight of no mean order and a truly gripping style. He claimed that it was the first modern piece of Bantu literature to gain that distinction. (Incidentally, since he wrote, Dr. Vilakazi of the Witwatersrand University staff, has gained his doctorate for a thesis on Bantu literature, after making notable contributions to it). †

Professor Lestrade continued:-

> "On the whole, the literary activity of the Bantu is turning into new channels, is occupying itself with new genres, and is evolving new inter-ests, new structures and new technique"..."Much of this work is, admittedly, imitative of European models, though inevitably and happily, even the most outspoken imitations are apt to have a Bantu tone not found in the European originals". #

It is not a matter for surprise, that when Africans become journalists or authors, since they use an alien medium for their expression, the form and nature of the latter also will tend to reflect the culture of western craftsmen. If this be the case, as it undoubtedly is, when writing in the vernacular, how much more true to the original must be the reflection when using English or Afrikaans?

In his article, Professor Lestrade concentrated naturally upon South Africa when analysing European influences upon the development of Bantu language and literature. But realized

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op.cit. † The news of the death of D. Vilakazi has been received since above was written.

examples could be drawn from many African territories, and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures could testify to a wide range of African authorship of real merit, as could reputable publishers.

Lestrade spoke of the newspapers read by the Africans as first hand documentation of their changing life today, and as representing a significant result of the contact between Black and White, since obviously the systematic circulation of news and opinion is something entirely new. Inevitably the majority of the papers, being in the hands of the Europeans, largely reflect their religious, educational and social interests. Nevertheless, according to him, missionary and educational papers apart, the others "are more representative of all shades of native opinion", treating "not only of church and school matters but also of sport, social life, and the all absorbing economic and political spheres". The extent to which the advertising matter throws a light upon the Africans changing economic and other habits, will be referred to in a later paragraph.

That certain Africans read their own newspapers is vaguely realized by many Europeans, who probably regard it as a fairly harmless occupation. The majority may not have heard of "The Bantu Press" of Johannesburg, which is steadily becoming a power in the land because of the news service it renders from the Cape to the Congo.

I am indebted to its office for the following list, compiled as accurately as possible, at short notice, a few months ago:-

BANTU PRESS AND SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

Name of Publication.	Circulation.	Languages.	Main Area of Circulation
Bantu World.	26,000.	Multiplicity of Languages.	Whole of South Africa. Intensive circulation Transvaal & Swaziland.
Ilanga lase Natal.	16,000.	Zulu.English.	Natal. Zululand. Swaziland.
Bantu Mirror.	7,500.	Sindebele. English.	Matabeleland. Barotseland.
African Weekly.	7,750.	Shona.English.	Mashonaland.Northern Rhodesia.Nyasaland.
Imvo Labantsundu	6,500.	Zulu.English.	Transkei & Ciskei.
Um-Africa.	2,500.	Zulu.	Zululand. Natal. Swaziland.
Umthunywa.	1,750.	Xosa.	Transkei & Ciskei.
Leselinyana	1,750.	Sesotho. English.	Basutoland. O.F.S. & Tran vaal.
Naledi ya Batswana.	1,500.	Sechuana. English.	Bechuanaland.
Church Star.	1,000.	Shona. English.	Southern Rhodesia.
Mohatlalatsane.	7,650.	Sesotho. English.	Basutoland Government Paper.
Monthlies:			
Ndavela.	2,500.	Xosa.English.	S.A.N. H. Non-European Staff Assoc. Cape. (Midland District).
Morongoa ou Morena.	1,000.	Sesotho.	Methodist Church Paper. Transvaal.
Umlindi.	5,000.	Xosa.Sesutho. English.	National.
Total..	83,800.		

In addition to the above-mentioned publications, there are the following:-

Umteteli wa Bantu.	10,500.	Xosa.Sesutho. English.	Recruiting organ of Chamber of Mines.
Inkululeko.	9,000.	Xosa,Sesutho. Zulu.English.	Organ of Communist Party.
Inkundla..	750.	Zulu. English.	Produced entirely by Africans.
Indaba Zovoya.	1,000.	Xhosa.	Methodist Paper.
Leselinyana. (approx.)	2,000.	Sesotho.	Paris Evangelical Mission
Isitunywa. "	1,000.	Zulu.	Swiss Mission.
Total..	24,050.		

Combined circulation 107,850. ✓

This modest tabulation deals in reality with a dramatic movement, which, although not as spectacular as a grass fire, is nevertheless covering more ground and with more enduring results.

To learn that these papers, specially written for Africans, some unilingual, most multilingual, and many partly written in English, have a combined circulation of nearly 108,000, is arresting enough, but supplies no indication of the nature or degree of influence exerted upon those who read and by them upon those who do not. It is difficult, too, to assess the number who read, for this is by no means limited to subscribers and to the recipients of free copies. It is probably no exaggeration to say that before each well-thumbed copy is disposed of, it will probably have been handled by ten readers. Many copies which find their way regularly to schools will, of course, be read by a great many more, so that one may not be very wide of the mark in estimating that a million may be directly affected and that this constituency will be at least trebled by the indirect influence extended to the illiterate by those who read and then discuss.

"The Bantu World" may be taken as a typical example of a progressive, multi-lingual paper, published as its name suggests, to cater for African readers. South of the Congo it has the largest circulation of any paper of this kind, namely one of 26,000. It may be of interest, therefore, to quote from the contents of a single number chosen at random, the date of issue being August 9th, 1947.

The letterpress included a leader on austerity in Britain, and articles on a recent boycott by the African electorate, the Indonesian Republic and the "Cease Fire Order", a tribute to Lembede an African Lawyer, housing and agriculture in the

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✓ Owing to a disastrous fire at Mazenod, Basutoland, the Catholic paper had to suspend publication, so reducing the total.

Ciskei, a sale at Koroka of Red-Cross blankets and clothing, sporting and social events, and legal and official notices.

The advertisements showed how comprehensive a range was covered, all significant of a changed economic and social order. Thus they advertized, among other things, men's outfitting, physical culture apparatus, motor repairs, battery wireless sets, mail-order business, rimless spectacles, building society transactions, patent medicines and cosmetics, insecticide, ready mixed paint, kitchen utensils including aluminium ware, shoes and dress materials, Dunlop cycle tyres, gramaphone records, groceries, school books, furniture on the hire purchase system, correspondence courses, and the sale of 5 morgen small-holdings on the instalment system. Whatever others may believe or disbelieve, it is clear that the advertisers entertain no doubts regarding their own investment in changing culture, an investment which is already paying very handsome dividends to European Shareholders.

Apart from the investment of the commercial undertakings, is, very naturally, that of the publishers. Thus the Bantu Press alone must have invested hundreds of thousands of pounds in an enterprise which depends for its success entirely upon the continuing increase in the literacy rate among the Africans. Concurrently it encourages better 'race'-relations; disseminates local and world news, helps to raise the standard of living, counteracts subversive propaganda, offers a medium for the free expression of African opinion, and in general assists enlightenment. Correspondingly it deserves well of both 'races'.

One should not overlook the fact, moreover, that a large and increasing number of African readers take English papers which include in their range "The Star", the "Rand Daily Mail" and the "Guardian", that many subscribe to, or have access to the leading Afrikaans papers, and to journals such as "The South African Outlook", the "Forum" or the "Democrat". As a regular

feature it is of interest, too, that the "Natal Mercury" includes in its columns a few inches of news in Zulu, although it is difficult to conceive that this would reach, or teaching, would influence, a large constituency. Nevertheless it is indicative of general recognition that African readers exist, and that they desire and should be posted with the news.

An outstanding example of editorial enterprise is the recent inauguration by the Bantu Press of a "New Africa Progressive Alliance", under the abreviated term "N.A.P.A". In its first newsletter, distributed as in circular form in August 1947, within the covers of its various papers, was launched an appeal for the enrolment of members in this organization, which was described as "an alliance of the people in the service of the people", and which claimed that each of its five objectives was vitally concerned with securing the progress of the Africans.

These objectives were explained in the following terms:-

"LIFE. LEARNING. LEISURE. LITERATURE. LEADERSHIP.

Here is the outline of the N.A.P.A five point plan:-

(1) A first rate news service through African newspapers to keep members in touch with the N.A.P.A. organisation and to give members information on matters of daily life.

(2) A plan to give adult Africans a chance to learn to read and write.

(3) A nation-wide general conduct plan to use spare time in a progressive manner.

(4) A great book and pamphlet plan to increase knowledge, and by the increased sale of literature to help African authors and African employment in the printing trade.

(5) A plan to help develop and encourage true African leadership in all walks of life.

From this short outline it is clear to all that there is a place for all in the free membership of N.A.P.A.

All church members are welcome as well as those who have no church, because N.A.P.A. knows that the great questions of a mans's religion are in the safe keeping of his church.

N.A.P.A. aims to help political development through fuller knowledge, but N.A.P.A. is not a political party and members of all parties are welcome to N.A.P.A. membership.

N.A.P.A. is not a sports organisation but wishes to encourage healthy sport and wishes all sportsmen well.

N.A.P.A. is not a business but will aid African business, African enterprise and African employment by all means at its disposal".

Then was given the pledge to be taken by members, which read:-

I make this faithful promise to help the great five point N.A.P.A. plan to build a progressive African race.

IN LIFE.

I Promise To keep myself well informed each week through the newspapers supporting N.A.P.A. so that I can deal with my own problems and the problems of my people in a progressive manner, and so that I can take a full part in the New Africa Progressive Alliance.

IN LEARNING.

I promise To Read each issue of this N.A.P.A. Newsletter to five other grown-up Africans in the most suitable of the Home languages used, and also the Promise I have signed. Further, I undertake voluntarily, with the guidance afforded by N.A.P.A., to do what lies within my power to teach each six months at least one grown-up African man or woman to read and write his own language.

IN BEHAVIOUR.

I promise To Conduct myself in my spare time in such a way that other races will look with confidence and respect upon me and my people.

IN LITERATURE.

I promise To Use the N.A.P.A. book and Pamphlet plan. I promise to read more and to get my friends to read more, so that working together with N.A.P.A. all who have learnt to read will use this knowledge every day to gain more knowledge. In this way we shall bring a new progressive Africa nearer to us all.

IN LEADERSHIP.

I Promise To Guide my fellow men as wisely, as unselfishly and as faithfully as I myself wish to be guided, so that working together in a great alliance a progressive New Africa may arise.

Upon enrolment, membership certificates and enamel badges were to be issued without charge, no subscriptions being called for. To each enrolled member who is able to persuade 25 others to join the Alliance, Service Certificates were promised, it one read, moreover, that as the movement grows there will be

special opportunities for leadership, service and organising, and 'Leadership Certificates' will be awarded to members whose work for african progress justifies this honour. Provision was even made for the enrolment of illiterate associate members for whom it was indicated that the scheme included a plan for making them literate, whereupon they too would receive the badge.

Even admitting that a well-thought out scheme of this nature derives from a natural desire to divert african aspirations into dividend producing channels, through the promotion of literacy, it must be conceded that the initiative and enterprise shown have been employed to further african interests, and that in the degree to which the project succeeds, social dividends also will accrue.

It is the conviction of the writer that literacy, which so obviously implies assimilation of culture, will open more fully the doors of life, learning, leisure, literature and leadership". Whatever the results may prove to be, it seems not unlikely that this drive, if sustained, may be an effective agency in the fight against illiteracy and its concomitant evils.

The above data refer to southern africa only, and therefore reflect but one fraction of the enormous Native constituency of newspaper readers in africa, a constituency served in many vernaculars, as well as in lingua francas including English, French, Portuguese, Arabic and Swahili.

In the report of the City Librarian, Johannesburg, for the year ended 30th June, 1960, it is revealed that there were 7,056 Non-european registered borrowers; that the libraries for Non-Europeans were open every day except Sundays, one being at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, and one, the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library in Western Native Township. In addition two sub-branches in Orlando Native Township were open three days a week; school libraries had been established at 17 Non-european schools, and a hospital library service had been provided.

Concerning the last, one learnt from the previous annual report that the students of the Jan Lotmeyr School of Social Work take the books to the wards, and that in respect of that year 7,778 books had circulated in this way. In the first report quoted it was stated that:- "The fact that the Orlando sub-branches, wretchedly housed, and restricted in their hours of opening, issued 3,000 more books than the Winifred Holtby Library, shows the need for a properly equipped library in Orlando to serve a population now estimated at over 60,000" ..

The following figures, illustrating the distribution of books according to various classifications, as circulated by the Johannesburg Non-European Libraries in 1945/46, if of real interest:-

Bibliography	54
Philosophy	302
Religion	1,048
Sociology	1,485
Education	402
Philology	615
Science	1,052
Useful Arts	1,379
Fine Arts	144
Music	47
Amusements	186
Literature	1,495
History	1,47[illegible]
Travel	1,166
Biography	1,177
Afrikaans	,225
Afrikaans (children's) ..	1,390
English (children's) ..	16,[illegible]46
Fiction	9,365
African Languages	6,476
	49,[illegible]71

Imponderable as it certainly is, none could deny the magnitude of the culture change represented by the above analysis of circulation figures within this one municipality. These figures may occasion surprise. They also justify a sense of relief in the discovery that the life of urban Africans, however much it stands in vital need of amelioration along the whole front, is not merely composed of squalor and 'race'-conflict. Granted this, it points the way to a sound insurance policy for both 'races', namely the promotion of literacy and the consequential development

of adequate library facilities, urban and rural, centralized and mobile, for the African.

In the last chapter was mentioned the fact that in the countries covered by Lord Hailey in his stupendous survey ten years ago, it was calculated that approximately three and a half million african pupils were enrolled in schools of varying kinds, and it was estimated that if the data for the whole Continent were available today, we might well find that 15 million african children were at school. Be that as it may, it is not open to debate, that whatever emphasis may be given to the current cliché concerning mass education, in spite of the reluctance to vote funds or the lack of voluntary workers to make it effective, and in spite of the apparent lethargy of tribal elders to display the enthusiasm required, the strategic centre of mass literacy or of mass education, with all the implications that follow, remains unquestionably in the school.

Reputable publishers like Longmans Green and Company of Paternoster Row, who suffered so tragically in the Blitz, know this, and have done for a considerable time. In consequence they were prepared twenty five years ago to produce at a loss, knowing full well that such losses would be overtaken in the not very distant future, by a continent on the march. And so, from England, America, South Africa, and elsewhere, come fresh from the printing presses thousands upon thousands of books annually, which have been specially written for graded instruction in the African school system, with the result that each succeeding year sees a rapidly increasing number pass through the gateway of literacy to the discovery of new worlds beyond.

In April, 1947, an african reporter stepped aboard a Pan-American aircraft at the Palmietfontein Airport, on the first lap of his journey to Accra, 5,000 miles away, to report for the Bantu Press Newspapers on the Trade Conference held there under the auspices of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

In its issue of April 19, 1947, "Naledi ya Batswana" made the following comment:-

> Mr. Jeremiah Nhumbane, Assistant Editor of the Bantu World, has gone to Dakar to report for Bantu Press Newspapers on the Trade Union Conference to be held there under the auspices of the World Federation of Trade Unions.
>
> In view of the promise made by the Government that African Trade Unions are to be given statutory recognition, it was felt that air of Bantu Press representation at the Dakar Conference would be advantageous to our readers. For this reason the decision was taken to send an African reporter. Mr. Nhumbane will be the only African to go to Dakar from South Africa in the capacity of a news reporter.
>
> Although arrangements were made only after it was known that Trade Union delegates to the Conference had been granted permission to obtain passports, nevertheless co-operation and help were forth-coming from officials of both the Department of the Interior and the Department of Native Affairs. In view of the frequent colour bar critics, the help from these officials should not pass unrecorded".

We have already referred to African authorship, and to African journalists. That they are destined to play an increasingly prominent part in the production of reading material for their own people is obvious. Of special interest, however is the fact that after being educated at St. Peter's School, Rosettenville, and after working as a clerk on the mines, this Transvaal born Native who speaks and writes five Bantu languages, and who was appointed News Editor of the "Bantu World" at the age of 32, should have travelled 1,000 miles by air to report on the first All-Africa Trade Union Conference, and that he was given the necessary facilities by two Departments of the South African Government. Mr. Nhumbane has frequently contributed to South African newspapers, including the Sunday Times, the Star, and the Natal Daily News. It seems a far cry from the reading of his first vernacular primer at Rosettenville, to the reading by others of his press contributions, including his accounts of the Conference in French West Africa, but among other things literacy makes possible exactly that type of achievement, with its endless permutations of culture contacts and their derivatives.

.....

Since the above was written an interesting pamphlet on the South African Affairs Series (Society of the Friends of Africa) has been published under the title "Bantu Journalism in South Africa", the Sub-title "An Epic of African Achievement", its author being Eric Rosenthal

That much publicity has been given of recent years to what appear to the unitiated to be magical methods of teaching adults to read in a dramatically short time, is largely due to the tardy recognition stimulated by the war, of the crucial importance of literacy in any programme of social reform or other cause of national urgency. A further stimulus has been provided by the mass methods in education of totalitarian states, and the growing conviction that post-war criticism of colonial policy would be mitigated, and the rate of economic production would concurrently be accelerated, if we could but adopt similar methods.

The techniques employed are usually old methods re-discovered, such as the association of a picture with the word it represents, and with its initial letter, series being built up to enable the adult learner to acquire a useful reading vocabulary at a more rapid rate than the normal rate for juvenile beginners. Contributing to this result are usually the enthusiasm of the group, the individual attention given by the teacher, and the narrow range of reading material covered within the intensive course.

The results obtained by the Army Education Corps, and by the followers of Dr. Laubach in different parts of the world, clearly show that the interest of adults may be maintained and a certain degree of literacy be established in a very short time. But when the slogan used is to the effect that "each one should teach one", or ten, or twenty, as the enthusiast may decree - the assumption being that in this way the whole continent would be covered in a very short time - an unpredictable element is introduced, for the extension of the system then depends very largely upon the altruistic response of the learner to pass on his knowledge, and such a response has not yet been widely evoked in Africa. It may come. In the meantime the purpose of introducing this topic is two-fold. In the first place it

suggests that to the various agencies already described, which promote literacy in Africa, must be added the beginnings already made in different territories, to teach adults to read by means of specially prepared material and related technique in short concentrated courses.

In the second place one needs to remember that there is deliteracy as well as literacy to consider, and that we seem to have no data concerning the rate at which, in different conditions, Africans forget how to read. It is a matter for regret that when a census is taken at the end of each decade, this aspect is not examined.

It is incontestable, however, that the surest method of preventing the wastage due to deliteracy, is to ensure a longer school life for our African pupils, and to put within the reach of all who have learnt to read, of whatever age, an adequate supply of suitable, attractive and inexpensive reading matter.

Earlier in this chapter we quoted Professor Hancock regarding the need to be "aflame with a passion to wage total and unremitting war against poverty, disease and illiteracy", and it should not be necessary to add to what has been written in support of the urgency of this need, so far as illiteracy is concerned, nor to emphasize further the extensive manner in which the assimilation of our culture is being promoted through the literacy of millions of Africans. It should be realized, too, that illiteracy may produce devastating changes of culture by encouraging subversive forces to operate on the fertile seed-bed of ignorance, suffering and unrest.

There can be no doubt where the interests of all communities lie, when the choice is between literacy and illiteracy, whatever the ethnic or social group concerned.

Much has been done, but clearly we have far to go, and our sense of urgency should be greater than it is.

.....

Chapter XV.

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURE.

It has been said that there is no question which has influenced more critically the attitude of the Africans towards the governing power, than the manner in which it exercises its authority in the matter of land. This remains true even though changing economic conditions make it necessary to qualify the old dictum that "The Native question is a land question". It is obvious, moreover, that problems which derive from land alienation and control will be more acute in territories where the administration has secured land for European settlement or enterprise.

Professor Macmillan, speaking of the Africans' attitude towards the land, wrote:-

> "To them it is a commonplace, not a romantic dream to be realized in old age, that life and work normally depend upon and centre round gardens, crops and cattle. So it is with the Africans everywhere, and must long continue to be, whatever new factors may enter in to distract or widen their outlook.
>
> They have never given thought to niceties of tenure, and so long as there is land sufficient for their purposes and these purposes do not change, only a few are likely to do so".....
>
> ....."The effect of so-called 'contact' with civilized peoples is revolutionary above all where it upsets old ideas about the land, on which all else so much depends. In most parts land was sufficient for the purposes of the people, to enable them to rest it by frequent 'shifting', and to allow reserves for grazing, hunting, and fuel.
>
> In parts where the population was dense and cultivation relatively close, like the Mavirondo plain perhaps, land may have had scarcity value for generations; but even there it was worth no-one's while to appropriate more than was necessary to keep himself and his family. Until there was a real possibility of producing for outside markets, land was a means of sutsistence only, rarely or never used for profit. ABSOLUTE INDIVIDUAL OWNERSHIP WAS A CONCEPTION ALIEN TO AFRICAN THOUGHT AS IT OUGHT HAVE BEEN TO OUR OWN ANCESTORS." #

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine and compare systems of land tenure in the various African dependencies, but to illustrate our theme it may be permitted to refer to certain situations in the Union and elsewhere.

"Africa Emergent" (Faber and Faber) pp 96-99.

Lord Hailey pointed out that in the early history of the Cape Colony, when only Hottentots and nomad Bushmen were encountered, the available areas were so large and signs of settlement so lacking, that the need to define the legal position in regard to Native land did not arise.

> "When, towards the end of the eighteenth century", he wrote "the Boers advancing northwards first met the southward migration of the Bantu, neither side could justly claim to have any superior rights in land, to which indeed they were both newcomers. The question of right, however, was not one which occupied the government of the time; its first problem was to establish a frontier behind which it could contain its own difficult and unruly colonists, and thus avoid the military consequences which each forward thrust involved. As it was, each extension of the frontier could mean only the assumption by the colony of full rights over the newly occupied land, with an implied power of alienation where circumstances, political or otherwise, were held to require it". [1]

During the period 1835-47, had it been possible to adopt the Glenelg policy of separation, the Bantu, according to the same authority, would have been left in independent possession of their lands, but:-

> "the forward thrust of the farmers, encountering in its turn a forward movement of bantu, made this policy impracticable; annexation was a decision of necessity, and not of choice, and though throughout it was recognized that difficulties would inevitably ensue from the closer contact of the two races, nevertheless continued pressure from colonists drove the Cape Government forward; lands were allotted to meet the needs of farmers, until with successive extensions of territory it was found that the Kaffirs were too numerous or too strongly settled to permit of fresh expropriations". [2]

Dr. Lucy Mair pointed out much the same context that the fact that throughout the earlier half of the 19th Century, the native tribes were in a state of constant upheaval and flight before various despots, provided "a convenient legal argument for the assumption of all legal rights by the Crown". She recorded the following view also:-

> "Inevitably in a colony whose history has been largely dictated by the need to extend effective control over a European population constantly pushing forward into

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[1] op.cit.p.718.
[2] Ibid p.719.

> a native territory, deliberate administrative action with regard to the distribution of land has consisted in little more than the recognition of faits accomplis. The demand for a final delimitation was not put forward till 1901, and received satisfaction only in 1913".*

These excerpts have been made partly because of the natural tendency on the part of the Bantu in South Africa, erroneously to assume that the advent of the European meant the dispossession of their ancestors from land tribally held since the dawn of history, and partly because the quotations help towards the realization, that whatever may have been the subsequent variations in land tenure, delimitation, and control, from the first contact between the 'black and white 'races' land issues led to change of culture, a fact which becomes more apparent as we proceed. Of significance, too, is the recency of the legally established delimitation of areas, in which connection it may be well to point out that when Dr. Mair states that the demand for this "received satisfaction' in 1913, the last thing she means is that the result was received with satisfaction, or was satisfactory, for it is common knowledge that in the third of a century that has elapsed since then, the story is one of continued frustration from which the Union has reaped much embitterment and 'race'-conflict, in addition to a crop of poverty, suffering, delinquency, and urban squalor.

Customs regulating the use of land in Africa are very diverse and much has been written on customary systems of tenure and related social observances in different territories. Of certain basic features which are generally found, Lord Hailey wrote:-

> "Rights to land have the character of a privilege based on membership of a community, entitling every member to the beneficial use of the community lands, whether for grazing, hunting, collecting fruits, or cultivating, rather than of a right over specific areas identified with the holder".**

To the later development of the tendency to individualise

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* op.cit.
** op.cit.p.630.

such land rights, we will return later, and since it is outside our present scope to consider variations in customary tenure, it will be convenient to examine a few of the major developments since 1913, the date of the first real attempt to effect the delimitation of areas in the Union.

In 1944, Mrs. Margaret Ballinger, M.P., representative in the House of Assembly of the Natives in the Cape Eastern Circle, summarized the position in an interesting pamphlet with the challenging title 'All Union Politics are Native Affairs'. This is freely drawn upon in the following quotations:-

> 'When the Natives Land Act of 1913 was passed, the areas scheduled as open to African occupation or ownership, which consisted of all the existing native reserves communally owned and used on the basis of individual arable allotments and common grazing, and such land as had been acquired by Africans in freehold, ACCOMMODATED LESS THAN HALF THE AFRICAN POPULATION, which according to the 1911 census numbered 4,019,006.
>
> It was admitted by the framers of this Act, however, that this provision could hardly be regarded as adequate not only for the present but also for the legitimate future needs of the African people. This Act itself, therefore, provided for the appointment of a Commission to determine the extent and to define the locality of the additional areas to be released for this purpose.'
>
> This Commission reported in 1916 and recommended the release of an additional 8,000,000 morgen of land, which together with the scheduled areas amounting to approximately 1 ,000,000 morgen, would permit of the acquisition by or on behalf of Africans of some 18,000,000 morgen of land.
>
> The recommendations of this Commission, the Beaumont Commission, were not, however, acceptable either to the members of Parliament which had passed the Land Act or to the electorate which had given them the mandate to do so, both of these finding it easier to agree upon a policy of territorial separation of Europeans and Africans than upon the provision of the territorial foundation.... necessary to give the policy a semblance of reality'#

Mrs. Ballinger, having explained that local committees were then appointed to review the Commission's findings, and that this resulted in proposals which somewhat reduced, although largely following those of the Commission, continued:-

> "The details of these recommendations were no more acceptable than those of the Beaumont Commission... and it was not until 1936, when the 4th Clause of the Colour Bar Act was passed, that the fusion between the two

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pp 12-13

> major parties....that this issue was finally decided as part of what General Hertzog regarded as his comprehensive 'solution of the Native problem'.
> In that year under the Natives Trust and Land Act, legislative provision was made for the release of 7,250,000 morgen of land for acquisition by or on behalf of Africans. THIS WAS TO PROVIDE A FINAL SETTLEMENT OF ALL CLAIMS OF THE AFRICANS TO LAND IN SOUTH AFRICA"[£] (Capitals mine)

A new provision was that Government should acquire the released land on behalf of the African people, for which purpose General Hertzog promised allocations by Parliament of ten million pounds within five years, and as much thereafter as might be necessary to complete the purchase. This did not affect the right of the African to purchase land within the released areas. Nevertheless, stated Mrs. Pellinger:-

> "Cash tenancy however, remains illegal in released areas as elsewhere until such time as the land is transferred from European ownership. But such transfer was certain to be a very lengthy process if left to the ability of the African to purchase, a process so lengthy, in fact, as likely to nullify the declared intention of the Act.
> In the circumstances a Trust was constituted...which should not only acquire the released areas on behalf of the Government and thereby become the landlords of the African tenants....but should be responsible for advancing 'the interests of Natives in scheduled Native areas, released areas or on land held by or from the Trust, in the agricultural and pastoral and other industries' and generally for assisting and developing 'the material, moral and social well-being of Natives residing on land within the said areas or on land held by or from the Trust'"[¥]

One may pause here to remark how at all points government land policy has brought about radical changes, some of them devastating, in African culture. This was true as the frontiers were pushed north, true as annexation replaced treaty-policy, true as European settlements were interspersed among the Africans, and equally true under the 1913 delimitations as modified in more than a third of a century since. It must remain true also when so large a proportion of the African population has been reduced to the condition of a landless proletariat: when both in Parliament and out, European opposition has persistently

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[£] op.cit.p.13.
[¥] Ibid pp.13-14

thwarted and continues to thwart the implementation of the fuller scheme; when concurrently, both in Parliament and out, European opposition effectively denies the African a fitting place in industry, or stabilized residential rights in accordance with civilized standards, in relation to it or to his other employment in urban areas. Moreover the more liberal provisions of the Native Trust, in the degree to which they are effectively applied, must correspondingly influence African culture and lead to the assimilation of our own in situations where its desirability and urgent need cannot reasonably be denied.

The war naturally interfered with the allocation of grants for the purchase of land, concerning which the following statement appears in the Report of the Department of Native Affairs for the Year 1944-45. (U.G.44 of 1946):-

> "Although the large scale purchase of rural land by the South African Native Trust was discontinued during the war period, a number of properties were acquired either because the land was urgently needed for the settling of Natives, or because it was offered to the Trust at a reasonable figure and could be put to good use without undue delay." #

From the same source one finds that the areas purchased by the Trust since 1936, and their costs, are as follows:-

	Morgen.	Cost.
Transvaal Province....	1,165,956	£2,735,799
Cape Province.....	388,335	1,602,411
Natal Province.....	47,075	282,535
O.F.S. Province.....	53,020	445,961
Total...	1,654,386.	£5,066,306. ##

In addition the extent of Crown land vested in the Trust immediately upon the passing of the Act, was a total of 1,497,646 morgen, distributed as follows:-

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p.5.

ibid, p.6.

Transvaal Province	1,400,950 morgen.
Cape Province	50,747
Natal Province	45,949
O.F.S. Province	Nil.
	1,497,646.

Lest it should be thought from the above figures that the land problem, and consequentially the general economic political and social problems, have been disposed of through generous allocations, two quotations may be permitted.

Mrs. Ballinger wrote:-

> ..."in 1936, something less than the amount of land actually owned or occupied by little over half the Native population of 1916 was provided as the territorial foundation of a national home for a population which now numbered 6,500,000 and is estimated to be increasing by 2 per cent per annum" [1]

Not unrelated to this is the following excerpt from an earlier statement made by Professor Hutt:-

> "The Bantu races have been left with an area not more than one-fifth in extent of that which they possessed three generations ago". [2]

To the above I would add the further sobering fact that according to the preliminary 1946 Census figures quoted in the "Star" of August 2nd, 1947, the Native population of the Union is now 7,805,515.

In view of the above analysis, the following brief quotation from the Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the Year 1945-6 (U.G. 14-'47) may serve to emphasize the gravity of the situation:-

> "As has been repeatedly stressed elsewhere, most of the Native areas have fallen into a deplorable state. In many cases, it is a race with time, and some of the Reserves have reached a stage where a further ten years' delay will be fatal.
>
> The problem of over-population, over-stocking and erosion is so urgent that unless the efforts already commenced by the Department to arrest the deterioration of the soil, and to conserve the natural resources, are sustained and expanded on an extensive scale, much of the land will be ruined beyond recovery"..."and unless

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[1] Ibid p6.
[2] Op.cit.pp14-15.
[3] Article on "The Economic Position of the Bantu in S. Africa" in "Western Civilization and the Natives of S.Africa". p.237.

staff and material can be provided on a much bigger scale than hitherto, the Commission sees very little hope for the future of the Reserves". ✓

The connection between this and the tragic failure to secure anything approaching the extent of land thought essential many years ago, is forcibly illustrated by the terse extract given below from the Departmental White Paper published in February, 1937, entitled a "Statement of Land Policy under the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936":-

> "It is axiomatic, therefore, that a primary factor to be borne in mind in the acquisition of land by the Trust is that of affording relief, in so far as possible, to the existing locations so as to enable the necessary remedial measures to be instituted, and to afford them an opportunity to recover".

In other words the rehabilitation of the Native areas which, it is admitted, are deplorable, cannot be achieved unless the additional land required is secured to provide the opportunity for their recovery, but this deadlock continues relentlessly, and synchronously the rehabilitation of African life through alternative methods of economic and social advancement remains a pawn in the political game.

The extract quoted from the last Report of the Native Affairs Commission (U.G. 14-47) stressing the deplorable state of the Native areas, and the fact that delayed rehabilitation would soon prove fatal, merely re-affirmed in almost the same words what had been recorded by the Native Economic Commission 15 years before, when in their report (U.G. 22.1932 para 70) they found:-

> "throughout the Reserves a state of affairs in which, with few exceptions, the carrying capacity of the soil for both human beings and animals is definitely on the down grade; a state of affairs which, unless soon remedied, will, within one or at the outside two decades, create in the Union an appalling problem of Native poverty".

✓ Op.cit. p5.

It added trenchantly that "With the exception of a few favoured spots, a Native area can be distinguished at sight by its bareness". Considering that this authoritative evidence was given 15 years ago, its re-discovery by the Native Affairs Commission today appears to have been dealt with in an unduly restrained manner.

Reverting to the individualizing of land rights in the Union, it was estimated that by 1935 the Africans held in individual title 2,038,860 acres, so that a wedge of some magnitude had been driven into customary tenure. Lest it should be thought that this is essentially evil because frowned upon by so many anthropologists as the rending asunder of tribal fabric, it may be helpful to quote from the evidence led before the 1947 Native Laws Commission of Inquiry, by Mr. W.R. Norton, who has seen 28 years service in the Agricultural Branch of the Native Affairs Department, during 8 of which he has held the post of Assistant Director of Native Agriculture. His whole document consists of frank stock-taking, and is alarmingly revealing. It will be referred to again. Paragraph 47 reads:-

> "It has been said that the rights of the Reserve Native are his most cherished possession, and that it would be cruel to deprive him of them.
>
> It is maintained that it is clear to anyone who studies the position that these rights are becoming, for an increasing number, something which has to be paid for in wasted labour, in loss of stock, in absence from home, rather than something it pays to possess.
>
> What was substance has largely become shadow and nothing but harm can result from perpetuating a system whereby rights within a limited area are indiscriminately shared by an unlimited number of persons".
>
> (underlining his)

Mr Norton then makes various suggestions of value to mitigate the evils that would otherwise accompany large-scale dispossession, but at the end of his evidence he returns to what he very evidently regards as the crux of the matter. Having referred to the Native Affairs Department Rehabilitation Scheme, the terms of which deal comprehensively with the

technical side of the problem, he adds:-

> "In the writer's opinion, little provision is made for determining and eliminating basic causes of today's conditions. The immediate causes of the destruction that has taken place are over-stocking, bad cultural practices, and an entire lack of any planned system of management. It is submitted that the basic cause is the failure to adapt the concepts governing Native policy, particularly regarding land tenure, to changing conditions, resulting in congestion of human and stock population, increasing absenteeism due to increasing poverty, and rising discontent and suspicion of the white Man's good faith"# (underlining chiefly his)

his concluding lines I take the liberty of reproducing in capitals:-

> "THE OLD CONCEPT OF THE NATIVE LIVING IN HIS TRADITIONAL SURROUNDINGS, WITH HIS LAND AND HIS FLOCKS AND HERDS, NOW AND THEN GOING OUT TO WORK TO SUPPLEMENT HIS EARNINGS FROM THE LAND, HAS PERSISTED IN THE FACE OF THE MOST OVER-WHELMING EVIDENCE THAT THIS CONCEPT IS NOT ONLY NO LONGER PRACTICABLE, BUT THAT IT HAS BECOME A MENACE". //.

However repellent the idea, one is driven irresistibly to the conclusion that a drastic remedy is called for, no less than the thorough-going assimilation by the African, under our guidance and with our goodwill, of more of "our" culture, since remedial measures "along his own lines" simply do not exist. How could they? Tribal patterns for a detribalized society belong to the realm of fantasy. Hence they provide occupation for many a politician.

Under the 'Glen Grey Act' of 1894 the grant of small arable holdings to Africans, on a quitrent tenure basis, was reduced to a manageable system, this being extended from the Ciskei to the Transkeian Territories in 1896. Of this system one reads:-

> "Arable land of approximately 4 morgen are granted to Natives subject to payment of a quitrent at the rate of 3/- a morgen, with a minimum of 15/- a lot. Half-morgen building lots may also be granted at a quitrent

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op.cit. para 57.
// Ibid.

of 2/6 per lot.

"h titles provide for forfeiture on certain conditions, chief amongst which is failure to pay quintrent or beneficially to occupy the land for two years. Succession is governed by Regulations based on the Native laws of succession. Transfer otherwise than to an heir is subject to the approval of the Chief Magistrate". /

One learns from the same source that in 1935 70,000 titles had been registered in the Chief Magistrate's Office, Umtata. This supplies further concrete evidence regarding cultural convergence, in what has generally been considered a sacred and inviolable tribal issue resting on a most sensitive anthropological hair-trigger, the disturbance of which would involve all communities in a catastrophic explosion.

Of Southern Rhodesia, Lord Hailey wrote in the following terms:-

"The Union...while admitting that the native should have the means of achieving a suitable development in his own areas, has by the restriction of those areas placed a limit on the means available to the native for improving his condition in them: Southern Rhodesia has not only set aside a relatively greater area for present and future native occupation, but by the provision of purchase areas has made a fuller recognition of the needs of the individual native who has reached an economic or social stage in which residence under tribal conditions is no longer desirable". //

For that self-governing Territory also, therefore, the individualization of African land has long been accepted in principle, and during many years there has been vigorous development in the Native Purchase Areas.

In a statement issued by Mr. A.C. Jennings, in his article on "Land Apportionment in Southern Rhodesia", in 1935, the unassigned area left for future determination, was given as nearly 18 million acres, two-thirds of which, it was expected, might be taken up by the Natives. Concerning this further

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/ Kenyon.op.cit.p.18.
// Op.cit.p.736.
/// "Journal of the Royal African Society" Vol. XXXI. 1935.

acreage large Lord Hailey said:-

> "Large areas of it are infested with tsetse and other parts are deficient in water. The scope which the scheme provides for possible addition to the 'native area' is, therefore, not so large as might at first appear".#

From the results of recent experimental research and field work in East Africa, however, it would seem reasonably probable that vast areas unpopulated today because of the 'fly', may soon be cleared and carry large populations tomorrow. In Southern Rhodesia, the development and conservation of water supplies may before long contribute to this desirable end, but the Report of the Bledisloe Commission says, that even if the necessary water supplies be developed the unassigned land likely to be occupied by Natives, is capable of providing only 20,000 holdings, in which context Mr. C.W. Greenidge claims that the landless Africans in this Territory need 70,000 holdings or 3½ times the area allocated to them.##

In a later section a brief account will be given of some of the admirable work being done in connection with agricultural training and the rehabilitation of the reserves. In the meantime sufficient has been recorded to show that in Southern Rhodesia, as in the Union, customary land tenure has been vitally affected by European contact and administration. For our last illustration of this type of development we turn to Uganda.

In the Uganda Protectorate two tenure systems corresponded to two social systems, one aristocratic and one democratic. In the former, one found a dominant group and a subservient peasantry, such conditions usually obtaining wherever there was Bahima### influence.

Some form of tribute would be exacted, either in services or food. This tribute, known as 'busulu' was gradually

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Op.cit.p.737

"Land Hunger in the Colonies" (article in 'European Colonial Essays") p.192.

Bahima are descendants of Hamitic invaders.

transformed into a money rent due to a private landowner.

When the Uganda Agreement of 1900 was negotiated by Sir Harry Johnston, the claims of chiefs, then in office in Uganda, received primary consideration. They were met by documentary titles guaranteed by the British Government, over what are known as the 'Mailo' lands. In Thomas and Scott's "Uganda" we read:-

> "Neither party seems clearly to have realized the revolutionary changes which were thus being initiated, and the chiefs, ignorant of European conceptions of land as an article of purchase and sale, did but assume that by this Agreement they were stabilizing existing conditions in their own favour. But the result of this settlement was that, whereas under the old regime the usufruct of land - in fact the sum of the food and services provided by its occupiers - was available to the ruling authority, the king, or the recompense of those who were doing the King's work in the Government of the country, under the new dispensation these land-holdings were recognized as the private possession of those chiefs, great or small, who happened to be in the van at the time of the Uganda Agreement"....."By succession and sale these Mailo lands now became transmissible to other natives who might not be attracted to, or might be unfitted for, the duties of chieftainship".#

As an indication of the far-reaching cultural changes in Uganda which derive directly from this Agreement, in its application to individual, as opposed to communal ownership, one may quote from a letter received by the writer from the Survey, Land and Mines Department, Entebbe, dated 1st April, 1947, in which the Land Officer, states inter alia:-

> ....."although all owners of mailo land should register their land in order that a Certificate of Title giving a guaranteed title to their land may be issued, it is estimated that only one in five landowners have actually registered. The number of registered owners is some 50,0 ("....'Vigorous steps are being taken and have been approved by Government, to increase the number of African surveyors to tackle this work, and the Survey Training School is hoping to recruit about 24 students per annum for the next four years to undergo training in surveying.
>
> The main task of the surveyors will be to survey

Op.cit.pp 100-1.

mailo estates and subdivisions, and we hope in twenty years time to have overtaken the arrears.
The Baganda are being coached by propaganda and talks to realise the importance of registration to enable a good title to be issued for their land, and when we are in a better position to undertake these surveys more readily, this propaganda will, I hope, be intensified".

Reviewing the position, therefore, one finds astride the equator, in a country which was proclaimed a Protectorate as recently as 1893, that in consequence of a treaty with the Baganda made seven years later, there would now appear to be a quarter of a million individual landowners; that fragmentation has proceeded at such a rate that it has long since out- aced surveying and registration; that approximately 100 Africans are to be trained as surveyors to cope with the problem, and that large sums of money pass annually as rent from African tenant to African landowner.

Of the other principal areas in Uganda subject to an aristocratic system, i.e. in Toro, Ankole, Bunyoro and Busoga, Thomas and Scott write:-

...."the British Government has made it clear that it is an essential part of its policy that 'busulu' accruing from the occupiers of all land throughout the Protectorate, except in Buganda, shall eventually be 'nationalized', and held due as part of their obligations to native government of the area in which they live, and expended in support of chiefs in office and generally in the maintenance of that government.
The native governments of the extra-Buganda provinces will thus receive a permanent endowment for their upkeep'... #

This by no means disposes of all direct cultural changes due to altered land tenure, and does not touch in any way the innumerable indirect changes, some of which are of real significance, but it may help to dispose of the possible thought that in the very heart of Africa, the African is immune from such changes. It accordingly leaves us free to turn to the use that is made of the land, and to our influence upon it.

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Op.cit.p.101.

The last available report of the Native Affairs Department of South Africa (U.G. 4[illegible] of 1946), an interesting volume of 124 pages, devotes approximately 100 of these to agriculture, (if one include under this classification, in addition to 7 agricultural specialist reports, the sections dealing with cognate activities such as dipping, dam contruction, irrigation schemes, and also related paragraphs from the Chief Native Commissioners' reports). This proportion is significant since the same document devotes half a page of its main report to education, and approximately one page to health matters, and possibly the same amount of space for these services in scattered references throughout the remainder of the report. Hence it clearly emerges that under the Director of Native Agriculture and his staff, the promotion of agriculture among the African rural population is regarded as the major social responsibility of the Department.

This position would not have arisen had various governments accepted the point of view which used to be emphasized, but which has significantly receded in the face of contrary evidence, to the effect that out of his hard won battle with a hostile environment the African had developed sound techniques, because of which we could teach him nothing in agriculture, but could learn much from him.

Very different from this is the following excerpt from his despatch No.44 of 1946 on the agrarian situation in Kenya, addressed to the Secretary of State by Sir Philip Mitchell:-

> "An ignorant man and his wife with a hoe are a totally inadequate foundation for an enlightened state of society, a high standard of living and elaborate social services; unless an alternative foundation capable of bearing these things can be devised or where it exists can be expanded, a great deal of modern talking and writing about colonial development and welfare is moonshine" $

In the same context the Governor wrote:-

> "I feel justified in saying now that I believe firmly that research will disclose that primary production African peasants in the manner in which it has hitherto

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$ Quoted in the "Star" May 15, 1947.

> developed is already on the decline, and that, in fact, far from there being any possibility of its substantial increase, populations working under that system are going to find increasing difficulty in supporting themselves even at their present level .

He spoke also of two alternatives confronting the Africans in Kenya, alternatives which are present with stark realism elsewhere:- "either they eat their surplus stock or their surplus stock eat them".

One further quotation must suffice, although abundant evidence is available to support the contention that, in general, Native agricultural methods combined with other factors are threatening national disaster.

Dr. Rita Hinden, Secretary of the Fabian Colonial Bureau, and author of "Plan for Africa", in a recent article in the "New Statesman and Nation", summed up the position as follows:-

> "Many of us have inveighed against the injustice done to Africans by European encroachment on their land and European possession of their valuable minerals, but we have always known that even if every single European left Africa, the poverty of the mass of African peasants, slogging away at their primitive subsistence farming, would remain untouched. Almost all the work of agricultural experts has been directed towards improving methods within the existing framework of individual farming; and they themselves have been crushed under the hopelessness of the task". #

As a postscript to the view that African agricultural technique is primitive, and under modern conditions has no survival value, I would merely refer to the contrast between the results of such technique visible in the sand-veld reserves of Southern Rhodesia, and those on contiguous plots cultivated by African demonstrators. When some years ago Miss Margery Perham completed a tour of such plots in company with the writer and the present Director of Native Agriculture, Mr. E.A. Alvord, she said "There is only one word by which to describe the contrast - dramatic". To this very successful work in

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Quoted in "African Affairs", Vol. 46-No.184-Jul. 1947.

Southern Rhodesia we shall return. It is referred to at this stage merely to illustrate the fact that in agriculture, as in health, education, music, art, recreation, government, and other basic activities, the assimilation of much of "our" culture by the African is essentially desirable. This does not imply that our contacts with the African have proved uniformly beneficial for his agriculture. Thus many years ago the Native Economic Commission criticized in no uncertain terms the Transkeian small-holders' system to which we referred earlier. They maintained that the system could continue only on a very low economic level; that the holdings were too small to make agriculture a full-time job for those who had the necessary energy, desire and skill to make it so; that the system made no provision to make possible development to meet the needs of such men, and that it offered little scope for differentiation of function. They went so far as to maintain that "there is reasonable ground for doubt whether the standard of agriculture in the Reserves would have remained so uniformly low if more scope had been given to individual Natives to secure and work larger lands", and in consequence they proposed that the prevailing limitations on land-holding in the Reserves should be relaxed to encourage the formation of a society in which there would be place for true farmers as well as for a healthy division of labour. Of this finding which is more pertinent today than when the Commission reported in 1932, Mrs. Ballinger wrote:-

> ...."the issue of whether Native Reserves are to be areas of land settlement as the recommendations of the Commission imply, or reservoirs of cheap labour which is what the Glen Grey system was specifically designed to effect, is still a very live one with the odds still strongly in favour of the cheap labour policy.
>
> Undoubtedly the force which has militated against a policy of scientific land settlement in the Reserves based on the work of full time agriculturalists is the dependence of the present labour pattern in the mining industry on cheap labour drawn from and subsidised by the Reserves.

> But the immediate advantages which the mining industry and through the mining industry, the country derives from this pattern will soon have to be evaluated against the loss which the community as a whole stands to suffer by the progressive deterioration of both land and people which it involves, and the failure to develop on the basis of a cheap labour policy that purchasing power upon which the development of our other economic activities, agriculture and manufacturing industry depend". #

Relevant to, and revealing in this connection is the evidence reported in the "Star", three years later (27.2.47) as led by Mr.J.B. Clarke and Mr. S.C. Thompson, on behalf of the Gold Producers' Committee, to the Native Laws Commission. According to the newspaper report the former claimed that in the betterment areas demonstrators were making a decent living on 10 acres, and that, with proper development, the Transkei could carry three times its present population, whilst the latter advised that if small stock were eliminated the Transkei could support twice its present number of cattle and a larger population. These arguments in favour of the status quo strengthen Mrs. Ballinger's contention. Their validity will be tested a little later against the more convincing evidence of an experienced expert.

Reverting to our more immediate question, Lord Hailey wrote:-

> "Native agriculture generally took the form of the shifting cultivation of subsistence crops, and the problems which arise today are mainly due to the changes forced on this system by the restriction of the land, the stabilization of populations, the absence of large sections of the male population for long periods to earn wages, and the extension of cultivation in order to produce crops for sale". ##

He spoke of the wasteful burning of forest lands, exploitation practised so widely by the African that in order to grow millet all high forest has entirely disappeared from large areas. He referred to the continual removal of villages which shifting cultivation

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Op.cit.30.
Op.cit. p.879.

necessitated, and to the fact that the impoverishment of the land through faulty methods of cultivation produced further migrations, and discouraged the return of men who, having grown accustomed to wage-earning, were unwilling to resume the drudgery attached to unprofitable agricultural effort. Examples of this kind strongly support the need for an altered economy and new techniques, in which connection one reads that:-

> "There is little evidence to suggest that the African cultivator is so conservative as to cling to methods which are obviously unwise or to resist the introduction of new crops. His own methods have been evolved and adapted to suit local conditions and his social habits have formed themselves around them. The conception of agriculture as a profitable industry is new to a people who are accustomed to look on it as primarily a struggle to wrest sufficient food from the soil to keep themselves and their families alive. But systems of shifting cultivation have not always resulted in plenty, and periods of hunger are frequent events in the life of native tribes". ♯

With reference to the last sentence in the above quotation, a further citation from Sir Philip Mitchell's despatch, already quoted, is corroborative, for he writes:-

> "I cannot recollect any time during the 34 years I have been in East Africa when there have not been serious local shortages of food amounting in some cases to famine. Agriculture of this kind, unsupported by other economic resources such as wage earning or trade is taxed to the utmost to support in food those who depend upon it. SO FAR FROM THIS STATE OF AGRICULTURAL SLUM EXISTENCE BEING DUE TO WHITE SETTLEMENT, THE PRESENT DAY THE ONLY KNOWN PALLIATIVE IS WHITE SETTLEMENT, INDUSTRY OR MINING - THAT IS TO SAY IMMIGRANT ENTERPRISE OF ONE KIND OR ANOTHER" ♯♯ (Capitals mine)

In other words, according to the Governor of Kenya, a radical change in the basic native economy is urgently needed, if disaster is to be avoided, and such a change can come from European influence only.

It seems obvious that illustrations of consequential and beneficial change would include the maintenance of soil fertility

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♯ Ibid p.886.
♯♯ Op.cit.

without recourse to shifting cultivation, the scientific rotation of crops, green manuring, the development of mixed farming, agricultural training in vocational courses and through extension work among adults, the establishment of agricultural settlements as well as of economic smallholdings, the control of plant pests and diseases, the improvement and conservation of pasture land, the culling of inferior stock, the extension of dipping and fencing, the improvement of stock and the training of Africans in animal husbandry, the development of water supplies and of irrigation schemes, the tackling of erosion and the reclamation of soil, the encouragement, where desirable, of cash crops, and the revision of land tenure and of legislation concerning some of these matters, as well as of the use of co-operative societies and of controlled marketing.

In one African territory after another, these changes, the result of long experience modified by research, have been introduced by the European, most changes contributing towards rural betterment, by a mitigation of such evils as 'one man one plot', the deterrent effect of the chief's power to [illegible] confiscate the fruits of enterprise, overstocking due to communal grazing and to the accumulation of stock owing to this traditional form of saving as well as to the 'cattle cult', and to lobola, consequential erosion, and nutritional deficiencies aggravated by plant and animal disease.

It should hardly be necessary, therefore, to plead further the desirability of the assimilation by the African rural communities of our agricultural knowledge and skills.

Godfrey and Monica Wilson, having referred to the export by Tanganyika Africans of cotton, coffee, rice, ghee, hides, beeswax, copra, groundnuts, and tobacco, apart from the considerable quantities of food made available for the local market, write:-

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[illegible]

"The increased production in Tanganyika is made possible by improvements in agricultural technique. The Nyakyusa supply not only labour to the adjacent Lupa goldfields but also food, and they sell their rice and coffee on the world market."

A substantial proportion of their able bodied men is always away, but the use of the plough, and the combination of coffee with bananas, which gives a double crop with comparatively little extra labour, has made it possible for those who remain to increase their production sufficiently to provide food for everyone and a balance for export".*

Of Nyasaland they speak less optimistically:-

"Erosion is a major problem in Central Africa. Nyasaland is said to be incapable of supporting one half of the population that it supported a hundred years ago, owing to deforestation and erosion".
....."Not only has competition between European and African for land reduced the areas available for African cultivation, but the demand for export crops and the introduction of the plough has increased the areas cultivated, and reduced the periods allowed for recovery. Thus export crops, while temporarily relieving the poverty of the country, may if not carefully controlled, eventually increase it".*1

Of cattle-breeding among the Pondo they say that improvements in technique are rendered difficult by magical associations. Thus:-

"In case of sickness believed to be sent by the ancestors, the bellow of an ox or cow, as it is killed ritually, is held to be essential to the recovery of the patient, for the bellowing summons the ancestral spirits to the feast. Now since a scrub bull bellows as well as a good milker or a strong draft-ox, and more scrub cattle than well-bred beasts can survive on scanty pasture, improvement in the quality of the stock is hindered".*2

Even though the conflict of values in such cases be a real one, there can be little doubt regarding the ultimate outcome which is already foreshadowed by the spreading up of stock for local sales and export.

In the Memorandum on Colonial Agricultural Policy (C.M. ...9) of January, 1945, three main objectives are defined, which must be taken into account and reconciled so far as possible in a coherent agricultural policy. They are:-

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* Op.cit.
*1. Ibid. p 20
*2. Ibid p 94

"(1) the preservation and improvement of the productive powers of the basic natural resources of the country;
(2) the social welfare and advancement of the peoples; and
(3) the economic use of the land and labour available, that is their use in such ways as will produce the maximum return in real value".*

Then follows the application to assist in the attainment of these objectives. It would not be difficult to illustrate from this, from the 1945 White Paper on Agricultural Policy, recently published by the South African Government, or from parallel documents on post-war agricultural planning in the various African territories,** that for their successful implementation, all depend very largely upon the convergence of African culture towards European, convergence at a greatly accelerated rate. Nor would it be difficult to show, by analysis, that the courses of agricultural training for Africans at different levels, ranging from curricula for the forest ranger or demonstrator, to those for the diploma student and to degree work for the graduate, are all based upon the same assumption. Similarly one could turn to the Reports of the Native Affairs Department, to similar blue-books from many parts of Africa, and to the Hansard of the Transkeian Territories, for an embarrassing wealth of material to show how intensive is the effort on the part of many enthusiastic specialists, to ameliorate the lot of the indigenous rural population, by convincing their agriculturists through demonstrations, visual education, special courses, and other propaganda, that their only salvation lies in the adoption of different attitudes and techniques.

For our purposes, however, it may be more helpful to examine briefly three very different situations from the Union, Southern Rhodesia, and East Africa respectively, the first to show how desperate is the position in one of the most favourable South African areas, in spite of better agricultural programmes, the second

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* para 8.
** e.g. The ninth Report of the Social and Economic Planning Council, on "The Native Reserves and their Place in the Economy of the Union of South Africa".

to illustrate the magnitude of the response to guided development in a country where land provision is relatively more generous, and problems deriving from industrialization and political determinism are less complex, and third, by way of contrast, to show how an entirely new enterprise may serve as a prototype for others in various parts of the Continent. Although so different in conception, all are alike in the conviction they exemplify that to rehabilitate the reserves, to reconstruct the economy of the rural African population, and generally to promote the social welfare and advancement of the people, although a long-term view is essential and although increasing numbers must be provided for in industry, there is an immediate need of the utmost urgency to make an all-out effort to pass on to the African the benefits of 'European' knowledge and technique in agriculture.

Earlier reference has been made to the evidence recently led by Mr. R. Horton, the Assistant Director of Native Agriculture for the Union, to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry. Further excerpts will now be made.

In his introduction he made the frank admission that:-

> The agricultural staff has long realised that the results it has achieved bear little relation to the time, energy and money expended.
>
> Only in a few betterment areas can it claim to have done more than slow the rate of destruction of the soil, with its end products of poverty, malnutrition and discontent (1)

Later, when reporting specifically on conditions in the Ciskei, he said:-

> "Over perhaps 10% of the total area, the incidence of soil erosion may be described as slight; over 50% as bad: over the balance, as nothing less than terrifying". ..."the average extent of arable land per holder is 4.8 acres. But there are 14,000 families without arable land, and it is estimated that at least 20% of all arable land should be withdrawn from cultivation forthwith if it is to be saved from total destruction by erosion". (2) (underlining ours)

In the same strain in different context he wrote:-

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(1) Op.cit. 1. para 2.
(2) paras 4-5.

"Nearly one third of all families have no arable land. The average land-holder works what is, under the climatic conditions obtaining in the Ciskei, a sub-economic unit of land. He owns what is, because of its poor quality, sub-economic number of stock, above him is a relatively small favoured class of big owners: it is known that there are individuals who own 100 head of cattle and as many as a thousand sheep. Below him are those who own nothing" (1)

In connection with stock he pointed out that before the drought the stock population was 460,000 cattle units, as against the estimated carrying capacity of 234,000 units, adding that

"in the absence of general compulsory livestock restrictions it will rise again as fast as the stock can breed and the Natives can find money to buy"..."The quality and productivity of stock generally are exceedingly low, and until nutritional and managerial standards can be raised significant improvement is not possible"(2)

(underlining ours)

According to Mr. Norton, the two prime facts which, thus far, emerge are:-

"(a) That nearly 30% of families are landless in spite of the fact that the average unit of arable land is sub-economic and that at least 20% of all arable land is not suitable for cultivation, and

(b) That over 60% of families own 5 or less cattle including 29% who own none; in spite of the fact that the reserves are carrying double the number of stock that should be run if deterioration is not to take place. (3)

(underlining ours)

Even this depressing picture remains incomplete, for he showed also that the instability was accentuated by the fact that stock ownership was constantly changing, and that some men with land have no stock whilst others with stock have no land.

A third prime fact he considers to be the following, which, also, he underlines:-

"a system under which migrant labour has to form the main source of income is irreconcilable with any system that can be devised to safeguard the soil and to maintain a stable rural society" (4)

This important witness affirms that it is necessary to set

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(1) para 18.
(2) paras 7 & 8
Ibid. (3) para 19
(4) para 25.

which drives the African out of these territories; that when he is away his land, being neglected becomes less productive; that nevertheless he buys more stock when he can, the mortality of which rises, and that this is a vicious circle "which he alone cannot or will not break".

After his 20 years of service he is driven to the admission that:-

> "The writer is unable to discern a single dynamic factor operating in the social and economic structure of the Native Reserves, save possibly an awakening political consciousness.
>
> On the contrary, numerous processes of destruction are at work, and the physical and moral well-being of the average man are collapsing, and his land is literally disappearing beneath his feet"....."If the foregoing arguments are accepted, it must then be admitted that visual and factual evidence tends to show that all economic and social trends in the Ciskeian reserves are retrogressive, and that migrant labour is as the same time a cause and a result of this retrogression"(1)
>
> (underlining his)

In his suggestions for a new approach to the whole question of land tenure Mr. Norton advocates amending legislation to safeguard the soil through more beneficial occupation, the restriction of stock to carrying capacity and also by limiting the rights to own stock, the ensuring that registered lots are limited to sites on suitable soil, the amendment of the present provision that the use of the commonage is open to all tax-payers, and the introduction of measures to enable landowners to possess an economic unit of land and stock.

He faces the far-reaching implication that:-

> "This means that all persons who cannot be accommodated as landholders on this basis must lose rights to own stock and work land" (2)

This has naturally been regarded by many as too revolutionary, but Norton claims that it would merely regularise what is becoming a de facto position. Thus he writes:-

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(1) paras 22 & 24.
(2) para 33.

> "It has been shown that nearly 30% of all families are today landless and stockless. Without planning this proportion must increase as population increases, and the uncontrolled drift to the towns must grow. Why not attempt to bring order out of chaos." (1).

After this unequivocal proposal, intended to assist the stabilizing of a population in the reserves as well as of others in industry, both of which would obviously require a strongly incentive than obtains today, he offers suggestions towards implementation. They include the following:- the replacement of Proclamation 302, the taking of decisions by a planning committee regarding the division of locations into an appropriate number of economic units with arable lands and grazing rights, the committee to lay down the system of land-usuage to be practised: the addition of arable lots, as they fall vacant through death of other cause, to other existing lots until the economic number is arrived at; the determination of the number of stock for each lot until the assessed carrying capacity is reached: the insertion in each title or certificate of occupation of a beneficial occupation clause, prescribing usage in accordance with the system of the planning committee; the occupation of land in the first instance on a probationary basis, subject to ejectment for contravention of the last provision; the granting to approved probationers of suitable educational standard of the right to sell their holdings if they so desire, at the end of their probation, or to devise them by will instead of by Native law and custom; the issuing of authority to progressive peasants to buy a second holding should they so desire, if, and when, opportunity arose, and concurrently of authority for urban dwellers to buy rural holdings if they so desire, so that no one may feel permanently barred from acquiring land rights.(2)

At this point I would submit, that as in the case of the earlier ones, everyone of these suggestions depends for its fulfilment upon revolutionary changes in, or departure from

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(1) para 35.

(2) vide Ibid para 43.

tribal culture; that all are based upon the individualization of land, a conception entirely foreign to the African a few years ago, and upon the economic self-sufficiency of a stabilized Native peasantry, a conception still foreign or repugnant to many of our politicians, to the mining magnates who wish to offload legimate costs, capital and recurrent, on to a pauper peasantry, and to the European farming community who are still firmly wedded to the faith that the reserves must remain sufficiently unproductive to ensure that they send many of the menfolk to supplement their bare subsistence from the meagre wages, still beyond the undesirable influence of the trade unions movement, paid by the farmers.

To this I would add the view that in the Ciskei and in the Transkeian Territories, even though, unfortunately, there may be only too much substance in Mrs. Ballinger's contention quoted a little earlier, that the Glen Grey System was designed to effect labour reservoirs rather than areas of land settlement, liberal administration and technical direction of a very high order have contributed as nothing else could, towards the amelioration of the semi-subsistence system of the peasants, and within the limitations, imposed, have through the approved pattern of local government, kept 'race'-conflict within bounds, and erected a few bulwarks against possible anarchy: that the agricultural officers have not been more effective reflects no discredit upon their endeavours, but has been due to causes, mostly political, operating upon a demographic, territorial and social situation well beyond their powers to control.

.....

It is frequently contended that owing to the narrowing of markets due to a progressive demand for self-sufficiency in importing countries, and because of periodic depressions, and the granting of generous subsidies to farming communities in consequence, European agriculture constitutes a burden on the State, a burden which is accordingly carried by other enterprises and by other taxpayers. In South Africa the Native cultivator does not produce export crops, and as we have seen, even in the most favourable areas he can no longer live on even a bare subsistence level, from

the produce of his meagre holding and must accordingly enter the labour market. Food for his home consumption is not subsidized; it will be drastically affected by drought or pest; his yield per acre will be considerably less than that of the European farmer with his better technique, implements and fertilizer, and, if he should occasionally have a little surplus to dispose of to meet a pressing need, he cannot command the same prices.

Typical of many such news items was the Press notice in the Sunday Times, of December 15th., 1946, which carried in large headlines:- "Famine may overtake 1,500,000 Natives in Transvaal". In the statement which followed one read that:-

> "No rain by the end of December means the end of hope for Natives in the mountains and the highveld generally"

One also read the somewhat gratuitous comment that:-

> "In spite of the intensive propaganda of the Native Affairs Department to induce the natives to store their grain, the high prices offered by dealers proved too great a temptation and already considerable numbers of natives in their own areas are finding themselves forced to buy mealie meal from the traders to whom they sold their grain".

The item concluded with a report that the cattle were weakening and falling off rapidly in condition, as day after day the sun scorched the pastures.

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the reasons why these Africans sold rather than stored their grain, and the incident is mentioned merely to show how tenuous is their hold upon security from the land, and how great is their immediate need for guidance towards greater security, both on the part of those who could be provided with economic units and on the part of those who could not.

From many independent observers of international repute, have come most generous tributes to the work of the Director of Native Agriculture and his staff in Southern Rhodesia, from whose Report for Year, 1946 (an advance copy), I will now quote,

the document being of special interest in that it covers the 20th year of supervised rural development work among Africans in that Territory, and therefore deals in retrospect with the advances made.

The European technical staff, which numbered 46 in 1946, and is expected to reach 63 in 1947, includes under the administration of the Director of Native Agriculture, a senior Agriculturist and others, a Senior Land Inspector and others, Provincial Agricultural Officers, Animal Husbandry Officers, Land Development Officers, a Soil Conservation Officer, and an Irrigation Supervisor.

The African staff has grown to the following establishment, a fact of a very real significance in the furtherance of this work:- 5 Instructors, 3 Livestock Supervisors, 38 District Supervisors, 128 Agricultural Demonstrators, 77 Community Demonstrators, 7 Irrigation Demonstrators, 21 Soil Conservation Demonstrators, 28 Forestry Demonstrators, and 11 Livestock Demonstrators. Also employed is a large number of graded Overseers for the supervision of labour engaged on various forms of development work.

Had the record stopped there, it would have made abundantly clear to those versed in the ruthless Treasury control of departmental expenditure on development services, of the significance of which the Treasury is sublimely ignorant, how very effective had been the impact upon the African of the European agricultural specialist in Southern Rhodesia, an impact in no way inconsistent with the training and employment of large numbers of African officers to make it more effective. However, the record by no means stops there.

In respect of the agricultural year 1945-46, the following statistical details of demonstration work are recorded:-

Number of Demonstration Centres	103.
Number of Demonstration Plots	5,293
Total Acres in Plots	3,666
Total Yield in Bags from Plots	37,604
Average per acre	10.2
Times greater than from Native land	9.2
Average per Acre from ordinary Native land ..	1.1
Visits made by Demonstrators	3,968
Lectures given by Demonstrators	2,642
Number of Livestock treated by Demonstrators.	78,634.

Fully to appreciate the significance of the above, one needs to visit these thousands of demonstration plots in the decomposed granite sand-veld soil, and to see them standing out like green islands amid a veritable desert of the surrounding Native areas. Alongside one sees stunted maize, and in demonstration plots sharing the same soil and climatic conditions and planted to the same seed, one can just touch the top of a plant with a walking stick. It leaves very little of the argument of those who would say in this connection also, that African ways should be retained.

Before introducing crop rotation to replace shifting cultivation, it was necessary for Mr. Alvord, the Director, to carry conviction regarding the use of kraal manure and better methods of tillage. In consequence, he was known at one time as "the teacher of manure", but he achieved in a few years what Dr. Tothill, then Director of Agriculture, Uganda, and now Principal of Gordon College, Khartoum had previously considered might take a hundred years. Of the rotation introduced, Alvord wrote:- "We now have irrefutable proof that it does build up fertility in sand-veld soils to approximately double that of virgin sand-veld soil and that it maintains that productivity indefinitely. We know that if we can get Natives, generally.. to practise this crop rotation and tillage methods as taught by the Demonstrators, the actual crop production on lands now under tillage can be increased to more than five times the

present production of approximately 4,000,000 bags'.

This leaves nothing of the argument referred to in the last paragraph.

12 different crops were grown on the demonstration plots, in connection with which there were 15,591 co-operators or in other words African peasants in the vicinity for whom the overworked demonstrators concerned could not cultivate demonstration plots, but who undertook to follow detailed instructions with regard to processes, planting times etc. In brief they came under instruction which they applied in concentric rings beyond the radius of those whose plots were worked for them, (during their initiation), by the demonstrators.

During 1946, African farmers in these areas bought 10,320 ploughs, 947 barrows, 842 cultivators, 43 planters and 17 carts. At the same time the demonstrators assisted them to make 4,742 brush-drags, 506 home-made barrows and 243 row-markers.

The whole Report is rich in evidence concerning dynamic contacts leading to fruitful cultural change, from which owing to space limitation but a small selection can be made. "Before Harvest" meetings are held every year in each demonstration centre, that people may see the results of good methods in the exhibits shown. In 1946 a total of 47,762 Africans attended 109 such meetings.

The Report reveals, too, that valuable work is done by the "School on Wheels" which, among other activities, has given lantern lectures to nearly 83,000 Africans, 388 other lectures and 772 demonstrations. It has also inspected nearly 3,000 Native owned farms pegged 7,853 yards of contour ridges on such farms, and laid out 94 crop rotations. At three centres practical training has been given to African ex-Servicemen; 14,495 additional acres have been cultivated as a result of irrigation projects; since 1937 the Land Inspectors have undertaken comprehensive soil surveys of twelve and a half million acres in the reserves: detailed livestock

surveys have been made and related to the carrying capacity of the different areas; approximately 90,000 head of cattle were disposed of at 724 organized sales, and during the year 272 acres of forestry plantations were added, and 732 nursery seed-beds of gums and conifers were planted for the next season.

It is natural that the writer should mention the development of two projects with whose beginnings he was closely associated, the first being the centralization of arable and grazing lands, and the second the development of what was termed community demonstration work.

Although the development of both is most encouraging, that of the first deserves Miss Perham's adjective "dramatic".

In 1929, as Director of Native Development, I accompanied Mr. Alvord, then "Agriculturist for the Instruction of Natives", to the Selukwe Reserve which consisted of deforested, worn-out lands, in order that the latter might follow up his earlier propaganda and survey and beacon centralized arable areas, and grazing lands for 14 headmen. In consequence of the results obtained, and particularly because of the condition of the cattle owned by these men and the record prices obtained for them, Chief Nema and his headmen demanded that the entire reserve of 150,000 acres, should be centralized in the same way, which was done the following year.

In my Annual Report for 1930, I referred to this somewhat optimistically, in the following terms:-

> "The centralization of arable and grazing lands in Selukwe Reserve touches upon policy pregnant with meaning for the enrichment of African life.
> Where adopted, it makes more easily possible improved agriculture, security of tenure, the stabilizing of home-life, the consequent adoption of more progressive attitudes, of higher standards and of educational stability within the locality".

[When this was written I knew that a 'model village' was to develop

on the ridge between the arable and grazing lands.)

That it had substance as a prediction appears from the Report under reference for 1946, the Director of Native Agriculture writing:-

> "The truth of this statement has now been verified...for this movement and the development of community demonstration work which grew out of it, has brought about a change of life which has been described as a social revolution.
>
> News of centralization and its results on Selukwe Reserve rapidly spread....and demands for centralization surveys increased year by year, and by the end of 1935 the Agriculturist had centralized a total of 613,062 acres of which soil surveys were also made.
>
> By this time the grazing areas on Selukwe Reserve, which were previously deforested and abandoned worn-out land, had grown up to good grass and timber, and soil erosion had been checked by re-vegetation. In 1935 it became evident that the Agriculturist working alone could not cope with the demands for centralization and two Land Inspectors....had to be put ...on to centralization work. By the end of 1945 the Agriculturist and Land Inspectors had centralized a total of 8,764,680 acres. During 1946, the Land Inspectors centralized an additional 641,147 acres and the TOTAL AREA NOW CENTRALIZED IS 9,405,827 ACRES."

A brief paragraph concerning community demonstrators (as opposed to agricultural demonstrators) must conclude this section dealing with Southern Rhodesia. The possible development of 'model villages' in relation to centralization, the rotation of crops, and stabilized centres of population, paved the way for the training of Africans termed "Community Demonstrators", who were given an intensive course of simplified technical training to enable them to serve their farming colleagues as semi-skilled artisans of the handy-man type. Among other things they learned brick-making and bricklaying, the lay-out of buildings, stone foundation work, ant-proofing, roof-construction, thatching, plastering, the reparing of plough shares and agricultural implements etc.

As a result of the work of 69 of these men, and of others they themselves train, the Director reports that since the first was appointed in 1937, 7,095 villages have been laid out, 104,153 improved houses and 802 churches or school buildings have been erected; that 61,736 grain huts have been built, 1,371 water supplies improved, 1,124 village roads re-graded, 715 tree plantations begun, 27,516 rubbish pits and 986 sanitary pits dug, and 172 sports and show grounds laid out. Commenting upon these statistics he adds:-

"This means that approximately 40% of the entire population of Native Reserves are now in improved houses. Where 10 years ago the common 'pole and dagga' hut was the usual thing throughout the country, it is now seldom seen on many Reserves, and has been entirely eliminated on some."....."When the construction of 61,736 improved grain huts are added to the 104,153 improved houses, the immense saving in poles and timber is beyond estimation."....."The great imortance of the effect on health of this country-wide improvement in housing is also apparent."

So far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned, there need be no apologia for the generous manner in which Government has given continuous and increasing support to this vigorous Director of Native Agriculture in his most successful attack upon outmoded African culture.

Tributes to the unique success achieved by Mr. Alvord and his staff have been generously paid by Dr. John H. Reisner, Secretary, International Agriculture Missions, who after an 18 months survey of agricultural education in various parts of Africa, expressed the view that Southern Rhodesia undoubtedly led in this field, by Colonial Directors of Agriculture, who share this view, and by many other accredited witnesses. This serves to confirm the growing conviction, that in agriculture, as in so many other basic activities, the best service one can render to the African in this rapidly changing scene, is to help him through effective demonstration and sympathetic training, to change his culture to conform to it. Essential too are a clear vision of objectives, unswerving government support regarding them, inter-departmental and other co-operation in pursuing them, African partnership in the enterprise, competence in co-ordination so that separate activities may be integrated and not appear competitive; and -- reasonable speed.

.....

To turn to an entirely new enterprise of tremendous magnitude which may serve as a prototype for similar developments in various parts of Africa, a project in which private and government enterprise, resources and methods, all participate, and which the interests of European and African are alike served, it is necessary to examine some of the features of the "East African Groundnuts Scheme", concerning which a command paper was recently issued. xx.

A special representative of the "Star" in Dar es Salaam, said in its issue of May 20th. 1947, that if the vision of its originators were justified, the project would in a few years' time become a kind of paramount power in East Africa and beyond. He then said:-

> "They see it as much more than a plan to grow peanuts. They believe it will revolutionise African agriculture and economy and change a continent of primitive peasant individualists into a co-ordinated system of great mechanised co-operatives, feeing Africa and the world from a regenerated soil.
> Something like this may have been planned before in Russia or the Tennessee Valley. Nothing really similar has been attempted in Africa before".

This great undertaking had its origin in the alarming world shortage of oils and fats due to the effects of the war, the growth in population and the heavy increase in consumption. The White Paper emphasizes that unless special measures are taken on a much larger scale than any now operating, the shortage will continue for a long period, probably beyond 1960. Britain's annual shortage of oils and fats - part of the world shortage - is equivalent to 1,500,000 tons of groundnuts, and although the present project can at best supply but a little over a third of that deficiency, it is estimated that it will save her about ten million pounds on the food bill.

In a lecture given by Mr. Frank Samuel, the Managing Director of the United Africa Company, to the Royal Empire Society on March 26th. under the chairmanship of the Rt. Hon. John Strachey, M.P. Minister of Food, it was explained that:-

> "It is proposed, in a period of six years, at an estimated capital cost of some £26 million, and by utilising the most highly mechanised forms of land clearing and agricultural development, to clear and bring under cultivation an area approximating 5,000 square miles, spread roughly as to two-thirds in Tanganyika and the balance between Kenya and Northern Rhodesia".....
> ....."The areas affected consist mainly of tsetse fly infested bush country which is virtually uninhabited;

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xx African Affairs. Vol. 46 - No. 184, Jul , 1947.

> and consequently problems of resettlement do not arise, as land is not being taken which is at present under cultivation, or capable of being cultivated, by the indigenous peoples".

From the same source one reads that one cannot look to the normal sources of supply for any large increase in production, since oilseeds produced in the Tropics "are in the main, the product of the marginal labour of tens of millions of men, women and children whose main occupation is subsistence farming. The methods of agriculture which they employ are not far in advance of those used in biblical times".

Having referred to the finances of the scheme and hence to its potential profits, which, on paper, far outrival gold-mining, the article in the "Star" continued:-

> "There is, however, much more to the project than that. As these production experts see it, it will repopulate and regenerate Africa, and in a comparatively short time modernise the economy and outlook of the African people, with incalculable social results. Great tracts of East Africa are waterless and covered with tsetse-infected bush, of no use to man or beast. With bulldozers and rippers it is proposed to clear some 3,000,000 acres of this bad land; with mechanical ploughs and cultivators it will be broken and tended. Fertilisers will be lavished on it - the project calls for 320,000 tons of limestone a year, 160,000 tons of sulphate of ammonia, 90,000 tons of silico-phosphate and 10,000 tons of super-phosphate. Only half the ground will bear groundnuts at one time; the other half will be recuperating under a grass ley. Contour strips will conserve the soil.
>
> Some idea of the magnitude of the undertaking may be gained from the fact that each "unit" is the size of the municipal area of Port Elizabeth, and Southern Tanganyika alone will have a block of 55 of these units - about 4,000 square miles. There will be another 25 units elsewhere in Tanganyika and 17 in Northern Rhodesia. Machinery alone will cost £4,750,000. In the peak bushclearing year, 1949-50, there will be 25,000 Natives at work, with 500 Europeans. When clearing is complete, there will be permanent employment for 32,000 Natives and 750 Europeans who will include conservationists, doctors and scientists."

It is then explained that "the plan could be extended or adapted at will to the production of cereals either for local consumption or for export," the report continuing:-

> "Indeed, not only is the world food situation serious, but East Africa itself is said to be facing a grave threat of famine which only highly mechanised agricultural methods can avert. Beef and dairy farming can be introduced as subsidiaries of the scheme, and when, in the future, oil mills are established on the spot, the residues can be used locally as feed and for a new plastics industry".

One of the first results of the project might well be the linking up of the Northern Rhodesian and Tanganyika railway systems, which

would, of course, open up new areas for development. But the reporter naturally raised the pertinent question as to the final goal of all this, and answered as follows:-

> "The mission declared frankly, and the British Government reiterated, that serious objection would be raised to the concession of private rights over such vast tracts of Africa as 3,000,000 acres, particularly as considerable portions of the localities will ultimately be required to accommodate many thousands of African families from over-populated areas in the region. It proposed, therefore, transfer in due course from the British Government to local governments and finally to the people - the African people in co-operative groups of "clan farms". When this final stage will be reached no one is prepared to predict. It is agreed that it must depend upon the economic and social evolution of the Africans, who must prove their ability to conduct such highly organised ventures themselves without reverting to primitive individual subsistence holdings which are the bane of African agriculture.
>
> The mission drew attention to this goal "not only because we firmly believe it to be the right goal, but because in our view the chances of success of the project will be greatly enhanced if those whose task it will be to execute it are inspired by this ultimate ideal." Meanwhile those working on the scheme will get all the benefits of improved housing, health services, proper nutrition and welfare; they will learn and demonstrate the proper use of land, they will see the control of tsetse and sleeping sickness, the conservation of water supplies and the spread of communications. It may take a generation or two generations for these lessons to be learned, but when they are, it is hoped, Africa will be transformed."

In his lecture already quoted, Mr. Samuel stated that it was obvious that economic benefits would extend far beyond the undertaking itself. Thus the development of water supplies and of communications, together with the eradication of the tsetse fly, would facilitate mineral and agricultural development over large areas where today this is impossible.

> "Looking further to the future," he said, "it is possible to see other economic developments arising out of the conditions created by this project. The good fodder provided by the tops of the groundnut plant, and the abundant pasturage provided by the grass leys - which will cover roughly half the total acreage brought into cultivation - suggest that stock-farming might in time become an important industry in these groundnut areas." xx

Having explained that £2 millions per annum might be spent on fertilisers; that modern methods of contour cultivation, terracing and ridging would be employed from the outset, (to avoid erosion

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xx Ibid. p. 138.

and to conserve humidity), that a new railway and harbour would be built, and that the estimated production of groundnuts from Tanganyika alone would represent nearly twice the value and twice the tonnage of the country's present exports, he dealt with something of further vital significance for African welfare in these wide areas:-

> "The establishment of settled communities of African labourers and skilled artisans with their families will require the most careful study from every point of view.
> The social anthropologist, the doctor, the scientist, the entomologist and other specialists will all play their part in ensuring that these village communities set a new standard for community life in East Africa.
> In addition to a scientifically balanced diet, the villagers will have progressively the benefit of trained medical services with pre-natal clinics and health centres, of education and welfare officers, and of canteens and meeting halls where they may make their own purchases and develop their own ways of life." **

There is unconscious irony in the concession suggested by the Managing Director of the United Africa Company (a subsidiary of Unilever), that as the Africans make their purchases in the canteens they may "develop their own ways of life". He appears to think there is something blessedly indigenous about bulldozers. That he considers also that the team of experts, presumably with the social anthropologist in the chair, will direct the Africans associated with this new collective, (or later co-operative), towards the acceptance of satisfactory standards of living, without admitting missionaries to the panel, for they are about the only group omitted, is rather significant of much post-war planning. Amid the heavy responsibilities confronting both Government, and their Managing Agents, not the least will be to see that in the furtherance of a scheme, the results of which are incalculable, but which must operate with something resembling totalitarian force upon the culture of the African, every reasonable facility must be given to enable the integrating power of Christianity to heal the wounds of disintegration.

That in connection with this project there is a vast field for experiment cannot be denied, nor can the truth of Mr. Samuel's claim that:-

> ....."those educated Africans who are seeking the welfare of their fellow-countrymen must be brought to realise that far from any improvement in the standard of living, the situation over the years must become progressively,

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** Ibid. p. 139.

> worse unless ways are found to break away from individual subsistence farming and to apply the knowledge and methods of the western world to the production of a full measure of wealth from the African soil". xx

To those who know the barren stretches of Tanganyika or Northern Rhodesia scrub, it may seem a far cry to their conversion into one of the world's granaries, but there seems solid evidence in favour of just that happening. Of this possibility the "Star" representative wrote:-

> "But if it succeeds, especially in its larger aims, a new element will have been introduced into the relationships of territories and races which may have far-reaching results. For one thing, the dominant economic position of white settler communities as the mainstay of East African prosperity will no longer be so obvious, and political consequences are bound to follow. The progress of the Africans towards the goals set by trusteeship may be greatly accelerated. This levelling process, together with the relief of land pressure, might relax or accentuate race tensions, depending upon the readiness of the respective races to accept eventual partnership as an objective. These things are far ahead, but perhaps not so far as they seem in the depths of a still dormant continent. The world's present need is Africa's opportunity, declares the groundnut report. Whether that opportunity is fully grasped will depend upon the response of the African people themselves. The stimulus is there."

In March 1947, exactly a year after the scheme was first mentioned machinery was tearing up the African bush in order to catch the planting season in East Africa, so that this revolution in African agriculture is well under way.

For it, mechanical equipment has been bought all over the world. European technicians, surveyors, tractor drivers, civil engineers, town planners, architects and agricultural experts are already at work. Concurrently Africans are mobilizing for employment at different levels. Sir Philip Mitchell has suggested that the surest way of keeping the African agricultural population poor is to keep them independent peasants. In Southern Rhodesia conditions are such that it has been possible for the present Director of Native Agriculture, in conformity with government policy, and as a result of 20 years of unvacillating and purposive planning, to effect a social revolution, although, under changing conditions the duration of its effectiveness cannot be predicted. And in the Union, if the expert evidence so freely drawn upon is considered valid, the saturation of politics by racialism has produced chaos and distress in both rural and urban areas, and drastic

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xx Ibid. P. 142.

remedies are accordingly imperative if early amelioration i. either is to prevent anarchy.

In none of the areas we have examined can we afford to wait until increased productivity results from the gradual raising of the educational level, for in the meantime the people are grossly under-nourished, and mostly live in rural or urban slums. What seems a matter of urgency, therefore, is a swift transformation from the outmoded economy of the tribe, to larger individual holdings for enterprising Africans in favourable environments, to African co-operatives through the intermediate stage of the State being the paternal landlord of collective units, and to the development of African skills in other industry and services which would accompany agricultural progress.

Whatever the pattern, or patterns may be, for many are essential, the mere multiplication of betterment areas must remain grossly inadequate, for to a revised policy of land tenure, and of the whole conception of the position of the African in the country's economy, must be brought new betterment techniques, and it were now re-iteration to maintain in agriculture that these cannot derive from tribal folkways.

CHAPTER XVI.

HEALTH.

To those who have had lengthy experience of African territories where the question of white supremacy dominates politics and consequential policies, it is a familiar experience that although the development of African education or of technical-trainin may be strenuously opposed, comparatively little opposition is encountered to expenditure on native health services. Presumably the argument is that educational equipment is productive of competition, a factor not inherent, per se, in better health. Apart from this, of course, humanitarian feelings lead to a desire to reduce suffering, whilst self-interest naturally wishes to prevent African illness from creating European illness. Moreover in the case of industrial concerns, ill-health among labour reduces dividends.

If, therefore, one simplified the issue to the choice of "Doctor or Witch-Doctor", which is done in the title of Dr. Gale's pamphlet[xx] written for Native consumption, there would be no doubt regarding the outcome, for practically all Europeans, no matter what their political persuasion, would say that of course the African, when ill, must go to a qualified doctor, and emphatically not to the "inyanga'yokwelapha", or witch-doctor, (medicine man would frequently, but not always, be a better term).

Today the issue cannot be so simplified, but as it gains in complexity through the modern conception which stresses the promotion and safeguarding of health, as well as its curative and rehabilitation functions, it becomes increasingly impossible to give any support worth while to the hypothetical plea that in medicine, as in other directions, we can learn so much from the African, who should accordingly be allowed in these matters to "develop along his own lines". And yet there are those who, whilst soft-pedalling, would still vamp upon this theme. They would tell us just as the United States National Formulary lists many drugs which one owes to the

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xx Howard Pim Pamphlet No. 5.

American Indian, so too we could gain immeasurably from a closer study of African native medicines; that their doctors have long known of trephining; that they have infallible curse for snake-bite; that their surgery is not always to be despised, and that they possess psychic powers of a high order. Hence it may be well to dispose of this aspect first.

In Section 14 of the sub-report of the Chief Native Commissioner, Natal, reproduced on page 113 of the last available Report of the Department of Native Affairs, (U.G. 44 of 1946), it is stated that although in that Province licences are issued under Chapter XIII of the Natal Code of Native Law, to enable Native medicine men or herbalists to practise their trade. "These licences, for obvious reasons, are restricted as far as possible and are not encouraged in the urban areas where proper medical and clinical facilities are available." If the "obvious reasons" were recorded, they would constitute immediately a convincing answer to our query. However, the section continues as follows:-

> "In the rural areas where medical and clinical facilities are limited and inadequate, licences are issued to bona fide and qualified Inyangas, provided the Department of Public Health is satisfied that the issue is absolutely necessary in the public interest, and where the Native community would be prejudiced in the event of the licence being refused. Every precaution is taken to discourage such Inyangas transferring their activities to the towns".

This appears to imply that Government Medical Officers exercise the responsibility of deciding upon the qualifications and competence of illiterate and entirely unaccredited African medicine men; that they determine whether the practice of their craft is in the public interest, but that they discourage such practice in urban areas lest the Africans enter into competition with the European practitioner, or lest the judgment of the Medical Officers concerning their bona fides and professional skill, be called in question.

The following further quotation from the same source justified some element of doubt:-

> "As the Law stands today, however, it is not possible to restrict a licensed Inyanga to practise in any particular district and among his own people, as envisaged by the Native Code, and in recent years large numbers of these Inyangas have flocked into the towns, particularly Durban, where they hire premises and establish a 'Mail Order' business.

> These establishments by means of advertisements in pamphlet form and by other means, claim remedies for all manner of ailments, physical and otherwise, and vast numbers of Natives throughout the Union and even beyond the borders of the Union, have been and are still being deceived.
>
> The evils of this undesirable traffic in Native medicines which has now assumed alarming proportions are exemplified in the recent criminal cases of Rex versus E.D. Mcunu, and Rex versus I.Alexander (Pty) Ltd. In the latter case two directors of the frim were convicted of fraud in that they pretended and held out to a customer that a certain preparation would bring him luck at gambling with dice or cards, or when playing the gambling game known as 'fa-fee'. The conviction was upheld by the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court, and in the concluding paragraph of the judgment, the presiding judge remarked:-
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> 'I might add that one hopes that the legislators will take some steps to stop this sort of advertisement by which ignorant Natives are being deceived, not only ignorant Natives but also the European population, especially in regard to proprietary and other medicines which claim cures beyond all reasonable expectations." ‡‡

The last paragraph of the above quotation reveals that credulous Europeans occasionally have recourse to African Izinyanga, but more relevant to our purpose is the fact that a judge of the Supreme Court advises amending legislation to remove an abuse to which the Chief Native Commissioner draws attention, in connection with legally licensed, although untrained and unscrupulous Native"witch-doctors" who batten on ignorance and superstition.

From an article by Mr. P.J. Fraenkel, entitled "Black Man's Medicine" published in Libertas, August 1947, the following excerpt is taken:-

> "Usually the profession is hereditary, and the spells and incantation are sometimes in long-dead languages. Most of the knowledge is jealously guarded, and the witch-doctor's apprentice - if it is not hiw own son - is made to pay for each major secret revealed to him.
>
> However, from the records of early travellers and some present-day observers, especially among the Masais of Kenya and Tanganyika, we can well gather what happened when the tribe returned from a cattle-raid, carrying some of its wounded warriors back. The spear-wounds were usually festering. But the men bore the pain well enough. They were terrified only of the evil spirits that had caused their misfortune and were now seeking their death. After all, the talisman they were wearing was supposed to make them invisible to all enemies. Thus the evil spirits must have guided the spear that had gashed our sufferer's abdomen. Some of the intestines were protruding.
>
> The witch-doctor cast bones and murmured incantations, while his young assistant beat the drum monotonously. He swayed about and belched loudly while the patient moaned and watched him with feverish eyes. Suddenly he pronounced his sentence: "Youwill live!" A smile lit the patient's face. No-one but the witch-doctor could have persuaded him. He might have died of plain terror. But now he knew he was going to live. The doctor had consulted with his ancestors. He was going to live.

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‡‡ Ibid.

> The witch-doctor called for palm-wine, which he fed to the patient. Much palm-wine. He made a tea of various herbs. This he sprinkled over the wound, though the patient winced with pain. Repeatedly he muttered: "You will live!" The assistant beat the drum more wildly. That chased the evil spirits away. Every few minutes the patient had to drink more wine. Eventually the moans subsided. He was in a drunken stupor. The witch-doctor produced a piece of calabash from his bag and rubbed the edges against a stone. There must be no rough points. Then, despite the patient's yells he pressed the protruding guts into place with the piece of calabash. He fitted in into the cut, pulled the stomach-wall over it, made a few small holes into it with the top of a fishing spear, and threaded a rough string made from the entrails of cattle through them. Then he pulled the flesh together and tied a knot. He sprinkled more medicine over the wound, and applied a covering of crushed leaves soaked in water. This calmed the pain, and the patient soon fell asleep. For several days the witch-doctor kept up his drumming and dancing and murmuring. The hypnotic effect of this is naturally powerful, and since the primitive mind is closer to the body than ours, the wound closed over the calabash within an astonishingly short while. The calabash remains inside."

In spite of the ingenuity and knowledge of crudely performed surgery which this displays, no European patient in similar circumstances would show a marked preference for such technique, nor would any politician, however repressive his views, or any anthropologist, however romantic in sentiment, advocate that such methods should be retained in native wards, as more suited to the African. Granted that the African "doctors" achieved rational cures, apart from those due to the natural recuperative qualities of the body, and others due to hypnotic effects, it seems abundantly clear that only too frequently they cause the death of their patients and that very often it is a case of the survival of the fittest.

The article referred to, confirms that the African knows very little about the causes of disease, and adds:-

> "Some diseases are said to be caused by a large worm inside. But most are attributed to witchcraft, the spirits of the deceased, or the breaking of a taboo. The evil spirits must be driven out or appeased. In the case of witch-craft - which term, incidentally, only applies to the curse put by one living individual upon another - the plant or animal by means of which the evil deed was performed must be procured to reverse the effect. Fortunately for the patient the medicine-man never relies upon one remedy alone, but applies several."

Mr. Fraenkel contends, and with this I disagree, that the influence of the African medicine-man today is as great as ever, and that the belief in witch-craft is not on the decline. It is certainly

It is certainly true that many cruel, revolting, and murderous practices are still to be found, but it is equally true that through the very substantial expansion of State Health services, the scientific treatment of health conditions on the mines, the spread of African education and the training of Africans as doctors and nurses, as well as because of the activites among the Non-Europeans of the Army Medical Corps, the confidence of very large numbers of Africans in European medicine has been gained.

One reads on the other hand such statements as the following, which unfortunately, could be multiplied considerably without difficulty:-

> "As with us, shock-treatment is sometimes employed for paralysis. Either this is done by making the patient jump out of a burning circle of fire when the heat becomes too great, or he is thrown into a pool known to contain crocodiles or pythons. Kill or cure!".....
> "In Northern Rhodesia it was recently revealed that a chief had had two of his followers murdered to make cups out of their skulls. He had been convinced that only beer drunk out of these vessels could cure the complaint he was suffering from. In Swaziland there was a witch-trial not long ago, and even in the Union of South Africa, where these things are better hidden, some gruesome customs are still practised. At a full-moon festival in one of the reserves, twooxen were tied down and skinned alive. When my informant remonstrated with the natives, he was informed that the animals felt no pain at all if this took place on a full-moon night, and with appropriate ceremony." xx

To complete this aspect of our study one has but to turn to the columns of the daily press, the following account of a murder trail in Basutoland being taken from the Natal Mercury of October 18, 1947:-

MASERU, Friday.

> "The trial was resumed in the High Court here today of Lehoee Letsikohane and 10 other Natives on a charge of murder. The accused Natives are alleged to have murdered another Native, Leko Motsosoane, in August, 1945, and to have cut off certain parts of his body to make medicine.
> Giving evidence for the Crown, a Native witness, Mano, said he had taken part in the murder and mutilation of the dead man. He was told by one of the accused, he alleged, of a plan to kill Lekoe earlier in the day of the killing.
> Describing the events after Lekoe had been attacked and beaten unconscious, Mano said that a fire was lit for heating stones. By the light of the fire he recognised the accused Natives, Lehoee, he alleged, then ordered the heated stones to be rubbed on Lekoe's body. This was done by two accused, while the others held Lekoe down.

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xx Ibid.

Lehoe, he further alleged, then ordered various parts of the body to be removed. Lekoe was still alive while thiswas being done and appeared to suffer great pain. Deep cuts were made on the body near the kidneys and other cuts were made on other parts of the body.

While the cutting was being done, the heated stones were applied to the wounds. The pieces of flesh cut from the body were placed in a tin. After this Lekoe was made to sit up. His arms were held by two of the accused and a third accused was ordered to strike him on the head with a knobkerrie. Three blows were struck. Witness himself held the dead man's legs.

The hearing was adjourned." (S.A.P.A.)

Barbaric mutilations and murder such as the above, derive from the practice of African medicine. Need it be urged that its replacement by European practice cannot be too speedily effected? Here, if anywhere, is an inescapable challenge to demand without reservation that the African should share our enlightenment, and assimilate "our" culture. Moreover that the need for such assimilation does not depend for its acceptance upon the sensational cases, is seen from the depressing accumulation of evidence throughout the Continent, evidence available in blue-books, and in the reports of parliamentary commissions and of individual specialists.

Lord Hailey wrote:-

> "An examination of a typical Central African village would show that the sick, especially old persons and children, are neglected or unwisely treated, the elements of hygiene are lacking, the wearing of unhygienic and dirty clothing is usual, food is prepared in dirty vessels, flies swarm on garbage thrown near the village, and huts are often unswept and infested with parasites". xx

Speaking of urban conditions in the Union, Dr. B.A. Dormer, Chief of the Division of Tuberculosis Services, Ministry of Health, explained to members of the Natal Chamber of Industries recently, the seriousness of the tuberculosis position, and asked them what they were going to do about it. He claimed, according to the "Star" of September 5th. 1947, that:-

> "In all the devastated areas of Europe they have nothing like the death-rate that we have among industrial non-Europeans in South Africa".

Dr. Dormer, having dealt briefly with rural conditions turned to those in urban areas, being reported as follows:-

> "In modern industry the Native leapt in one leap from the 14th. century to the 20th. century. He lived in a barracks in appallingly overcrowded conditions, where he could pick up tuberculosis from any of the other Natives sleeping there. He ate a diet that was completely

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xx Op. Cit. P. 1206.

> inadequate and worked harder than he had ever been used to working. He had no place to play, nowhere to sit in the sun.
>
> The fact that South Africa is becoming so rapidly industrialised means that we are greatly responsible ourselves for tuberculosis in the Native. If the Natives go on dying at the rate they are dying now, industry will be faced with the condition that there will simply be no more labour available.
>
> If you industrialists would house and feed your Natives properly, if you would give them adequate recreation, if you would see they did not have to queue up at midnight for transport to start work at 6 a.m. we would not have a tuberculosis problem.
>
> Dr. Dormer said no town had the right to offer industrial sites unless it could offer adequate housing as well to the employes.
>
> One of the ways of controlling tuberculosis was to get hold of the infectious cases and treat them, and the way to do this quickly and easily was by mass X-ray. The machines were available and could X-ray up to 1,400 a day. But the question was what to do with the infectious cases when they were discovered.
>
> Dr. Dormer told the industrialists that Durban had one 1,200 bed hospital for non-Europeans, but if he were to conduct the survey he would need many thousands more beds."

After pointing out that on the mines the health of the Natives was better than anywhere else, since they were all examined and X-rayed before employment, were better housed and received through a mixed diet 4,000 calories a day, Dr. Dormer emphaized that to go on putting African employees in hospital was no solution, and therefore confronted the employers with the need to provide better conditions.

This leads naturally to the all-important promotive side of health services, but it may be opportune first to reflect on the obvious, namely that neither in the rural areas where disease is rife, nor in the industrial towns of the Union which, according to the Chief of the Division concerned, are guilty of the worst tuberculosis scourge in the world, can the reform so overdue and so alarmingly imperative, be brought about by vamping away on the vote-catching delusive slogan, intended to promote European solidarity by maintaining white supremacy, that the African must develop along "his own lines."

In his Survey, Lord Hailey writes:-

> "The Franciscan missionaries in Angola discovered in 1774 the ruins of a hospital built by the Capuchins, who occupied the territory in 1640; this appears to be the first recorded instance of medical work by Europeans south of the Sahara." xx

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xx P. 1115.....

From this it is clear that for over 300 years European medical knowledge and skill have been placed at the service of the African through Christian missions, although as Hailey adds:-

> "It was not, however, until David Livingstone had captured the imagination of Europe and America that medical missionary work was established widely." ++

Of the beginnings of government medical services he records that:-

> "As in India, the various administrations in Africa at first confined the provision of medical services to the needs of their own establishments. Only in some of the larger centres were the services extended sufficiently to provide hospitals or dispensaries for Africans.
> Perhaps the greatest single factor in producing a new attitude in the matter of health services for the native population was the impression created in Great Britain by the sleeping sickness epidemic in Uganda in 1901 and 1902"..... "The Royal Society interested itself in the matter and sent out two commissions. It was estimated that 200,000 people had perished in the infected areas out of the 300,000 who originally dwelt there. In 1906 the Uganda Government came actively into the sphere of public health when Sir Hesketh Bell decided on the evacuation of these areas." ++

In consequence of these compulsory measures by the European administration, the foundations of the present policy in regard to sleeping-sickness were laid, the disease has entirely lost its menacing proportions, it is responsible for a very few deaths a year, and the evacuated areas have for many years been re-occupied. That its ravages are no longer evident is not due to the preservation of indigenous culture, but to its replacement, and it cannot be denied that the same process of replacement is essential if we are to overcome Africa's principal diseases, which include malaria, blackwater, yellow fever, deficiency diseases, plague, relapsing fever, typhus, tuberculosis, leprosy, yaws and venereal disease, parasitic worms, and typhoid, as also the occupational disease of silicosis. Any one of these may obviously be used to illustrate the African's formidable need for cultural assimilation, whilst cumulatively the case they establish is unanswerable.

It is now opportune to examine this problem more constructively, in which connection one cannot do better than consider the Report of the National Health Services Commission, appointed by the Union Government in August, 1942, in consequence of a motion moved the

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++ Op. cit p. 1116.
++ Op. cit. p. 1119.

previous session by a private member, Lt.-Col. H. Gluckman, M.P.

The principal terms of reference were that the Commission should "inquire into, report and advise upon:-

> (1) The provision of an organized National Health Service, in conformity with the modern conception of health, which will ensure adequate medical, dental, nursing, and hospital services for all sections of the people of the Union of South Africa.
>
> (2) The administrative, legislative, and financial measures which would be necessary in order to provide the Union of South Africa with such a National Health Service".

Instead of examining its monumental Report it will be simpler to select material from the summary made in New Africa Pamphlet No. 6, by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. xx

In their tour which lasted between three and four months, the Commissioners saw conditions "in areas as geographically and demographically diversified as the sparsely peopled expanses of Namaqualand, the teeming reserves of the Native Territories, the overcrowded slums of great cities, the 'black-belts' of the peri-urban areas, the poverty-stricken locations of small country towns, the alpine borders of the Free State, and the sub-tropical regions of the Northern Transvaal".

According to the pamphlet "the Commissioners regarded their terms of reference both as an inspiration and as a challenge to themselves". This is apparent from their own statement, which had for its introduction the following lines:-

> "The wide field covered by these terms of reference made it clear that the present Commission was charged with one of the most important investigations entrusted to a Government commission since the establishment of Union".

Chapter III of the Report, bearing the title "The Modern Conception of Health", according to the summary under reference, elaborated

> "the theme that the mere provision of 'doctoring' of sufferers from ill-health can never secure the health of the people; and it sets forth the range of services required to promote and safeguard health as well as those necessary to cure ill-health and to rehabilitate the permanently injured".

The Commission divided its health services into those which are personal and those which are non-personal.

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xx "The Health of the Nation".

Comprised within the first are promotive, preventive, curative and rehabilitative services, whilst the second includes such functions of local authorities as housing and town planning, water-supplies, drainage, sanitary measures, food handling, the abatement of nuisances and the regulation of offensive trades.

Personal promotive health services, naturally concerned with the building up of good health in the individual, cover such requirements as adequate wages, nutrition, general education, physical exercises and recreation and industrial welfare and hygiene.

Based upon the family as a unit, and on periodic medical and dental examinations, the preventive health services would include the work of ante and post natal, infant welfare, pre-school child, and child guidance clinics, immunisation services, creches, school health services, the medical examination of apprentices and others (by physical and aptitude tests), workers' health services in mines, factories etc. and the routine examination of all other adults at prescribed intervals.

Carried out at the homes of the patients, at health centres and in institutions, the curative services would cover domiciliary, clinic and hospital treatment, whilst the rehabilitative services have two aspects, namely (i) the health, and (ii) the educational, including invalidity and re-employment.

The functions shown in this analysis, form the blue-print of the comprehensive health services advocated on a national scale for all communities. Quoting from the Report itself, one reads that:-

> "The health of the people is far below what it should be and could be. On balance, it is probably deteriorating, at least as far as four-fifths of the people are concerned.
>
> It is the morbidity rather than the mortality rates which are so disquieting, for all those presented and discussed relate to diseases and conditions which science today knows full well how to prevent".

Of the causes of so much ill-health it says:-

> "First and foremost are the economic poverty and the social backwardness of the greater part of the Union's population", and it points out that "reforms in the public health and medical services will probably bring about very little improvement in the nation's health, unless accompanied by drastic reforms in other spheres as well"... "IT WOULD BE UNREASONABLE AND UNSOUND TO EXPECT THE HEALTH SERVICES FOREVER TO MAKE GOOD THE DEFICIENCIES OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SYSTEM"....."The goal of long-term policy should be to place all sections

> of the people in such a position that, without State assistance, they can purchase for themselves the recurrent daily necessities for healthy living. Otherwise the health and social services maintained by the State will be tantamount to a perpetual system of poor relief". (Capitals mine)

The Commission's survey frankly admits that the services at present are not on a national basis, that they are not in conformity with the modern conception of health, and that they are not available to all sections of the people, and least of all to the under-privileged sections who need them most. Their basic recommendations are intended to remedy this situation, and hence they cannot avoid the proposal that health services as defined shall be freely available to all, not according to race, and not according to their means, but according to their need.

Since the Chairman of the Commission has since become Minister of Health, and is receiving generous support for the vigorous manner in which he is pursuing the policy urged in the Report, there seems a reasonable prospect of steady development towards the admirable objectives therein defined. Correspondingly, and most re-assuringly, the Africans will benefit with other ethnic groups, in which connection one must obviously admit, that although their response is vital to the success of this multi-racial scheme, not a single course of the magnificent structure so liberally planned in the blue-print can be built to an indigenous design.

Health centres occupy a strategic place within the system, three different types being described to meet the different needs of cities and towns, villages and country areas, and Native areas respectively, all being designed to enable promotive health measures to have priority, and to replace isolationalism in medical practice by group or team practice. Of the third type the pamphlet writes:-

> "In Native areas the Centres will at first serve bigger quotas of population -- One Centre to 20,000 - 30,000 people - and will have relatively fewer doctors. The reasons given for this are the necessity for economy of personnel and equipment, and the fact that many of the Native people have not yet accepted western medicine, so that the need in these areas is much greater for education and propaganda than for actual curative services. Eventually, however, Health Centres in these areas will be distributed and staffed on the same basis as elsewhere.
>
> At the outset, each centre will have two doctors (Europeans or Natives) who will be leaders of a team of seven Native health assistants, seven nurse-midwives, with a medical aid (hygiene officer with B.Sc.Hygiene

> qualification), and a nursing supervisor.
> The nurse-midwives will be resident at satellite clinics throughout the area. The health assistants will be mobile and propagandist among the people. The doctors will visit each clinic at least once weekly, and direct the preventive and domiciliary activities of both groups of workers".

It looks very much as though, before long, atal may cease to license its witch-doctors.

Moreover a special diversion of Native rural health services is suggested, with a "strong liaison with the Department of Native Affairs, and with whatever authority is set up to control and guide Native education and Native agriculture", and, the Commission adds, such services will have many special features:-

> "for example, they will make use of mission hospitals and of special types of personnel, and it is probable that the National Health Service will itself undertake the executive responsibility for non-personal health services in these areas".

It is anticipated that the biggest expansion of hospital as well as general health services will be among the Native population, which would seem but reasonable if one thinks of present facilities in relation to need. Related to this is the Commission's finding that it would appear "not only convenient but fair to accept as a national responsibility so much of the cost of non-personal health services in Native Reserves as is beyond the means of the Native inhabitants".

There is little risk of error in assuming that nowhere in Africa has an authoritative commission ever presented to the legislature concerned, so comprehensive and far-reaching proposals, integrated so ably in a liberal programme of such magnitude for a national health service for all communities. That this should happen in a country so frequently pilloried for its repressive racialism calls for more than ordinary appreciation. In the degree to which successive governments will implement these proposals must largely depend the future of all 'racial' groups, for to all the health of each is of basic importance.

Of parallel significance, because its motives are in harmony with those of the national health service described, and because, if it attains its objectives its activities also will be co-extensive with the borders of the Union, is the National War Memorial Health

Foundation, the formation of which was directly due to the discussion in barracks, camps and messes in the war zone of Italy of the Commission's Report, and of war memorials. And so, in Florence in May 1945, according to Captain S.H. Kemp, the idea was born among a group of Springboks who considered that the South African War Memorial should take the form of health services, chiefly for the Non-European. Major General F.H. Theron, C.B., C.M.E. who gave his approval with enthusiasm, wrote to the heads of formations:-

> 'The national conscience is being slowly stirred by the grim and inescapable facts disclosed by such bodies as the South African Institute for Medical Research, the Institute of Race Relations, and the recently published report of the National Health Services Commission, which are bringing home to us the appalling state of non-European health in our midst - a grave challenge to our vaunted civilisation. ....and let us soldiers on our return from this crusade against Nazi tyranny kindle the flames that must warm the national conscience to act immediately and remedy this pitiful neglect of the past".

The National War Memorial was publicly inaugurated in Cape Town on 5th March 1946, since when a powerful organization with a highly qualified executive with regional councils and with impressive affiliations has been established, and a campaign has been launched to raise five million pounds for "a war memorial which would indicate a country's gratitude for its deliverance and which would assist in the realisation of fundamental human rights for all races". xx

In the folder which makes known the origin and aims of the organization, appears the following statement:-

> "To accommodate many new ideas put forward, the scheme was widened. Initially intended to operate for the sole benefit of the Non-European population, it now included with the consent of the Soldiers' Committee, all sufferers irrespective of race, colour or creed, and under this larger scope the soldiers were the first to determine that no barriers would shut out any who might benefit from the foundation".

The initial programme of the Foundation is then described, its purpose being:-

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xx Extract from address by Dr. Gluckman, Minister of Health. 30th July 1946.

"1. To establish Peoples Centres where most needed for the promotion of health, social well being and community living amongst the different sections of the people, the European, Bantu, Coloured and Indian. It is hoped to establish the first centres (a) in Natal for Africans; (b) in the Cape Province (Ciskei, Peninsula and Cape Province) for Coloureds and Africans; (c) in the Orange Free State for indigent Europeans and (d) in the Transvaal for Europeans and Africans. These centres will promote:-

A. More and better food for all by nutritional guidance, cooking demonstrations, dietetic instruction, food clubs and communal cooking. In rural areas vegetable growing and the encouragement of home crafts will be emphasised.

B. Care of the child and of the mother, by systematic health examination, dental supervision, teaching mothercraft, and the organisation of nursery facilities.

C. Care of the adolescent and the adult by recreational and educational facilities, physical culture, sports, folk-dancing, lectures, films, dramatic art and library services.

These "pilot" Peoples' Centres will serve to demonstrate that good health can be won in our time. From such successful models the Foundation will call upon Government and other responsible authorities to copy them in all needy localities. England, the United States, Sweden and many other countries have availed themselves of similar schemes, while South Africa still lags behind.

2. To provide bursaries and grants to men and women of all races for training in special aspects of national health. In this way an army will be built up of trained personnel, which will be sent to every part where help is most needed to carry on the battle for health and security.

3. To inaugurate, in co-operation with other existing organisations, a national campaign for health in an endeavour to make all South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, Health conscious. Lectures, films, travelling exhibitions and other modern devices will be enlisted to enlighten the people everywhere on all matters concerning health promotion. Pamphlets and articles in the press and in periodical journals will be sponsored in order to reach all educational levels and all racial groups comprising the nation".

It is then made clear that the Foundation does not propose in any way to relieve the Central Government, the Provincial Administrations, or the local authorities, of any responsibility in expenditure or function, but that its purpose is "to strike at the root causes of ill-health and so rouse public opinion that it will demand health". That it will be complementary to, rather than competitive with, the Government's National Health Service may be judged from the fact that the Governor General, the four Provincial Administrators and the Minister of Health, hold office as patrons and National Vice-President respectively. Most liberal in conception, its endeavours should ensure for the Africans an increasing share in the heritage of health which it is hoped to bequeath to all

communities.

In chapter XIII we referred to the fact, that at the Witwatersrand University two Africans graduated in medicine in 1946 and six in 1947, and that no fewer than 36, of whom three were women, were following the medical course there in 1947. Requirements for graduation at this, as at all universities, are subject to no modification on the grounds of race, of spurious theories about differences of germ plasm, or of specious theories, anthropological or political, about the desirability of relating the course to a vanished past or to a static present.

Similarly under section four of the Nursing Act No. 45 of 1944, the same regulations apply without variation to both African and European candidates, in such matters as the requirements for admission to training, lectures and demonstrations, the period of training, the curricula for and the conduct of examinations. Moreover in the preliminary examination, when dealing with arterial, venous or capillary bleeding and the methods of arresting it; with the emergency treatment of wounds or of shock; with the nature of infection and contagion, or with the more common poisons and their antidotes, or when teaching pressure points or the position and course of the principal blood vessels, it would be clearly fantastic to differentiate the content of the training according to race. The same principle naturally holds good also when dealing with the theory and practice of nursing, medical and surgical nursing, and gynaecology or midwifery, in preparation for the final examination.

That, through the medium of English, these African candidates give a very good account of themselves has been known for a long time. Out of 733 entries in the State preliminary examination in 1947, only 267 candidates were successful, a fact which occasioned much discussion in the columns of the Press. It was therefore of special interest that the only nurse in Natal to obtain honours in that examination was an African named Ottilia Mkulisi.

In the "Star", the following month, i.e. in its issue of 21st. June, 1947, under the headlines "First Native Woman to Qualify as Doctor", appeared the following front-page news item:-

"Mary Susan Malahlele, a soft-spoken, pleasant faced Bapedi woman, took the Hippocratic Oath at the University of the Witwatersrand to-day as the first Native woman doctor to qualify in the Union of South Africa. Two generations ago her grandfather was whipped by the leaders of his tribe because he became a Christian. He and his wife were later chased from their village in the Pietersburg district because the woman refused to obey the tribal custom of putting to death her newly-born twin children.

The enlightened acts of her ancestors started a trail which Dr. Malahlele hopefully and successfully followed. She is especially interested in the diseases that beset Bantu children, and hopes that one day she might be able to go overseas to specialise in this work.

Dr. Malahlele will spend a year as a house doctor at the McCord Mission Hospital in Durban, and then plans to practise in the Pretoria area.

Her parents, Mr. and Mrs. J.C. Malahlele, of Roodepoort, where Mr. Malahlele is principal of the Native Primary School, said they were very proud of their daughter when a representative of The Star met them today at the Douglas Smit Hostel - the residence for non-European medical students of the university. Their greatest day will be in August, when they will see their daughter capped as she receives her M.B., Ch.B. degrees at the graduation ceremony.

Dr. Malahlele - who when still a schoolgirl had made up her mind that she would be a doctor - is 30, and has studied continuously for years."

In the difference between the formulae recited by a witch-doctor at his initiation and the Hippocratic oath taken by Dr. Malahlele, is revealed the width of cultural differences which must be bridged, and which are being bridged, and herein is the source of our hope for the Africa of tomorrow.

It is not a matter for surprise that at the university where the liberality shown to African students has thus enabled them to graduate in medicine -- which is not yet possible anywhere else in the Continent - the European medical students who take pride in their achievement, should have urged upon the authorities the removal of the colour bar from post-mortem examinations. Their point of view appears from the following terse extract from the "Star" of August 29, 1947.

"STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND yesterday passed a motion requesting the hospital authorities to allow third-year non-European medical students access to post-mortem examinations on European subjects. The colour bar concerning post-mortems for medical students of the third year was first enforced in 1943.

Among the reasons given for the passing of this motion was that the present restrictions deprived the non-European students of valuable instruction for their course, which was detrimental to their academic development.

The issue was regarded purely from the point of view of scientific knowledge and did not imply any political attachment. The motion was passed by 192 votes to 29."

Further comment would appear superfluous.

Earlier reference has been made to the outstanding training given at Dakar in French West Africa, and to the development of training in the Belgian Congo and at Gordon College in the Sudan. At the Mulago Medical School, an allied institution of Makerere College, Uganda, admirable work was done for many years by Dr. J.P. Mitchell, C.B.E., M.D. who was Medical Superintendent of the Mulago Hospital and Dean of the Medical School, until his retirement in 1945.

The work was begun as recently as 1923, by Dr. H.B. Owen, D.S.O., O.B.E. who, as medical tutor, was appointed to teach the preliminary sciences (physics, chemistry and biology), and the pre-clinical subjects (anatomy and physiology), and to supervise the clinical teaching. According to an article by Dr. Mitchell on "Medical Education in Uganda", xx the aim then was:-

> "to produce a doctor of the standard of the Indian sub-assistant surgeon.....the course was to be based on the normal doctor's education, shortened, adapted and pruned to the student's capacity. It was emphasised that as general education improved, so would the standards be raised".

The adaption mentioned was rendered necessary by the standard of secondary education at the time, and was in no way due to racial differentiation in professional training or in policy, such a sentiment being non-existent in the Protectorate.

Having read some of the reports of distinguished external examiners on the work of the students in their final year, I am convinced that there was no over-statement in Dr. Mitchell's view that "Teaching now closely approximates that at the colleges in England", and from recent developments one assumes that the present Diploma in Medicine (East Africa), will very soon make way for a qualification registrable outside East Africa.

In the meantime it is encouraging to read the following:-

> "All graduates spend a year or more at the central hospitals of their territories before being posted out. As housemen they get opportunities which are normally denied housemen elsewhere.
> Under supervision they deal with all surgical, urogenital, and obstetric emergencies personally. At

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xx "South African Medical Journal", July 28, 1945.

> Mulago the material is so vast that three to four months in each department.....suffice to equip a man to tackle all emergent cases. Most recent graduates have extended their interests in surgery beyond emergent work, some with considerable success. A recent letter from a graduate of two years' standing tells of how for three months he had independent charge of surgical wards while the surgeon was unable to operate. 'Besides the accidents and emergencies I did many hernias, three hysterectomies and two Caesars', and he concludes, 'My surgeon was very pleased with my work'". ◆◆

So far as East Africa is concerned -- for the training is inter-territorial -- much is being expected from these young assistant medical officers, and they are more than justifying the confidence reposed in them. To their own people they are steadily passing on the beneficial results of the knowledge and skills they have gained through cultural assimilation of a highly specialized nature. Also relevant to our study would be the work of the National Nutritional Council in South Africa, the fact that every night in compounds all over the Reef, Africans of all ages are being trained in the various branches of first aid and home nursing, (about 500 are passed as competent by the St. John's Ambulance Brigade every year, and in a recent test 32 out of 38 passed with honours) , the extensive first-aid training on the Mines, the development of municipal kitchens as also of daily school-meals, the recent offer of the Witwatersrand Technical College to train African chemists, and the invaluable health education given by schools throughout the Continent.

Did space permit, one could speak too of leper settlements, of remote dispensaries, of travelling units, and of the modest and financially starved, but richly meaningful health work of missions. One could write also of territorial and co-ordinated research, for it is irrebuttable that the work of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, which is a training ground for Colonial workers as well as a centre for research, or that of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, or that of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, all spell cultural charge in capitals for the Africans, who have reason to thank God for it.

◆◆ Ibid.

Instead of drawing upon these sources, it may be preferable in conclusion to turn instead to an entirely different facet, reflecting rather the thought that the protection of African health is bound up with the economic interests of the European, which admittedly reduces the health of one 'race', to the pounds, shillings and pence earned by another.

In its issue of February 6th. 1947, the "Star" reported Dr. C.J.P. Anning CBE as stating that the Native mine-workers lost 700,000 shifts in 1945 as the result of sickness, apart from a further 700,000 shifts owing to accidents. In addition the Gluckman Commission expressed the national loss in working time through sickness, accidents, or injury, as from 12 to 30 million pounds a year. The health of the African would therefore appear to offer a sound investment for the European, and the evidence strongly suggests that in his own interests, the latter is more and more attracted by it, and not at all by any alternative investment in a larger establishment of licensed witch-doctors.

CHAPTER XVII

ART AND MUSIC.

In his"African Survey", Lord Hailey writes:-

> "Indigenous African arts and music are primarily functional; the African artistic genius has produced objects of singular beauty inspired by religious beliefs and social customs and the necessities of social and domestic life. These sources of inspiration are profoundly modified, if not destroyed, by modern conditions, and there is evidence of a decline in artistic taste, accelerated by the replacement of indigenous articles by those of European manufacture, the commercial exploitation of so-called native-crafts, and lack of encouragement." xx

He admits that the subject deserves more study and discussion than are possible in his Survey, clearly apparent from the fact that in this monumental volume of nearly 1,700 pages, but a single page is devoted to it. Nevertheless most will share his regret concerning the artistic decline to which he refers, and will admit the force of the reasons he gives, although one may hold that the African artistic genius possesses sufficient vitality to produce objects of beauty even though inspired by new religious beliefs and social customs, evidence concerning which is already manifest. To this we will return.

The craft-work of the different tribes ranges from the richness of its quality and variety on the West Coast to its marked poverty in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Nevertheless one remembers with deep appreciation the brass-work of Benin, the weaving on the West Coast, the basketry and calabash work of Zululand, the wood-carving and metal work of Southern Rhodesia, the attractive huts of Maputaland and parts of the Congo, the reed work of Buganda, the basketry there with its Nubian influence, the ebony figures carved in the Congo, the teak carvings in Northern Rhodesia, the canoes made on the Sese Islands, on the shores of Lake Edward, on the banks of the Lualaba and elsewhere, the beautiful harps and other musical instruments made by tribal craftsmen and played by the Kabaka's musicians in Buganda, the drums, shields, stools and weapons of many territories, the clay granaries and houses of Bechuanaland, the Karosses there, the leather work of the Sudan, and the fine

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xx Op. Cit p. 1290

pottery and beadwork still found in so many places.

Early travellers spoke with respect of Bechuana skill in wood and metal. Today the decadence of the former may be judged from the travesties of art offered for sale to the passengers who pass by train through the Protectorate, - pitiably executed carvings of animals and aeroplanes. Of this Territory, as of so many others, it is only too apparent that the cultural level in art has dropped considerably during a few generations. The Bamangwato kaross-making, which appears to be the only remaining craft of real merit, shows the influence of European conventional designs; good pottery is still to be found among the Bagkatla, and granaries, houses, walled courtyards and murals of pleasing design and workmanship are also in evidence, but in general, here as elsewhere it must regretfully be admitted that indigenous art is fast disappearing. In this connection one needs to remember that, as postulated by Macmillan, "It is possible that some of the southern peoples may have lost a more advanced culture when driven out by the wars.....into more arid and difficult country". xx

In the same context he says that there was less external stimulus from the Arabs and the Indians, which suggests that, further north, eastern culture influenced African and stimulated enterprise.

Writing of Nigeria he says:-

> "Of the many skilled crafts of Kano, 'morocco' leather is famous; but there are besides the tanners and leather workers numbers of others - spinners and weavers, fullers and dyers, goldsmiths and blacksmiths. These towns of the north-west show the only important example in Africa of specialized craftsmanship
>
> Hausa traders also have carried the products and influence of this ancient culture through a great part of West Africa." ++

This suggests again that in Africa as everywhere else traders have played an important part in culture-contact.

From Godfrey and Monica Wilson one reads that:-

> "It is easy to mistake a flat Ndali basket for one from Kalobo many hundred miles away, or a Bemba beer strainer from Northern Rhodesia for one from Pondoland on the South African Coast. Nyakusa and Pondo sleeping mats are hardly distinguishable to the untrained eye. But the details of the styles were as local as the languages'...", most artefacts had only a local circulation and since lasting mediums were

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xx Ibid. p. 73. ++ Ibid. p. 68.

> scarce, the artefacts passed down the generations were few. Excavations on Bantu sites yields little but skeletons, potsherds and occasional iron tools. All the old techniques were by modern standards very simple ones. Now local differences in style of dress, furnishing, architecture, music and dancin..... are becoming less marked." Foreign cloth was at first used in local idioms.....but similar African fashions now spread over wide areas and European dress is commonly worn..... and houses and furnishings of European de ign are appearing everywhere". ##

This calls for little comment, but it is quoted to illustrate the view of these anthropologists that in the areas referred to African techniques were very rudimentary, the craft-work had a restricted circulation, hardly any survived from an earlier day, and the invasion of European culture is now well established.

They say, moreover,

> "There were no lasting mediums except iron, baked clay and hard wood; and since iron was scarce, clay pots shattered, and hard wood was little used, the works of art passed down the generations were as few as those circulated beyond neighbouring chiefdoms.
>
> When the circles of community interlocked geographically, tales and dances and songs may have travelled far in space as they did in time - the great similarity of folk tales over Bantu Africa proves that they travelled at least one way - but without writing and choreography and musical scores the volume of art thus circulated was necessarily limited. What was forgotten by one generation was lost for good". xx

This emphasizes alike the inevitability of change, and the corresponding urgency of the need to collect and preserve before it is too late. Relevant to this is the unique Duggan-Cronin collection of tribal photographs in Kimberley, which rightly secured the interest and evoked the appreciation of Their Majesties recently. Apart from the intrinsic quality of the photographs, their special merit derives from the fact that a few years hence it would be quite impossible even for Mr. Duggan-Cronin with his sympathetic insight and expert technique to obtain them, for the old order changeth, and no legislation can recall the mode of life we have destroyed, nor the art which formed so integral a part of it.

The Wilsons claim also that:-

> "Local differences in art tend to disappear as groups become less isolated, just as local differences in law, morality, and economic organization, in logic, science and dogma

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Op. Cit. xx Ibid.

> in convention and technique disappear"....."Civilized art far surpasses that of any primitive society in rich diversity"..."ANY ATTEMPT TO KEEP AFRICAN ART 'UNCONTAMINATED' BY EUROPEAN TRADITION AND CONVENTIONS IS FUTILE". ** (capitals mine)

The last sentence is basic to our point of view. Its acceptance on the part of those who, by idealizing the Africans past, are adding to his present perplexities and complexities, would help to remove from his path of progress and emancipation, the barriers which their specious arguments help the repressionists, from very different motives, to erect

The French attempt to distinguish between manual skills needed by the average African, and those crafts which are the concern of the specialist. Hence they establish craft institutes at the main commercial and government centres, which the Dutch had already done in Java, where crafts are so rich and technique so perfected, and which a little later Meyerowitz was to help to do on the Gold Coast. It is of interest that the Bamako Craft Institute in the French Sudan was developed under a French architect, because of his "superior knowledge of woods, clays, stones, metals, and their uses", a significant admission. Other similar admissions follow. Thus of the building at Bamako one reads that it "is a striking adaptation of African architecture to modern needs"; that it has two sides with open verandahs facing the street, to arouse the interest of the people; that craftsmen and apprentices "provided they are selected by their guilds or by the Government", may come at any age, for any length of time; that they are encouraged by their European Director to do better and better work, and that "at the same time enquiry is made as to how far European technique or research can help the African in the future development of his craft". One could develop without difficulty the many instances implicit in the above situation which illustrate how the indigenous is being affected by the French culture, and how such influence operates, nevertheless, in the interests of the African.

Of the same territory one reads, moreover, that within the ordinary school curriculum place is given to the making of boxes, doors and windows and to the mending of ploughs, of yokes and harness, and most significant - that "At selected centres they have European research

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** Ibid.

officers who spend their time studying local materials, clays, woods, and ores, and local techniques".....and that.."through these centres the Government is able to show its interest and inspire new developments," whilst in unpretentious rural schools are simple repair classes, where the children learn to handle European tools, and to effect repairs,and in regional schools they maintain agricultural implements, construct furniture, and learn to be wheelwrights. xx

Although this system is not specially outstanding, but has kinship with much that obtains elsewhere, it helps to illustrate the blending of the old and the new, of the African and the European culture, and of the recognition given to the utilitarian and economic, as well as to the artistic aspects of craft work, under changing conditions. It is a matter for rejoicing, however, that although there has been the unavoidable intrusion of imported crafts and techniques, there has been no deliberate extrusion of the indigenous. Of parallel interest is the fact, that, anomalous as it may seem, it requires European specialists and government money to preserve anything of value in the indigenous, for it cannot be achieved by African teachers unskilled in these crafts, nor by any economy disrupted by migrant labour. During the Budget session in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament many years ago, a laugh was raised at the writer's expense for the proposed appointment to the staff of the Domboshawa Government School of an artist and craftsman of repute, who, having studied in many European countries, had studied African art also, and wished to contribute to it. It was regarded as derisory that a recommendation should be made to spend government money on such a project, which was accordingly vetoed. The specialist concerned proceeded instead to the West Coast, organized cultural and marketing centres, and induced Colonial Development and Welfare Fund moneys in six figures to be voted in support. Concurrently this may help to show that it is normal, rather than abnormal, for governments in Africa to with-hold money for such services, but that His Majesty's Government has not been behind that of the French Sudan in demonstrating a contrary tendency.

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xx Mumford and Orde-Browne. Op. Cit.

By association one quotes the following from "The Colonial Review" of March, 1947 :-

> "The West African Institute of Industries, Arts and Social Sciences, was founded in 1943 to investigate and develop local crafts and industries, and examine sociological and economic problems arising out of contact with Western Civilization. Under Mr. H.V. Meyerowitz the Institute's Director, a beginning was made with the study of African arts and crafts, including wood-carving, weaving, the making of bricks and pottery, dancing and indigenous religious practice.....The West African Council decided to revive the activities of the Institute at the earliest possible moment and has appointed Mr. Henry Morris, Director of Education to the Cambridgeshire County Council, to examine the future of the Institute on the spot."

That an English Director of Education should be selected to follow up the work of the late Mr. Meyerowitz is interesting, but obviously not inconsistent with the aim "to investigate and develop local crafts and industries, and examine sociological and economic problems arising out of contact with Western Civilization". One thing is certain, namely that he will extend such contacts.

It may now be opportune to consider a few contemporary developments to show the trend in African art as a result of alien influences elsewhere.

For many years Mrs. M. Trowell, M.B.E. has made a very real contribution towards such developments in East Africa. A one-time art student of the Slade School, Mrs. Trowell gave her services to such work at the Jeanes School, Kabete, Kenya, and later at Makerere College, Uganda, where she was also Honorary Curator of the Uganda Museum, in which capacity she travelled extensively and collected carefully selected African artefacts for the ethnological section, mention of which is made to show her enthusiasm for such things, a fact amply corroborated by her writings on African arts and crafts.

In consequence, a few years ago, she organized in London an exhibition of the paintings done by some of her Uganda students, an exhibition which received a very favourable press, some of the reviewers being sufficiently carried away to write with a certain degree of ardour of the emergence of a new African "school of painting". With all deference to Mrs. Trowell for whose work I have the very greatest regard, I would submit that such talk was a little premature, and that water-colour technique is not indigenous to Uganda. Nevertheless one welcomed the fact that portfolios of these paintings

were circulated among the African schools there to spread the new culture.

Of similar significance was her guidance and further training of a young African sculptor of outstanding ability, named Gregory, who came to Uganda from a catholic mission school across the Kenya Border. Under her tutelage, and given further facilities, ideas and encouragement, he passed from the medium of clay to that of wood, and in a comparatively brief time produced arresting results.

His studies of Africans of different types and ages, and the vigour which characterized his work were remarkable. In a representation of the figures at the foot of the Cross after the Crucifixion, typical African attitudes of grief were realistically expressed, the composition being striking. When asked to portray his own conception of death, he produced an impassive horned figure, from local folk-lore, relentlessly crushing a small human who was wilting in his hands. It appeared to combine African idiom, with some of Epstein's work of which he had seen photographs, his own spark of genius, and newly acquired technique.

Again one welcomed the fact that, appointed to the staff of Makerere College, he could devote half of his time to inspiring some of the students there, and the other half to creative work.

Many years ago, at Grace Dieu Anglican Mission, near Pietersburg in the Transvaal, Sister Pauline C.R. encouraged by Canon, now Archdeacon Woodfield, began to develop the woodcarving which the students were doing with simple pen-knives and poor wood. The frontispiece in the book "Worship in Many Lands", shows a Madonna later carved in teak by one of these Africans. Worked in relief on the front of the mission choir stalls were, on one side the trees, and on the other the animals of Africa. Since then, according to an article in the "Star", dated March 28th, 1947, many churches in South Africa have been enriched with carving from the school. When Sister Pauline was transferred to Umtapa, in Soythern Rhodesia, it was but natural that her wood-carving experience should be placed at the disposal of the students there. From the article referred to are taken the following excerpts which show how the process continued:-

> A set of carvings of beautiful workmanship is now in place round the pulpit of St. Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg. They show four great teachers of the early Christian Church - St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom and St. Thomas Aquinas - and the central figure is Christ the Teacher. The artist is a native youth, Job Kekana, of St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, in Southern Rhodesia.
>
> Using thick panels of Burma teak, he has obtained remarkable effects of depth and texture, and has achieved splendid representations of the great figures. .....
>
> "The panels were designed by Mr. ... Moolman, a member of Grace Dieu. The first shows the scene when Ambrose, a Roman prefect, addressed the people of Milan, about the election of their bishop. The next panel shows the conversion of St. Augustine in his garden. The great teacher in the east, St. John Chrysostom, is shwon standing under the dome of a church in the Byzantine style.
>
> This design was made from an ancient print lent by the Very Rev. Archimandrite Nikopoulos, of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church, in Johannesburg.
>
> St. Thomas Aquinas, the great scholar, writer and teacher of the 13th Century, is shown seated at a table reading. The different planes in the carving have been so skilfully used that there is an effect of deep perspective, running from the table in the foreground to a bookcase against the wall behind the saint, with a delicately carved crucifix above.
>
> There remains one empty space on the pulpit, for which a carving of St. Jerome will be made.
>
> Below the figures there are smaller panels: "The sword of the spirit which is the word of God"; "The seed is the word of God"; "Thy word giveth light" and "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet."

To the purist all this is to be deplored, since the pendulum has swung from an indigenous craft to conventionalized Christian art of a centuries old European tradition. To others the transfer of culture so clearly depicted, illustrates yet again that from this universal process the African is not exempt, and, moreover, as we suggested at the beginning of this chapter, that he has demonstrated that his artistic genius may be inspired by new religious beliefs, beliefs which have animated art in country after country throughout the centuries, and which have already given it newness of inspiration in the West and East African Territories, in Ethiopia, in the Rhodesias, in the Congo, and in the Union, where, as urgently as elsewhere, both the beliefs and the related art are needed.

During the Royal Visit to Southern Rhodesia, Her Majesty spent an hour or so, unexpectedly and pleasurably, at St. Cyprian's Mission near Bulawayo, where Mr. Patterson has established a well deserved reputation for the carving of wooden panels of a somewhat similar nature by young African students, and for their other craftwork, for both of which, it is claimed, the students are largely thrown upon their own initiative. That they have been influenced

by "our" culture is nevertheless obvious.

That there are now African painters with an established reputation cannot be denied. Space precludes the mention of more than one. In the "Star" of April 16th, 1947, publicity was given to the fact that on that day Major H. Rodseth, Under-Secretary for Native Affairs, was to open an exhibition of Gerard Sekoto's pictures at Christi's Art Galleries. Of his pictures one was reproduced in the paper, which wrote about him as follows:-

> "GERARD SEKOTO is accepted today as the foremost African painter. Self-taught, he has acquired a technique that is as thrilling and colourful as Africa. He is from the "Bapedi" tribe and until recently, was a teacher, as his father before him.
>
> He told me that he used to sketch the visitors who came to his father's school in Middelburg and, when he went to the Bothsabele College to train as a teacher, designed a badge for the school blazer and won first prize - 5s. and a Bible. He taught at Pietersburg for some years, went to Johannesburg and apinted location scenes and then exhibited them in Cape Town.
>
> Gerard Sekoto is 34 years old, and has exhibited with the New Group in Johannesburg. He is the only African member of this premier association of South African painters. His work is referred to in books such as the South African Overseas Reference Book".

His one-man show of thirty odd oil paintings attracted considerable attention, and an article in "The Forum" dated 16th August 1947, said that "By natural aptitude and trial and error he has evolved a technique and worked his way out of school teaching until he has become accepted as a South African painter."

The article quoted him as saying:-

> "I could get no help, no training in art", he says; "I had to find my own way. About this time I decided to go in for painting and give up teaching. I moved to Johannesburg where I used to paint location scenes. I managed to sell some of them occasionally, but it was tough going.
>
> "I moved to Cape Town, where I lived for a couple of years, and had an exhibition at the Gerome Galleries there. I lived with a friend. I couldn't afford to set up on my own. Later I began to get more pictures accepted, and finally became independent.
>
> "For the last two years I have lived in Pretoria. I want to get a year's private tuition in Paris, where, through the kindness of Bishop Parker, people will receive me (I don't know a word of French). Then I would like to return to South Africa again".

The "Forum" added in conclusion:-

> "Gerard Sekoto has a talent of his own, and the discipline of training will probably improve his line and produce a lighter effect as well as more subtlety".

And since then this muPedil artist has left for France, to enter upon a richer cultural inheritance than would be possible to a member of his 'race' in South Africa, although in the Congo things are viewed differently. Thus "La Revue Coloniale Belge" for January, 1947, contained an article on the Art Centre at Leopoldville, describing the various artistic and intellectual activities in the capital of the Belgian Congo, with its exhibitions, literary competitions, and colony of European and Native artists and sculptors.

Reference was made also to Bolamba, the editor of "La Voix du Congolais" who is considered their first Bantu poet and the leader of a group of intellectuals. It was reported, moreover, that the Africans in general show great interest in literature and drama. xx

Of the drama in Africa the future will hear much, for to the African, acting is as natural as oratory, and their own impromptu or weightier plays are everywhere enjoyed, as are the imported Nativity, and other serious plays or comedies, which they reproduce or modify with little effort and much effect. It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, that already they are taking their place in acting for the films, as the following excerpt from the "Uganda Herald" of October 4th, 1944, shows:-

"Uganda in the Film World.

Mrs. Esther Makumbi Leaves for Britain.

An event of more than passing interest took place at Port Bell on Monday morning when the B.O.A.C. flying boat left. Among the passengers who were being bidden farewell by a large crowd of friends and relations were Mrs. Esther Makumbi and her husband who were proceeding to England.

Esther Makumbi, born and educated in Buganda, has been chosen and engaged by the Two Cities Film Company to take one of the leading parts in their new film "Men of Two Worlds", on which work has been proceeding in Tanganyika for the past 6 months and which will be finished in England.

The film, which is being made in colour, is of especial interest to those who have the future and welfare of Africa at heart. It departs from the all too hackneyed and erroneous idea, which is always portrayed in films, that life in Africa consists only of war dances, savage ceremonies and tomtoms. Films, of today can be of great educative value, and in "Men of Two Worlds" the public of Europe and America are shown for the first time what the educated African can mean to Africa, his value to his country and how, only through his services can enlightenment and progress among his people be fully attained. The film is packed with beautiful views of Africa, as well as dramatic scenes and thrilles. It is understood that the leading role is being taken by that well known star Eric Portman.

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> This is the first time that an African from the Uganda Protectorate has gone to England to act in a film and the occasion may therefore be considered historic. We wish Mrs. Nakumbi Godspeed and best wishes in her good fortune in being thus given an opportunity, not only of developing her histrionic capabilities, but of being the first from this part of the world to help in publicising Africa as it is and thereby furthering the advancement of its peoples."

Although concerned with a film of less importance, the "Star" of September 9th. revealed that African actors had proved successful in the first African film comedy ever made in East Africa, the relevant item reading:-

> "MOMBASA. Thursday. A film unit from a Nairobi film company East African Sound Studios, Ltd. has been engaged this week in shooting scenes for the first African entertainment film ever made in East Africa - a film entirely devoid of any propaganda or religious bias, and designed purely as an African comedy.
>
> The main part of the film is the story of a displaced Army Officer from India arriving to settle in Kenya without any knowledge of Swahili. Most of the character parts were selected haphazard from local African talent in Mombasa, and the film directors are very pleased with the results. They say the average African is a perfect natural actor. The film unit includes ex-Army African welfare officers and two photographers from the film studios at Elstree."

That the African will success in more serious drama cannot be doubted. In a most interesting review of the recent broadcasts in Afrikaans of vivid translations of Greek drama by the S.A.B.C. the reviewer, Mr. J.J. Bond, used as his sub-heading the caption:- "Immortal Essence of the Human Spirit," and therein lies the secret for understanding how the African also can assimilate alien culture, for he shares our common humanity.

Mr. Bond therefore wrote that:-

> "Great credit is due to Professor T.J. Haarhoff for the courageous way in which he has brought the Greek drama back to life in Afrikaans....He has remembered that the dramas of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides were not written for scholars' studies or a clique of highbrows.
>
> They were written to be heard by the assembled population of Athens, with "brows" of every height from low to lofty"....."The excitement and suspense, the naturalness and poignance of utterance, even the broad humour that steals at times into Greek tragedy, are tingling and alive in Afrikaans homespun". xx

There would not appear to be much cultural affinity between classical Greek and modern Afrikaans, but the affinity between one human group and another was clearly revealed in spite of the absence of idiomatic

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xx The "Star", 27.5.47.

equivalents. Although made possible through the medium of an apparently brilliant translation, it depended upon the "immortal essence of the human spirit", and suggests that from this derives a commonwealth of art, which, incidentally, is the thought-provoking title of a book by Curt Sachs, which postulates that "there must be some common denominator to the diversity of human expression in the arts". ++ We need not look much further to justify the gradual assimilation by the African of "our" art and music. Even now some African artists may unconsciously be influenced by the work of Rembrandt or Whistler, Van Gogh or Rodin, Millais or Brangwyn, Pissarro or Cezanne.

The National Gallery in England is not national in the sense that it houses merely pictures of the English school, and specimens of the different periods of European, American and Eastern art must slowly exert an influence on African art, for the works of the five continents circulate in Africa. The Wilsons refer to this, and to the circulation also of European and American films, Australian tennis racquets, and the music, books and pictures of long past generations. They point out how common it is to hear the psalms of David or a Bach Choral in a remote African church, or to see Renaissance madonnas there, adding by way of comparison that the artistic conventions of China are influencing English ballet. xx

Alexander Campbell in his book already quoted, ++ discusses Professor Hoernle's attitude towards the argument dressed in pseudo-philosophical garb, that since "the Bantu had a 'culture' of their own, for the sake of that 'culture', the Bantu should be segregated from white influences as far as possible."

He interprets Hoernle's attitude as follows:-

> "a mind of his calibre could...have little patience with the pseudo-philosophy in which the notion was garbed, and which to his view merely served as a rather obvious cloak for what was really a theory of race domination.
> It was on a par with Goebbel's professed belief that 'culture' and 'art' were as much a part of a 'race' or a nation as were flags and uniforms, and that only Germans could appreciate Beethoven and only Dutchmen could really appreciate Rembrandt."

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xx Op. Cit. ++ "South Africa What Now?"

We are surely on sounder ground if we agree, with Curt Sachs, for the reasons already given, that there is a commonwealth of art, and that, as one reviewer of his book recently claimed:-

> "He believes that from whatever different sensations the arts may derive..... and on to whatever the artists may project their visions, on statues or murals or melodies - they are one in spirit and meaning. The arts, like gesture and speech, are expressions of man..... man's emotive reaction to stimuli from without and within". ##

If we share this conviction, and if because of it, we allow the African to share in "our" cultural heritage more freely, we shall resist segregation in art on the one hand, and on the other the evils that would flow from, say, the acceptance of overtures recently made by American agencies through official channels, to direct to their chain stores a continuous supply of African artefacts.

If the principles already recorded are valid, their validity must extend to music, although this appears to be the last salient which the opponents of cultural assimilation feel must be defended at all costs, lest it should be occupied by the vanguard of advancing Africans. Here do the defenders summon to their aid not only the lovers of music, which is understandable, as well as research enthusiasts, anthropologists, and sentimentalists, which, too, is understandable, but also high sounding psychological jargon which reflects wishful and romantic thinking rather than true significance.

The "Natal Teachers' Journal" recently printed a review by Mr. H. Tracey of "An African Song Book" by Clarence Gibbins, 29 of the songs being English, and 31 being Zulu.

Among other comments on the English songs, the reviewer writes:-

> "It will be agreed by most students of the African scene that the singing of European songs by African children is of doubtful value. Not only are the songs inappropriate, but they become mere exercises in imitation. But in so far as European songs are a medium of superficial discipline, those in this booklet are the kind to choose".

Mr. Gibbins is not likely to derive a great deal of satisfaction from Mr. Tracey's assurance that although the singing of European songs in African schools is undesirable, and at best can merely introduce

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Book of the Month Review in "Trek" for July, 1947.

superficial discipline, those selected by the author appear to satisfy this criterion.

Turning to the Zulu songs the reviewer strikes a very different note, and one can almost hear the distant throbbing of drums as one reads that:-

> "They are examples of an art which is still essentially aural, received by the ear, absorbed by the unconscious processes of the mind, and given out again SATURATED WITH THOSE INDEFINABLE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE AFRICAN PSYCHE". (capitals mine)

There is much that could be said of this, but at this stage would merely quote from a letter from Dr. Erik Chisholm, Dean and Director of the South African College of Music, Cape Town, who informs me as follows:-

> "What may be called characteristics of American music are certainly derived from elements in Negro music and have far-reaching penetration beyond that Continent.
>
> Two of the most important English contemporary composers, William Walton and Constance Lambert, base their aesthetic outlook on American Negro jazz.
>
> The influence of the Orient was a strong element in the Russian National School at the end of the last century, and conglomeration of racial elements in that country are mixed together indiscriminately in the works of Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin, Moussorgsky and others. The greatest Polish composer since Chopin, Karol Szymanowski, has an Eastern element which is probably his greatest characteristic".

From the above it would almost seem that characteristics of the English, of the American, of the African and of the Eastern psyche are alike indefinable.

To tread on more solid ground it is natural to turn to the one who, more than any other, has a claim to be heard in connection with the music of the South African Native. I refer to Professor P. R. Kirby of the Witwatersrand University, and propose to quote extensively from his article on "The Effect of Western Civilization on Bantu Music", contributed to "Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa", edited by Dr. Schapera. In reading the extracts which follow, it will be remembered that we are primarily concerned with the inevitability of the convergence of African culture towards our own. Professor Kirby writes:-

> "Many aspects of European civilization have affected the music of the Bantu. Probably the foremost among these were the missions, though the social life of the colonists, commercial enterprise, and later, systems of education, all played their part".....

After paying a tribute to the missions for their valuable work, and stating that the country owes them a debt which has not always been repaid even by honour, he adds that nevertheless they put down practices that had musical accompaniments. "In place of the music thus summarily brushed aside, the missionary provided the religious music of his sect"....."and since the music of most European churches in the period during which missionaries began to direct their attention to South Africa, was designed on a four part basis, it was not long before the Bantu peoples began to assimilate something of the unfamiliar and complex form of the art, in spite of the fact that it differed in so many respects from their own. As it happened the Bantu natives were at just that stage of musical evolution when they could, with some show of success assimilate, and to a certain extent imitate, the music of the white man".....

He then quoted with appreciation the work of the Rev. A.M. Jones at Fiwila in Northern Rhodesia, from the preface of his Lala hymnbook "Nyimbo sya waklistu awakatolika" (1931)

(I) "Let Europeans write <u>new tunes</u> adapted to the trochaic nature of their language....
(2) Write <u>new</u> hymns and tunes with recitative and fixed chorus, so that those who cannot read may join in the singing.....
(3) Use native melodies <u>and set them to religious words</u>...
(4) Teach the African to make his own hymns and tunes. This is probably the best way....."

(underlining mine)

Of the above suggestions the first three clearly imply direct change through culture contact, and the fourth does indirectly, for the concepts used by the Africans would be new.

Kirby then refers to the introduction into South Africa of harmoniums, brass-bands, tonic solfa etc. and of the last says:-

> "The Bantu took to the tonic solfa notation like ducks to water; so much so that not a few South Africans regard it as peculiarly the property of the Natives".

Adding that the would-be Bantu composers have modelled their style upon worthless European models 'without even mastering the rudimentary principles of musical composition", he admits that parodies of Western music have swept over the country; that "unthinking European patrons have occasionally arranged for the publication of many of these effusions" and that "the recent issue of gramophone records of a number of them by companies whose sole object is to exploit a Native market"...."has resulted in an even worse state of affairs".....

One is then carried back three centuries, for he claims that:-

> "Again ever since the days Jan van Riebeek colonists have brought to the country a steady stream of European musical instruments...the playing of these..... must have affected very considerably the musical practices of the aborigines. Practically every garrison in the country had its trumpeters and drummers and sometimes a military band. The houses of the well-to-do settlers frequently boasted a harpsichord or early pianoforte or

> failing this a violin, flute, or some other instrument. Undoubtedly many natives assimilated some of the musical idioms expressed on them....."The Bushman and Hottentot violins frequently observed by the travellers, the so-called ramkie, the Griqua fluit, the ixilongo and the isigubu of the Zulu, are all deliberate imitations of the violin, guitar, flute, trumpet, and drum of the European. This naturally led to the creation of a native market for cheap European musical instruments."

This demonstrates early assimilation so clearly that no comment is necessary. Kirby then shows how the interior was opened up by the establishment of stores in Native areas, and particularly in Johannesburg where lived many thousands who, with good wages, were able to satisfy their desires. In consequence the stores today are "well-stocked with jew's harps, mouth organs, whistles, concertinas, auto-harps, and guitars, as well as the ubitquitous gramaphone."

The missionaries were followed by the work of education departments which drafted curricula in music largely based on those for European schools. These courses included tonic solfa, sight reading, and the four-part system of harmony.

> "When the Europeans first came", says Kirby, the Natives "were, so to speak, in the state of development in which the greater part of Europe appears to have been about the 9th or 10th centuries. They were beginning to develop..... a polyphonic system analagous with that developed by Europe from about that date. But there was a vital difference. Whereas Europe had certainly evolved seven-note scales or modes before she began to develop her artistic, as opposed to natural, harmonic sense, South Africa would appear to have begun the latter development while chiefly employing scales or modes of five notes"..... "THIS FACT PREPARED THE NATIVES OF S. AFRICA FOR THE RECEPTION OF SIMPLE EUROPEAN HARMONIC MUSIC, AND HAS ENABLED THEM TO CHANGE OVER FROM THEIR OWN METHODS TO CERTAIN EUROPEAN ONES ALMOST INSTANTANEOUSLY".
>
> (capitals mine)

Illustrating the limitations revealed by experiment and the fact that what may to a European be completely concordant (e.g. because of our use of modulation or change of key, which never occurs in Bantu music) may be discordant to Bantu ears, he adds nevertheless:-

> "There are many who think that the Native would do better to retain his own song, simple and rugged though it is, and it may be that for those parts of Africa which even today have scarcely been touched by European civilization, they are right.
>
> BUT IN SOUTH AFRICA IT IS IMPOSSIBLE. EUROPEAN CULTURE HAS AFFECTED THE BANTU IN A WAY INCONCEIVABLE TO HIM AND HE CANNOT ESCAPE IT. IN MUSIC AS IN EVERY THING ELSE HE MUST FOLLOW THE EUROPEAN, contributing to the art on his part his undoubtedly highly developed rhythmic sense, his original melodic tunes and above all his burning enthusiasm. THE THING CANNOT BE DONE".
>
> (capitals mine)

since this has been written by Kirby, it would appear decisive enough, but he strengthens it further when he refers appreciatively to a four part hymn tune written by a Mosothos, which, "though it is simple, clearly shows that the composer thoroughly mastered the grammar of the music, that he has assimilated a good deal of the harmonic idiom of the European, and in addition has learned how to avoid rhythmic squareness"....."the whole is perfectly balanced".

He then advises, as a recompense for our invasion of his cultural territory, that:-

> "In the first place the Bantu must hear good models and this involves the provision of facilities for him to hear European performances of the very best music, adequately rendered.
>
> In the second place, he must be provided with good musical instruments, with suitable music to play upon them, and with efficient teachers to enable him to learn their manipulation.
>
> Finally for his composition he must be given the guidance of teachers of taste, who, themselves composers, understand something of his past history and present aims, and who will encourage him to face the severe musical discipline which he must inevitably undergo."

In other words this distinguished specialist in African music who has done so much research on the subject, and who is no mean ethnologist, underlines the conclusion that since the advent of the first colonists in South Africa, the Natives have been assimilating 'our' musical idioms; that "in music as in everything else he must follow the European", and that it is an obligation on our part to admit him to the very best, and to train him accordingly.

In an article on "The Future of African Music", in NADA No. 23 of 1946, published by the Native Affairs Department Annual of Southern Rhodesia, and written by Mr. Kenneth R. Long, the writer expresses the warmest appreciation of the research conducted in that Territory by Mr. H. Tracey some years ago, and then recommends that indigenous music should be taught concurrently with European. He says that many of us are apt to be led away by ideals of conserving African art untouched by European contact, but that we are inclined to forget that even the remotest kraal does escape such contact. After speaking of the onslaught made upon the folk music tradition of the Europeans the writer proceeds:-

"If such a thing can happen to the music of our own fair land after two thousand years of civilization, what hope is there of preserving indigenous African art when it is faced with a much greater and infinitely more powerful force; a force whihh attacks not only the field of art, but also at the roots of the whole economic, political and religious structure of African society simultaneously? Is it conceivable that an illiterate, unrecorded art form (such as African music) can withstand such an impact unscathed?

History has an unfortunate way of repeating itself and it seems inevitable that for a time, at any rate, the indigenous music of the Native will be deliberately neglected; indeed it has often been my experience that the African actually resents any suggestion that his own music is for him in any way preferable to ours - he feels that we are attempting to withhold from him our culture and naturally misconstrues our intentions, assuming that it is merely another application of the colour bar and that we are trying to deprive him of something to his advantage."

He fears that it may be three or four generations before the interest of the African in his own heritage will be awakened, in which event "future musicologists will have the unenviable task of re-discovering all we are losing today, a task rendered almost impossible, because only an infinitesimal part of that heritage will have been preserved in the life of the people and still less written down".

He answers his own question as to whether there is any possible way of preventing this from happening, in the following words:-

"I think not; indeed I would go further - I would say that it has already happened. People often comment on the beauty and richness of native harmony; indeed this harmonization is generally looked upon as a characteristic feature of African song.

It comes as something of a shock to us to realise that we brought harmony to the African. His early song is essentially contrapuntal; it was conceived purely and simply as a melody.....repeated if need be many times with varying embellishments. The blending of notes simultaneously to produce euphony never entered his head and the present system of 'harmonizing' which has swept through Southern Africa is directly attributable to the influence of the missionary's hymnbook".....
...."WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT THIS DECLINE OF INDIGENOUS MUSIC?"
...."MY PERSONAL OPINION IS THAT IT IS NOW TOO LATE TO PREVENT IT; ALL WE CAN HOPE TO DO IS TO MINIMIZE ITS EFFECT. This we can do in the first place by shortening the period of eclipse, and secondly by ensuring that when the African does want his music back, most of it will have been preserved. HE HIMSELF IS INCAPABLE OF PRESERVING IT; HE DOES NOT DESIRE TO, AND, IF HE DID, HE HAS NOT HAD THE NECESSARY TRAINING; WE THEREFORE MUST DO IT FOR HIM." (capitals mine)

Among the suggestions then given are the holding of national festivals with sections for indigenous music and for tribal minstrels, ("separate classes could be arranged for the performance of European music but.. ....their undoubted popularity would attract a large number of candi-

dates at the expense of the entries of indigenous music, possibly to such an extent that the latter type of entry would be negligible" - a very significant admission), the appointment of both Africans and Europeans as committee members and adjudicators, and the giving of more emphasis to indigenous music in schools and teacher-trainig centres.

The article amounts to honest stock-taking by one who would do anything he could to prevent the passing of African music, but who finds himself compelled to acknowledge time after time that the process of change is irresistible. Thus he returns to the statement that:-

> "In the meantime the music of the Past is disappearing before our eyes. The old folk are dying and in only too many cases their traditions die with them"..... "In spite of all that we can do, it is inevitable, especially in large cities, that European and Bantu music will come into sharp conflict."....."The African .....has taken our scales, our harmonic patterns, and even our melodic structure."

He cites the Negro spirituals as an example of movement in a new direction produced by the impact of two cultures. Certainly their harmony and their theme have come from 'racial' contacts. In this context it may not be irrelevant to add that I had the privilege of being present at Tuskegee in Alabama, on the first occasion when the Negro spirituals were broadcast, and that the music of a male voice choir of upwards of a thousand undergraduates rolled over one like liquid fire. It was not Paul Robeson multiplied a thousandfold, but it was nevertheless a rich and abiding experience, which helped one who has had no musical training to believe that such music knows no colour bar, whatever its origin.

In the same year, 1937, at the time of the Paris Exhibition, I had the further privilege of witnessing a XVth Century Passion Play, most wonderfully produced at night outside Notre Dame, the drama being greatly enriched by the Cathedral choir. From the same 'pension' also attended two Negro teachers of French from America, who were taking a qualifying course at the Sorbonne, and I learnt a little from them of the profound impression they had received, in spite of the mediaeval French, the unfamiliar facade of the famous Cathedral before which the drama was enacted, and the

Christian theme. Quite clearly 'race' and culture are not congruent, each having universal affinities.

In view of the suggestions made by Long for national musical festivals in Southern Rhodesia, it is interesting to the programme for the "Transvaal African Listedifod", at its "Eighth Competitive Musical Festival", opened by the Mayor at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, Johannesburg, in December, 1938, the patrons including the Minister of Native Affairs, the Mayor and Mayoress, the Rt. Rev. Wilfred Parker, Bishop of Pretoria, Mrs. L.A. Reitz M.P. Senator the Hon. Mr. J.D. Rheinallt Jones, Professors Kirby and Loernle, and Mrs. E. Ballinger M.P.

The aims of the Festival were defined as follows:-

> "To preserve and develop the individuality of African Native Music, and, concurrently, to develop the finer refinements of European music.
> To offer inducements for the diligent study and practice of music, European and African, and kindred subjects; to bring to the public notice promising musicians; to interest the African Race in good music and local talent; to bind together those who love music, for the common purpose of advancement, not only in the European, but also in African musical and kindred arts."

It can hardly be denied, that under distinguished patronage, this organization was unequivocally committed to develop the African's taste for, and technique in European music, as well as in his own, a fact clearly illustrated throughout the programme. Thus the competitions included vocal items in English, Afrikaans and different vernaculars, the instrumental competitions ranged from African instruments to the pianoforte, the violin and the saxophone, the dancing ranged from African folk dancing to the sailors' hornpipe, the Highland fling, tap dancing, acrobatic and ball-room dancing, and both elocution and the drama gave a choice of English, Afrikaans and Vernacular work. This is quoted, not in support of such an eclectic programme, but rather to show that if a good time was had by all, this was not because of any cultural segregation.

In the "Star" of December 12th. 1946, appeared the following item:-

NATIVES TO HEAR CITY ORCHESTRA.

Arrangements have been made by Mr. John Connell, Direc-

tor of Music, and the Manager of the Non-European Affairs Department for a concert to be given by the Johannesburg City Orchestra in the Odin Theatre, Sophiatown, on Sunday December 22, for the benefit of non-Europeans.

It will probably be the first time that music on such a high level will be offered to the residents of Sophiatown, Orlando and other townships and suburbs.

Further concerts will be given if the response to the new departure justifies them.

In consequence of subsequent correspondence in the same paper dealing with the provision of further musical programmes for Non-Europeans, a representative of the "Star" discussed the policy with Mr. J. Connell, the Director of Music, and Mr. G.L. Matthews, Chairman of the Art and Culture Committee , and in their issue of January 2nd. 1947, the following statement was made:-

"The municipality has not neglected the needs of non-Europeans in regard to musical education. In addition to forming African choirs it has been preparing for a long time for the formation of brass bands, a project which has only been held up because of the difficulty of obtaining instruments during the war. Some of the instruments have just arrived and the first brass band is being formed.

The intention of the Art and Culture Committee and of the Director of Music is to give the non-Europeans active musical education and entertainment, and not merely to provide them with concerts at which they are lookers-on. The brass bands being formed will consist of native players, and performances will be given in different parts of the city so that all natives will have the opportunity of hearing them.

It was pointed out that the orchestral concert given two Sundays ago was an isolated entertainment. Apart from the fact that the municipal orchestra was primarily designed for the musical enjoyment of European citizens it is still a very new body and its programme at present is too heavy to allow it to give regular performances to non-Europeans.

There is no danger that musical facilities for non-Europeans will be neglected. The municipality has an active policy in this respect and the steps being taken are being carefully guided by experts paying due regard to the needs and desires of the native population."

That this municipal development has proved extremely popular with the Africans has been made very evident from letters and articles in both the English and the Vernacular Press.

In the "Star" of December 27th. 1947 appeared the following intriguing item:-

"Gilbert and Sullivan operas performed by residents of Johannesburg native townships will be produced next year at Sophiatown.

Some years ago African teachers and others took part in one of these operas, but the scheme now envisaged is one in which natives generally will take part.

Father T. Huddlestone said today that native appreciation of orchestral music had greatly increased during the last two years. They were first given a concert by Joseph Trauneck, conductor of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra, and since then had been visited by various quartets, Elsie Hall, the South African pianist and Thomas Matthews the

English violinist.
On January 26 Joseph Trauneck will give another performance at Sophiatown and will be accompanied by two African choirs.
"The operas will take a great deal of preparation," said Father Puddlestone, "but I have no doubt that they will be accomplished and prove popular."

Mr. J. Trauneck Conductor of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra continues to evoke the enthusiastic response of the African audiences, as may be seen from the following excerpt from the "Bantu World" of September 20th. 1947:-

"Orlando residents showed their deep interest in classical music - orchestral and vocal - when they turned up in full force at the symphony orchestral concert given in the Orlando Communal Hall last Saturday by the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra under Mr. Joseph Trauneck.
The desire to instill into the Africans the love for good music is the basic reason for the series of symphony orchestral concerts being arranged by Mr. Trauneck, in conjunction with the Orlando Music Society, in the township.
To assess the value of these concerts, one must refer to remarks made by African school teachers in Orlando; they are all pleased that the concert came on before the annual schools eisteddfod, as both the music rendered and the conducting have helped immensely the teachers and scholars taking part in the school's music competitions of the schools.
Prolonged cheering by the audience also indicates the appreciation for good music by Orlando residents.
The orchestra played the following items: "The Merry Wives of Windsor" by W.A. Mozart; Selections from "Carmen" by George Bizet; "The Gipsy Baron" by Johann Strauss; "Reverie" (Drowsin-) by Robert Schulman and selections from "Show-Boat".
During the interval, many members of the audience took the opportunity to express their appreciation to members of the orchestra. The feeling was evident that Mr. Trauneck was not alone in his desire to bring good music within the reach of the Africans, but credit also goes to members of his orchestral band.
The Orlando Choral Group under Mr. Mothopeng gave a few selections which also received the appreciation of the audience."

In the "Star" of August 16ht, 1947, prominence was given to the inauguration the previous day of an association for the study and promotion of Native music. The Office-bearers elected were Sir Evelyn Baring, K.C.M.G., K.C.V.O. President, Sir Herbert Stanley, G.C.M.G., and Sir Alfred Beit, Vice-Presidents, Mr. Hugh Tracey, Secretary, and Mr. A. Delmont, Treasurer.

From the chair, Sir Herbert Stanley said that the new association should be the means of spreading knowledge and understanding of the African race, Mrs Hoernlé referred to instances of tribal chanting having been lost through failure to record it, Professor Kirby spoke of the developments made possible through electrical recording, because of which "scientists of the future and the Africans themselves would be able to read the art history of the past", the Rev. H.P. Junod emphasized that "the time was short if the music of Africa was to be rescued from oblivion", Mr. Tracey said that "African music, preserved at this stage, would be of immense value to composers of the future", and Mr. L.A. Hallett, President of the Witwatersrand Compound Managers' Association, said he would like to see information on African lore dancing and music, brought to Natives in urban areas, and that the Society "could greatly benefit all employers, including the mines and municipalities, by advising them how to retain for Africans their way of life, instead of imitating that of others."

From the newspaper report, therefore, it would appear that in Johannesburg, the heart of an urban area, where, according to the latest figures, 416,618 Africans live in the congested and de-tribalised conditions brought about by the demands of European industry, and aggravated by the sub-economic rural conditions imposed upon them, the chief focus of the new Society, so auspiciously launched, is to further research in African music before it is overwhelmed by the tide of our socio-economic and cultural system, but that, according to the representative of the most disruptive agency of tribalism in Africa, the results of the research could assist the European leaders of industry to encourage the African to

develop along his own lines in the art of music, by the simple expedient presumably, of supplying him with his own instruments, which, otherwise he seems to discard, and by first discovering any tendency to imitate the European technique which so unfortunately surrounds him. Of the value of the research, there can be no question, for its need is readily admitted, but for the rest -- it fails to carry conviction.

We have seen that in music, as in other art, English, continental, American, African and Oriental influences intermingle, that in South Africa the earliest colonists and their cosmopolitan successors, as also the missions, the military, the Education Departments, and the ubiquitous traders, have steadily ousted African music; the urban conditions have greatly accentuated this and that organized musical festivals have assisted the mixture of Victorian music, oratorio, traditional melodies and the work of living Bantu composers, all duly supported by the piano, the violin, African instruments, and the drums and clarinets of the swing band. We have seen, moreover, that the Johannesburg City Orchestra in connection with its programmes of classical music specially arranged for Native audiences, is receiving a most ardent response, and that Gilbert and Sullivan operas rendered by African students are proving very acceptable.

From other territories parallel evidence is available in abundance, if space permitted us to be drawn upon. In the Uganda Museum in Kampala, probably the richest section is that of the musical instruments collected by Dr. Wachsmann who, after studying African music in Berlin, has contributed valuably to research in this subject in the Protectorate. And yet a mile away at the great Namirembe Cathedral, designed by Sir Herbert Baker, is a talented African organist who plays Bach, and half a mile beyond, at the Rubaga Cathedral, the Africa sing plain-chant.

It is of some significance that at the inaugural meeting of the New African Music Society in Johannesburg, although three knights of the realm, an anthropologist, a professor

of music, a research worker, a penal reform worker, a city director of music, and a compound manager were prominently associated, no mention is made of contributions to the discussion by Africans, although four were appointed to the executive committee.

In the circular subsequently issued to make known the objects of the Society these were defined as follows:-

> "The African Music Society has been formed with the main object of encouraging research into indigenous African music and its many allied arts, including dancing, drama, costume, carving, pattern, etc. The Society hopes to be able to co-ordinate the work of those engaged in this research and to encourage the practical use of their results, both in town and country.
>
> Amongst other things, the Society hopes to establish a Reference Library of literature, films and phonographic records, to publish books and monographs and to expedite both the recording of African music and the filming of African dances. In this way, it is hoped, the Society will be able to collect the essential data for the study of their arts and to encourage African composers and artists.
>
> Those of us who are politically and economically in control of African territories are largely, if indirectly, responsible for the destruction or the continuity of African art, and if the proposed research is not undertaken within the next few years the innate artistic genius of the Continent may well be lost or irrevocably distorted by Western mannerisms. The Society, it is hoped, will become the normal channel for the recommendations of bursaries for research in this field, an undertaking, of vital interest to the future well-being of Africa and a major contribution to the world's folk culture."

In concluding this chapter it may be well to reflect again upon Professor Kirby's conviction, that inescapably in music, as in everything else, the African must follow the European, and that to this art he will contribute undoubtedly "his highly developed rythmic sense, his original melodic tunes, and above all, his burning enthusiasm." In assimilating Western music, his 'burning enthusiasm' will be decisive, and, fortunately, no amount of cold water on our part can damp it down.

Chapter XVIII

RECREATION AND WELFARE.

In the last chapter we considered somewhat fully the objectives of the recently formed African Music Society, as reported in the press. It id not surprising that the a similar emphasis should apparently have been given concurrently by the same group, to the recreational life of the urban African.

Thus in the "Star" of May 23rd, 1947, one read that:-

> "A new society which may help to throw more light on Native recreational life is soon to be established in Southern Africa, with headwuarters in Johannesburg. It aims at co-ordinating the work of people engaged on research work in Native music, dancing, folk-lore, and various aspects of his recreational life.
>
> Arrangements have been made for founding the society. A constitution will be drafted and the first public meeting held soon. Mrs. W. Hoernle and Mr. H. T. Tracey are the sponsors."

The report then quoted Mr. Quintin Whyte, the Acting Director of the Institute of Race Relations, in the following terms:-

> "Mr. Whyte said to-day that the society considers" "that the recreational side of Native life has been largely neglected so far, but, by using films and electrical recording machinery, it is now possible to study it scientifically. It is possible that the society will provide bursaries for both Europeans and non-Europeans for research into the subject. The society expects considerable support from overseas, both in Europe and America, where great interest has lately been shown in the affairs of Africa. Overseas representatives may be appointed.
>
> The patronage of several notable persons has already been promised" .....

Some of these statements appear a trifle definite when reflecting the views of a society which at the time had not been formed, but they suffice to show that the promoters considered from the outset that remedial action must be preceded by scientific research, which is open to question. However, Mr. Tracey clarified their point of view in two articles which appeared in the same paper in their issues of July 3rd and 23rd, 1947, respectively.

In the first he said that recreation for Natives was an important antidote to crime, but posed three questions to which he provided partial answers, postponing fuller replies pending the results of the projected research.

Thus he asked:-

> "What kind of recreation do Natives in the town need? What facilities should be provided for them? What should they provide themselves?"

Admitting that "many hundreds of young Native boys and men take to football and athletics with alacrity", if adequate ground be available, he was reported as saying:-

> "Better provision should be made for the Natives' indigenous pastimes, particularly dancing.
> Any Saturday night in Johannesburg you can see Zulus, usually men in domestic and commercial service, performing a kind of strutting dance with yelling accompaniment. This has little of the athletic extravagances of the Ndhlamy line dancing which is frequently seen in Durban, but it comes from the same facility."

He then referred to the transport difficulties, and said:-

> "Dancing in halls or in the upper rooms of back street warehouses is attracting considerably numbers of younger people, and their jiving dances are lively and entertaining to watch, but here again the transport bogey appears."

It is not made clear whether there is to be research into jiving.

Mr. Tracey added that it was not essential to think of large halls and expensive equipment, since the need was rather "to find a number of places either open air or partly closed, where groups of a few score, or at most hundreds, can enjoy their particular pastimes" ..... "a hundred such places spread throughout the townships would happily occupy thousands of Natives in their gregarious pleasures, singing, dancing and the playing of games." It was then stated that these would be "the natural centres for radio listening to special programmes." The operative words may be "special programmes", but even these do not disguise the fact that listening to the wireless is hardly indigenous.

The first article ended on the uncontroversial note that the early development of recreation was urgently needed to check crime, but it added that:-

> "We should be on safer ground in undertaking that action if we were not so ignorant of what constitutes effective recreation for communities other than ourselves. That knowledge can only be obtained by further research."

The writer's experience suggests that this claim will bear as little examination as, for example, a plea that although malnurition is rife among the Africans, we cannot give any effective assistance until we collate the results of inter-territorial research concerning it, or that if we discover that rural Natives have sub-economic

small-holdings, or that urban squatters are living in squalor, we cannot usefully ameliorate their position until sociologists present us with an authoritative report on tribal land tenure and housing.

In his second article, Mr. Tracey, having stated that when the new society was born, South African politicians, administrators, educationists, philanthropists and householders, would have the opportunity of taking part in the search for the foot to fit the golden slipper (the reference being to the idea that Native recreation was the Cinderella of African studies(, went on to state that:-

> "The society has arisen from the growing realisation that Africa's Natives possess a culture of their own which has a contribution to make towards the welfare of her people, and nowhere more so then in the difficult and distraught atmosphere of the town locations.
>
> To teach, to convert, to train Natives in European ways has been found insufficient to meet the stresses of adaptation from peasant to industrial life; and it is now coming to be understood that the Natives' own arts must be harnessed, as all arts have been harnessed in history, to restore the sanity, balance, and well-being of the Native people."

It is not made clear whether the stresses of adaptation to industrial life can be more satisfactorily met by "performing a kind of strutting dance with yelling accompaniment", which, according to the earlier article, derived from the indigenous, than by the assimilation of higher culture, so familiar as aphenomenon to students of the history of cultures. Neither is it in the least clear how "the enmity of Europeans towards Native arts began to take its toll, as he claims, "from the overt hostility of the religious of the Sixteenth Century".

The article continued:-

> "The new society, it is hoped, will canalise the efforts and resources in this field of research, and make it possible even at this late state, to study the fund - amentals of Native recreations, and to give them once again practical application, particularly in the troubled industrial communities."
>
> 'Culture, or the thought and emotion habits of a people, is not eradicated by a mere change of environment, even where that change is so violent as the transition from the quiet hills of Zululand to the bawdy back-streets of Sophiatown."

Our only comment would be, that if tribal culture could withstand environmental changes of the revolutionary kind described, it would

seem to call for no research-workers to discover it, and for no social workers to promote it.

In "The Reef", of September 1st, 1947, appeared an illustrated supplement, entitled "The Native Worker on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines" (P. R. D. No. 7) from which the following extract is taken:-

> "The mining industry takes a keen and active interest in the way in which its Native employees spend their leisure time. On every mine on the Witwatersrand facilities are provided for the congenial occupation of the native off duty.
>
> The playing of games is encouraged, though it has been found difficult to arouse enthusiasm among the tribal natives for many of the games popular among the Europeans. However, new games better suited to the tribal Natives' temperament have been evolved and are widely played.
>
> The great majority of tribal Natives still show marked preference for their own amusements among which the most popular are the traditional dances that play an important part in their lives in the Native Territories.
>
> These dances are organised at regular intervals by the compound staffs and competition between the tribes is encouraged.
>
> THE DANCES ARE POPULAR NOT ONLY WITH THE NATIVES BUT ALSO WITH THE EUROPEANS WHO COME IN LARGE NUMBERS TO WATCH THEM. THEY SERVE A USEFUL PURPOSE IN HELPING THE EUROPEANS OF SOUTH AFRICA TO REALISE THE STATE OF DEVELOPMENT AND THE NATURE OF THE NATIVES OVER WHOM THEY HAVE ACCEPTED THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF TRUSTEESHIP". (capitals mine).

It is difficult to write with due restraint concerning the passage in capitals, for among other things it clearly suggest that the most powerful industry in South Africa, through its large scale organisation and expenditure, helps to ensure that the African is kept "in his place", and that the Europeans are given facilities to realise how the African has been endowed for exactly that place. This viewpoint is implicit later in the same document when, with reference to the week-end movements of thousands of mine-workers, it is stated that "the tribal Native, who still observes the moral code and standards of his own civilisation, is a law-abiding and decent person". The implication appears to be that no lawlessness or 'race' - conflict need be expected from the tribal Natives whom the mines recruit, and whose retention of tribal customs they do their utmost to encourage, but that if once the moral code and standards of "our" civilization are accepted by the African, or if his supposedly indigenous tribal life in the compounds is tampered

with and his standards raised, the mine-management will not be responsible for the state of untribler lawlessness that would ensue.

And yet, in the brochure under reference one reads that:-

> "Another popular form of entertainment among the Natives is the free weekly cinema entertainment in each compound organised by the Native recruiting Corporation. The films shown are carefully selected and the programmes are a balanced mixture of entertainment and education."

One also reads that:-

> "Public address systems are installed in all compounds and these broadcast the special Native programmes and those European programmes of the South African Broadcasting Corporation that the Natives may consider entertaining.
>
> Between these programmes, the loudspeakers broadcast recordings of Native and European music. This service is an entertaining addition to the Natives' favourite, traditional method of relaxation - sitting in the sun and gossiping.
>
> The Natives are also encouraged to develop their own artistic talent. A popular Native brass band, organized by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, tours the compounds at the week-ends.
>
> In addition, recreational halls have been erected in many compounds where those Natives who wish are able to relax and study. Access to the compounds is given to European and Native clergymen and where any mission wishes to open schools, the mining managements provide rooms for the purpose. In this way an important contribution is made to the struggle against the illiteracy of the Native population."

To this is added the very significant fact that "More than 300,000 Natives have fully qualified in First Aid on the Witwatersrand mines, and on their return to their kraals they spread and apply their knowledge".

In spite of any contrary claims made it would seem that the mine management, in recreation as in every other contact, makes a powerful attack against the indigenous in African life, an attack which has repercussions as far as the great Locations.

The "Star" of August 7th, 1947, reviewed the City Engineer's last annual report, which had just been issued. The news item concerning this ended on the following note:-

> "Sport and dancing were important activities in the municipal compounds, but there had been less dancing during the year because of the inability to entertain without rations and beer.
>
> Interest in football had been sustained and a City Deep compound ten had won the Johannesburg Bantu Football Association's League Cup.
>
> Drill and first-aid had been encouraged and a municipal team from the Waterval compound had won the

annual police drill competition."

This association of beer and tribal dancing is sufficiently well known to require no emphasis. It played its part in the royal dance at Lenowe already referred to in another context.

The newspaper account of an address given by Mr. A. Tracey at the 1947 annual general meeting of St. Martin's Hostel for African Girls, quoted him as saying "consciously or unconsciously, we Europeans have begun to destroy the normal recreation of the Natives. We have done much to discourage religious dancing ...."x

It is possible, for the article does not make it clear, that he explained just what religious dances had been discouraged, since if they had been dances of fertility rites, or phallic dances of the kind still practised in parts of the Congo and elsewhere, there could be no same alternative to their discouragement, and the same would hold good of many of the songs sung and dances performed at tribal initiation schools, for their disappearance also would connote a wholesome rather than an irreligious trend. It would be an excusable attitude, too, for the European missionary to register little enthusiasm for such dances as called for thorough alcoholic preparation, however venerable their origin, or indigenous their associations.

The "Star" has rendered a public service of real value by its recent series of articles on the lack of recreational facilities for industrial and suburban African workers, in an endeavour to rouse the public conscience concerning what it described as the "unfulfilled promises of 21 years"

In their issue of June 2nd. 1947, they wrote:-

> "THE MEAGRE, ALMOST NON-EXISTENT outside recreational facilities for natives in the central and residential areas of Johannesburg are in danger of curtailment. About 109,000 domestic and industrial workers out of Greater Johannesburg's 371,000 Native population live in hostels or private premises and they have for their outside recreation:
>
> Two sports grounds where charges can be levied to keep the sporting associations alive;
> Six tennis courts on trust property;
> One Native dancing arena;
> No public swimming pools;

---

x The Star, 25.9.47

A number of open playing fields on mine properties and so forth; and

Virtually nothing else except sun basking and street-corner loitering.

One sports ground, the Municipal Wembley site on the southern fringe of the central area, is wanted by the City Council's Works Committee for a surface parking ground and for an extension of Kissik Street as a main artery to the south."

The alienation of the site of 4½ morgen in Von Wielligh Street Extension, which was given in trust by Messrs. Pim and Hardy for the Bantu Sports Club, in 1926, represented, accordingly to the article quoted, a greater achievement than that of any single City Council, towards meeting the need. Of this the paper said:-

"Some people hoped that the Bantu Sports Club, under municipal management and control, would blossom out into a great Native "Wanderers," and that with the possible acquisition of an adjoining 11 acres it might be made into an arena catering for the many sporting activities that would enable the "town" Native to spend his leisure profitably and give him an outlet for his surplus energy.

Instead, there have been more grandiose schemes - as there have been in the blue print stage, for a score of years - involving an expenditure of millions for both Europeans and non-Europeans. The naked fact is that castles in the air have generally soothed Johannesburg's social conscience about its Native citizens more effectively than deeds."

Then followed a picture of what was termed a mixture of dilatoriness and good intentions; much play was made of recreat - ional facilities being a good antidote to liquor dens, slum yards and vice," this being the line taken by Mr. C. Ballenden, then Manager of the Municipal Native Affairs Department, when addressing the Federation of Ratepayers' Association in January 1931.

One read, moreover, that "In July, 1936, there was a heated debate before a Council scheme providing for 'cinemas, communal halls, social and recreational facilities for Natives in the City' was passed.

In the "Star" of June 5th, 1947, a well-informed article showed that public opinion was at last aroused, and a three-point plan proposed that there should be a central sports arena, clubs in the suburbs, and small fields on the city perimeter, proposals summarized as follows:-

"After a general survey of the social and recreational needs of the 109,000 domestic and industrial workers in the central and residential areas of Johannesburg, a number of professional men have come to the conclusion that, for a beginning, there might be a three-point programme.

For the "town" Native a start might be made with a centrally situated arena, such as the Bantu Sports Club in Von Wielligh Street Extensions, for inter-provincial, inter-district and other big sporting fixtures. It conveniently also might provide for other activities, such as war dances, brass bands, choirs and the like.

For the domestic servant a series of small clubs might be established at strategic secluded sites in each suburb with a strictly limited membership confined to registered servants of each zone. They might have two tennis courts, or a swimming bath on, say, an acre site with a clubhouse for meetings, communal activities, night schools, housecraft lessons, indoor games, etc.,

For both sections there might be a number of sports grounds on the perimeter of the city and away from European residences, but with less elaborate installations than for the central sports arena. They should have tennis courts and swimming baths."

After the above summary, this stimulating article continues:-

"They point out that, from being ignorant labourers in the early stages of urban development in the Union, an increasing number of domestic servants have become detribalised and no longer have homes in the kraals. As part of the permanent section of the urban population, they live in back yards, under conditions which vary from uninteresting drabness to unhygienic sordidness. They cannot live in family units and the anti-social effect on morals and domestic ties of this unnatural existence need not be enlarged on.

In the central area they have the Bantu Sports Club and the Wemmer sports ground-described in earlier articles - and the Bantu Social Centre. The latter is limited to members only, with a maximum capacity, in the present premises, of about 1,000. It has a library, billiard tables, a recreation hall, where volley-ball is played and occasional concerts are held. Adjoining it in Eloff Street Extension the Jubilee Social Centre for non-Europeans is now being built. It will serve as an educational and recreational centre, with lecture rooms, a cinema hall, games room, library, and will have an employment bureau."

This summary makes clear for those who are willing to accept the evidence, that in their many thousands there are Africans to-day who have no connection whatever with a tribally cultural Zoo into which, for their own good, they should apparently be herded for their indigenous recreation as soon as their hours of duty in the European labour market permit.

The staff reporter pointed out, moreover, that:-

"Such facilities as exist in the Native townships (housing about 140,000 under family conditions) do not help, for apart from the fact that they are

> inadequate, their use is denied to outsiders because of their distance from the main suburban areas, and also because of the measures taken by the municipality to discourage visitors.
>
> There are four cinemas and two dance halls in what one may refer to as the unrestricted area of the city (outside the townships) with a max - imum capacity of 3,500 to which the more sophist- icated and affluent non-Europeans including Natives, may go.
>
> Finally, there are the Native beer halls, which are controlled by the municipality in conjunction with municipal compounds. The extent to which they can be patronised by the domestic servant is, therefore, limited. In addition the advisability, on moral grounds, of encouraging Natives to frequent the beer halls is disputed by many people."

It seems a little odd that one has to refute some such argument as the following:-

"Beer, if it be native beer, is indigenous. Beer is wholesome and best. The indigenous is also wholesome and best. Therefore all Natives of both sexes and of all cultural levels should support beer halls". However the Africans themselves have attacked this so effectively that no supplementary argument is necessary.

The article continued:-

> "In none of the residential suburbs do any halls or playing fields exist where servants employed in those suburbs can spend their leisure hours. They have no golf course, no tennis courts, and no public swimming baths. There are no cinemas within reasonable reach, and their only diversion is to walk the streets and congregate on the pavements until they fall fould of the police. When they gather in public parks they are accused by other residents of creating a disturbance For the rest there are the illicit skokiaan vendors and the gambling dens in the slums.
>
> Tribute should be paid to the work of religious bodies and people who have organised in some suburbs religious and educational classes for Native servants. They should fit into any general scheme to relieve the position."

After this clearly worded evidence, it was admitted that at present the chief obstacle in the way of suburban reform is the intolerance of the Europeans, althogh it was claimed that given large areas, secluded by trees and proper management and control; there was no reason why such centres should disturb the peace of the neighbour - hood any more than road traffic.

The survey concluded as follows:-

> "To run the clubs a staff of Native welfare workers and club managers would be needed. Suitable training facilities exist at the moment in the Jan Hofmeyr School. There could be a properly organised scheme

> for adult education, of religious instruction, amateur theatricals, literary societies, choral societies, etc. The assistance of established organisations having such activities among their objects would, naturally be enlisted. There would be no lack of voluntary European guidance and assistance to see the clubs well started.
>
> The whole organisation would have to come under the control of a European director with a small staff but the details could be decided in consultation between the various interested bodies."

The chief reason for quoting so freely from these recent Press articles, is that they so clearly reveal the problem, the efforts being made towards its solution, and the fact that 21 years ago it was realized that the need would not adequately be met by any emotional fostering of tribal pastimes within confined areas, but that, under European guidance, Africans would be trained in outdoor and indoor recreation along lines which had proved successful in five continents, one of which is Africa.

For the same reason one turns to the activities of Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality, under whose aegis a Native Welfare Section was inaugurated in September, 1937. In a memorandum by Mr. Venables, the Manager of the Department, to cover the 1945/46 period, occurs the following paragraph:-

> "Steps have been taken to frame a comprehensive programme to cater for the leisure time activities of all sections of the Non-European population. A European Recreational Welfare Officer was recently appointed, and he is busily engaged on contacting various Agencies already operating in this field. He is also preparing a survey of the work actually being done, with a view to co-ordinating the disjointed efforts of the many present Agencies into a joint scheme in co-operation with the Non-European Affairs Department. The outline of a plan has already been framed which will ultimately provide facilities for Non-Europeans, both in their own residential Town-ships, and in Industrial areas, as well as in European residential areas.
>
> In the meantime active steps are being taken to enlist the interests of the natives and other Non-Europeans Affairs Committee has recommended that £10,000 be voted to enable an immediate start to be made on this programme in the Location areas. The Non-European Affairs Department is in negotiation with the City Engineer's and the Public Health Departments in relation to the conversion of the sewerage farms at Bruma, Cydna and Delta into recreation centres for natives."

In an earlier document from the same source it was stated that:-

> "The Department maintains a sports staff to teach organised games, and has already provided 11 football fields, 5 tennis courts, and a swimming bath,

as well as 5 communal halls for indoor recreation and social functions."

From a most encouraging document prepared by Mr. J. C. Young, Recreation Officer to the Department, and dated 17th June, 1947, have been taken the following excerpts or information:-

After referring to the library facilities for Africans to which we have devoted attention in an earlier chapter, the report states that the City Council subsidizes the following organizations which are concerned with cultural and recreational work among Africans:-

Transvaal Association of Non-European Boys' Clubs.
Bantu Men's Social Centre.
Donaldson Community Centre.
Cape Coloured Social Memorial Club.
Bantu Sports Club.
Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra.
Transvaal Association of Non-European Girls' Clubs.
Transvaal Workers' Educational Association.

It is then pointed out that 6 Non-European Sports Organizers assist the Recreation Officer; that in the townships a limited number of playing fields and tennis courts have been provided, and in the City, one football field (Wemmer). Moreover one reads:-

"A recreation room is provided at the Wolhuter Hostel and larger halls at Denver Hostel and Mai-Mai Bazaar. A new Jubilee Social Centre at Wemmer will provide a restaurant and recreation room and the top floor will be reserved for the use of the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work."

A separate report on the Cinema Section shows that three 16 mm projectors are used, a fourth being on order; that these are equipped with megaphones and gramaphone turntables; that there are two European operators, each with an African assistant, and that the Native audiences regularly catered for are estimated to number 11,870, at 10 centres. Of interest too is the following statement by Mr. Young on the type of film shown:-

"A wide variety of entertainment films is shown and an attempt has been made to get away from the stereotyped "cowboy" film. A marked preference is shown for "action", musical, and war films. The following is a selection of some of the more popular films.

"Action in the North Atlantic"	"San Demetrio London",
"Star-spangled rhythm",	"China",
"Aerial Gunner",	"Coconut Grove",
"Atlantic Convoy",	"Zanzibar",
"My Old Kentucky Home",	"Owd Bob",
"Texas Rangers",	"Burma Convoy",

The audiences are almost invariably well behaved even though the conditions in the open are sometimes

unpleasant. In the last six months the first part of the programme has consisted largely of shorts and documentaries from the Film Libraries, United States, United Kingdom and Canadian. These included:

Disney Shorts Cartoons in Colour on Malaria and Hygiene,
U.K. Shorts House Village, Story of Omolo, Father and Son all films about Africans.
U.S. Shorts Soil Erosion, The Real Cowboy, Travel Talks, Children of Many Lands etc.
Canadian Shorts Red Indians, Scenic Beauties, Community Singing, etc.

The African subjects are the most popular, but all these interest films are well received."

In addition to the above, health films have been shown in the townships by the Public Health Department.

Of Music, to return to the Recreation Officer's June Report, one reads as follows:-

"One Non-European Sports Organiser devotes his whole time to the formation and training of choirs. In addition, four part-time posts for choir masters have been created by the Council for the encouragement of choral singing.

A brass band is being formed and instruments costing £1,500 have been purchased.

The City Orchestra has given one concert of good music at the Odin Theatre, Sophiatown, under the auspices of the Non-European Affairs Department.

The Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra which is subsidised by the City Council has played at Orlando and Sophiatown on several occasions.

21 Male Voice Choirs meet at the Bantu Sports Club for practice as well as five brass bands, in addition to the Nu-Zonk VaudevilleCompany and various other musical groups."

A statement follows to the effect that:-

"Mr. H. Tracey of Gallo (Pty) Ltd., has set up an organisation to do intensive research on the subject of Africans' recreation, primarily music and dancing. It is hoped to issue gramaphone records and build up a library of African songs and stories. Measurements will be taken of musical instruments and film records made of the dancing and costumes."

It is claimed in another paragraph that:-

"The Department has tried in various ways to encourage all forms of sport and traditional songs and dances. An annual cycle road race has been inaugurated at Orlando.

An annual sports day at Wemmer has provided an opportunity for open-air boxing, athletics, cycling, football and dances by a thousand or more Zulus in their traditional attire."

The membership of the Bantu Sports Club has grown to 1,466, of whom only 160 are mine-workers. With reference to the rather facile generalizations quoted earlier, to the effect that it has

been found difficult to arouse enthusiasm among the Africans for European games —— which, which in general, is arrant nonsense, it is of some significence that the Club grounds are the home of the Johannesburg African Football Association with 89 affiliated clubs; that they accommodate also the Sports Club's own Summer League with 118 teams, and that they have six tennis courts.

Of parallel interest are the Bantu Men's Social Centre, and the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre. With over 5[illegible] active members, the former "provides indoor recreation, boxing and physical education, and also tennis, and acts as a forum for diverse activities, social, religious, and entertainment." One reads, too, that "Several bands make use of the premises for practising, and piano tuition is given by an African musician."

> The second centre, founded three years ago, "had 747 paying members in 1946 as well as 349 non-paying young people enrolled in the Youth Clubs. It offers its adult members games nights for singing, dancing, and indoor games, film shows, evenings of classical music, lectures and a small library."

Other items of interest extracted from Mr. Young's survey are that at a large new building to cost more than £25,000, shortly to be erected at the Donaldson Orlando Community Centre, provision will be made for a large number of adult education activities; that "The Institute for Citizenship plans to provide a panel of lecturers on subjects such as citizenship, economics and society, to provide Non-European people with some expert guidance on the way a community or a country is governed"; that further developments are planned for the African by the Transvaal Workers' Educational Association; and that the Y. M. C. A. propose through trained African workers, to run recreational facilities at the new Denver Hostel and at the Baragwanath Non-European Hospital, having already appointed a full-time organizer to give physical education and night school instruction to the Non-European staff at the Tara Hospital.

It referred, moreover, to the fact that at the Western and Eastern Native Townships and at Orlando, the S. African Red Cross Society had shown its films to large audiences, and to the further fact that the

Transvaal Association of Non-European Boys' Clubs, with a membership of approximately 3,000 enrolled in some 60 clubs, organised such activities as physical education, athletics, gymastics, outdoor and indoor games, first aid, debates, story-telling, drama, music and arts and crafts.

In a further undated document on "Communal and Leisure Time Activities", Mr. Young contends that so far as community centres for non-Europeans in Johannesburg are concerned:-

> " ... entertainment and games very soon lose their priority in the programmes. What begins as fun and games moves on, usually at the request of the members, to more serious pursuits, play-reading, choral groups, lectures, brainstrusts, art classes, handicrafts and adult education generally. Among the Africans, Coloureds and Indians, it is almost certain that any centre started as a club with dances, parties, billiards and other indoor games, would very soon find its members asking for or organising for themselves a training in the very things which their social background has so far failed to provide. It would not be surprising to find among Africans that they wanted to become literate and learn English or Afrikaans, to learn shoe-repairing, to study music, to practise weaving or bookbinding or carpentry".

This is of very real significance. Thus Mr. Tracey was quoted early in this chapter, as saying that to overcome "the stresses of adaptation from peasant to industrial life", as well as to "restore the sanity, balance, and well-being of the Native people", it was essential to employ indigenous forms of recreation in our congested industrial areas. Mr. Young, who similarly speaks of the Africans in these surroundings as "an urbanised peasantry who have lost to a great extent the social life of the kraal", recommends diametrically opposite measures by way of reform, and the whole weight of the cumulative experience of different territories supports him.

The International Olympic Committee in 1938, he says, prescribed as a reasonable requirement for every 1,000 people in settled areas, 5 acres of public playing fields. The Recreation Office points out that:-

> "Johannesburg which has a Non-European population of 442,000, has approximately 75 acres of playing fields, and other Union towns have probably an even smaller proportion. The Johannesburg City Council has before it large plans for recreation among its Non-European population, including stadiums, community centres, swimming baths, football fields etc."

There can be little doubt that although research in African music and in recreation is of admitted importance, and more especially in the former, and although both are complementary to development, a great disservice would be done to the urban Native population if we were to ignore recreational experience, European and African, to disregard their own insistent demands and to discourage the municipality, the voluntary agencies, and the liberally disposed Europeans who are willing to secure land and to subsidize services, on the plea that scientific research into indigenous and presumably static cultures, might reveal something so much more in harmony with those "indefinable characteristics of the African Psyche", could we but arrest its onward progress in order that it might realise this truth the better.

Our examples have been chosen chiefly from the Witwatersrand because of the concentration of so many diverse ethnic groups there, but the same principles are found to apply throughout the Continent.

In Uganda one may see some of the fastest amateur soccer to be found anywhere, and when selection matches are played for the East-African inter-territorial Gossage Cup, one cannot but be struck by the control of the ball, and generally by the high standard attained. In the same Protectorate is an old established territory-wide athletic association, which has an annual meeting for which trials are held under strict conditions, all over the country. In the spear-throwing, attested distances of over 300 feet have been reached, but the contests range from sprints, relay races and long distance running, to hurdles, to the various jumps, and to pedal, motor and trick cycling, and in many of these events very good performances have been recorded.

In Southern Rhodesia, some years ago, an African cyclist achieved times which approximated closely to Olympic games trial times for the same distances, which reminds one of world's records in athletics being held by a Negro - Jesse Jones.

One knows that, for many years, the Africans in one territory after another have shown their prowess, as well as their enjoyment, in these things, just as they have displayed notable

skill in tennis and boxing, in swimming and diving, in hockey and netball and golf. To hold that this is all wrong, since, for perfect adaptation to the changing conditions of society they must retain their indigenous recreation unchanged, is on a par with saying that at Stellenbosch no more rugby should be played, but that the students should confine their sporting activities to throwing the jukskei, for, incredible as it may seem, rugby first appeared neither in South Africa nor in Holland - clearly a cultural oversight.

It is well known that Scouting derived its inspiration from Africa and from the Africans. It is unnecessary to point out that the movement is essentially inter-territorial in conception and practice, or that international jamborees have been attended by many Non-Europeans from all parts of the world, including Africans from different territories. It seems a little odd, therefore, to recall the consternation that prevailed in Salisbury some years ago, when respectable Rhodesians discovered that an African scout had been seen wearing a Scout hat in public thoroughfare. Meetings were hastily convened to discuss the crisis. It was not considered entirely fitting to adopt the name "Pathfinder" instead of "Scout", since this was a South African innovation, and Southern Rhodesia leaned away from, rather than towards the Union, except perhaps in economics and Native policy. It was therefore decided that the parallel organization should be known as the "Torchbearers", although a strong minority opinion feared that this might mean firebrands, and suggestions for a distinctive uniform were invited, a uniform which would avoid any such embarrassment as seeing an African scout in a scout hat. There was a dearth of suggestions, but the only attempt at the indigenous which claimed attention, was that in place of the hat the Torchbearer might wear a leather circle with upright feathers, and that from his undefined but tribal unform, he should wear "somehwere", a bunch of wild-cat tails.

To-day, presumably, they wear Scout hats, khaki drill, and other regalia, the citizens' sleep being as untroubled as ever.

It is a matter for regret that I cannot reproduce recently collated figures for African scouts and guides throughout the Continent, but it is clear that they must number hundreds of thousands. From the Natal Division an estimate gives the number of scouts for the Union as approximately 6,000, of whom 2,648 are in Natal, 2446 in the Transvaal, in addition to which total must be added the guides. As one goes north, east and west, the numbers gather momentum, helping to reflect the extent of another dynamic agency which steadily promotes the convergence of African culture towards "our" own, the integration taking place at adolescence, through the re-orientation of instincts which are universal, knowing nothing of 'race'.

From a recent circular letter issued by the Divisional Secretary, Natal, an African, one read the following:-

> "From June 1947, the South African Headquarters of the Boy Scouts Association of South Africa has been re-organized. There is now only one headquarters for all sections of scouting in the Union"....."Racial distinctions in Scouting are gradually disappearing in the Union".... "We in Natal have been on this road of inter-racial co-operation for some time now. In Natal the Divisional Commissioners of the four sections in Scouting meet from time to time to compare notes--- and to discuss schemes of closer co-operation".

Of their work at the Royal Visit the circular said "It was an impressive rally that must have convinced many of the great advantages of inter-racial good-will. We were alljust Girl Guides and Boy Scouts doing a good job of work".

Of the International Rover Crew in Durban it said:- "This is another fine example. The crew exists of Pathfinder, European, Indian and Coloured Scoutmasters and Commissioners. You just have to attend one of their meetings and see and feel this new spirit at work, to feel as if you have just had a welcome breath of cool fresh air on race relations." From other documents one learnt of similar activifties which included international jamboree nights and camp-fires, inter-racial hikes, attendance by invitation at a European Scout Rally, and inter-racial co-operation at concerts.

To this one could add personal experiences of the spirit pervading the interracial group of Europeans, Africans and Indians annually gathered together in the attractive scout-camp at Kazi, on the shores of Lake Victoria. In such a group, anyone who advocated that the African should develop on his own lines, and on those only, would have deserved a practical demonstration of hiw own doctrine by being thrown to the crocodiles, a strictly indigenous treatment for the more difficult.

Little has been said of welfare as such, but the whole of this chapter, has nevertheless, been devoted to it. It merely remains by way of postscript, to add that the work, actual or projected, of welfare officers and departments throughout Africa, if analysed, would serve to underline the inevitability of the convergence we are considering.

The dividing line between adult education and welfare possesses no exactitude, for it does not exist, and much that could be said about either overlaps with what has already been written. Andso, if one consider literacy, pre-natal and post-natal care, first aid, film-services, broadcasting, recreation, discussion groups, post-war propaganda, the development of arts and crafts, music and the drama, housing, the promotion of agricultural, medical or educational development, the teaching of homecrafts, or the formation of co-operatives, it is equally impossible to think, with or without emotion, but inall honesty, of basing all this upon African germ plasm, or of black culture which derives psychically therefrom.

To protest against such European influence as peverting pure African culture, is to suffer from astigmatism every whit as acute as any possessed by the repressionists, so that, in the name of light and research or of the exclusive knowledge of tribal lore which is supposed to reward its devotees, new allies are made --- those in the first camp pledged to defend the European against the African advance, and those in the second camp committed by vows they think more holy, to defend the Africans themselves against it.

.....

Chapter XIX.

MILITARY TRAINING.

It is a cardinal principle of policy in South Africa not to arm the Native in peace or war. Some say that the policy arises from a bad conscience, others that it is due to a natural fear complex regarding the possible use to which armed "barbarism" would put its dangerous power. There may be some connection between the two theories.

When General Smuts took the salute at a march past of army units in Johannesburg during the early days of the last Great War, a special burst of cheering was spontaneously given by the European spectators as the African contingent swung proudly past the saluting base. They carried assegais at the slope-assegais manufactured industrially for the purpose.

At the same time, in various theatres of war Africans had already engaged the enemy, and others were being trained in arms drill, the use of the Bren and Lewis guns, thethrowing of grenades, the rounding up of paratroops, the firing of mortars and of anti-aircraft guns, and many similar operations, military training for which the different colonial powers were responsible, and which gained in volume and intensity as the war developed.

Forming a distinguished part of the 11th (East African) Division, which with British, Indian and West African Divisions helped to comprise the 14th Army, were battalions of the King's African Rifles from East Africa. A superficial glance at the record of two of these battalions may serve to illustrate the fact that African soldiers have been trained for many years and have fought their way across much country.

The 2nd Nyasaland Battalion of the K.A.R. had its origin in the clashes with Arab slave traders and warlike tribes which compelled the African Lakes Corporation to employ armed Natives under British leaders to protect their stations.

In 1894, three years after the Protectorate was formed, there was a force of Sikhs and Native regulars, which two years later became the British Central African Rifles. Under Sir William Manning they were actively engaged against the Angoni and the Anguru in 1897-98; three companies were detached and sent to Northern Rhodesia, and later the Battalion was sent to Mauritius as a garrison, was withdrawn and sent to Samililand, and also took part in the Ashanti War of 1900-1, as well as in fighting in the Gambia. Incidentally those who went to the West Coast by way of the Cape, returned by the Mediterranean, thus circumnavigating Africa nearly 50 years ago.

In 1902 the various East African Forces were consolidated into one Regiment upon which His Majesty conferred the title of "The King's African Rifles".

One reads that :-

> "The Bn. served gallantly in Somaliland between 1902 and 1904, at Erego in October 1902 and at Gamburi in April 1903, where most of the detachment was overwhelmed losing all its officers, all the Sikhs and 118 Africans killed.
> The remainder of the Bn. fought a hard action near Daratoleh ..... when two N.C.O.'s received the D.C.M. The Bn. was present at Jidballi when the enemy lost over 1,000 dead.
> Thereafter until the outbreak of the Great War its history is mainly one of garrison duties, notably in Zanzibar"..
> ....."The Bn. which was reformed in April 1914, fought throughout the War in the Southern Area against General Von Lettow".

For this and the information which follows, I have drawn freely upon the Souvenir No. of "Rhino Review". In 1923 the Colours presented to them bore the following battle honours :-

Ashanti	Kilimanjaro
Somaliland	Narungombi
East Africa 1914/1918	Nyangoa

The following excerpts are taken from the same account :-

> "The Bn. went up to the Kenya/Abyssinia border in 1939 and on the threat of war with Italy moved into British Somaliland, later taking part in the sea evacuation of the country via Aden. It was during this evacuation .. that the Bn. earned four D.C.M's.
>
> Towards the end of 1940 it was the 2nd Bn. as part of the 21st(EA)Bde, who commenced the drive into Italian Somaliland. However before long they were pulled out and sent across country to Wajir to play the useful part of a deception unit with No.II sets and dummy tanks. The task was so successfully carried out that the Bn. caused the diversion of a whole Italian division destined to cross the Juba."

In February 1941 they moved forward to take over Mega from the South Africans, two days after its capture, after which :-

> "with seven days rations for a fourteen day forced march in torrential rain they proceeded to Uonoto for the attack on Megada. There again they had been beaten to the post - the Gold Coast Regt. having reached the town three days previously from the north with a bag of over 900 Italian, and 2,000 Eritreans".

They then returned to Kenya where they were re-assembled for the task of building the defences of Ceylon, until absorbed in the 11th(EA)Division in 1943, after which they took part in the Burma campaign so that many know the waters of the Chindwin as well as those which flow from the Mlanje Plateau in Nyasaland.

There can be no reservation on 'racial' grounds concerning the appreciation due to such gallant Africans as Platoon Sergeant-Major Silika Walani (12077) of Zomba, Nyasaland, who received the Distinguished Conduct Medal, the citation reading as follows :-

> "For conspicuous gallantry and outstanding leadership PSM Silika engaged a dug-in Japanese light machine-gun at ten yards range with a Bren gun while his platoon attempted an outflanking movement, until his ammunition ran out and he withdrew.
>
> From a fresh approach he renewed the assault and silenced the light machine-gun with hand grenades.
>
> Heavy and concentrated fire came from several directions and PSM Silika decided more grenades were needed to resume the fight. With fresh supplies of grenades he rallied his platoon, and showing the utmost determination and outstanding

leadership, went forward with grenade and bayonet.
At this stage showers of grenades and heavy enemy fire blasted several of the leading men off their feet, and wounded PSM Silika.
Having collected his wounded and as time was getting late he was ordered to withdraw.
PSM Silika's devotion to duty, unsurpassed courage and high qualities of leadership were an inspiration to the Battalion".

The 4th Uganda Battalion of the K.A.R. had its beginnings about the same time as those of the 2nd Nyasaland, for they have a link with the occupation of Equatoria by Emin Pasha and with Capt. Lugard.

Later, in 1893, when the Protectorate was founded, a force of 600 regulars and 200 reservists was formed, and in December of the same year "Col. Colville, with 420 Sudanese Rifles and 1,000 Baganda spearmen launched his campaign against Kabarega".

From the same summary, one reads that :-

"From 1894 to 1897 these hardy campaigners" (the reference being to locally recruited Sudanese Africans under British Officers), "put in an astonishing record of service until the Mutiny, in consequence of which a Bn. of 200 Sikhs and 200 Punjabis was raised in India. They reached Mombasa in May 1898, and with the addition of locally enlisted Africans formed the 1st Bn. Uganda Rifles."

The following year the Battalion became the 4th Bn.K.A.R. and one learns that :-

"Between 1902 and 1914 the 4th was actively engaged in Lumbwa, Budama, Nandi, Lake Kivu, Somaliland, and Turkana.
Mobilized once more in September 1939, it was sent to Malindi and found itself guarding a 1,000 mile front from Malindi to Turkana."....."The Battalion fought its first battle of World War II at Bedada, January, 1941 - the results being Italians on the run"...

Later, "with Yavello as its base the Bn. struck at the Italians in Sorroppa and on March 28th captured the town, together with a considerable number of Italians including their Bde H.Q. staff the flags of which Bde now hang in the regimental depot."

And then, after refitting and undergoing extensive training in Kenya, the Battalion sailed for Ceylon, before joining in the Chindwin campaigns. Included among these Acholi, Lango, Baganda, and Luo Askari, were

several veterans of the 1914-18 War, one of them, the Battalion Regimental Sergeant Major, Mistopha Khamis, a Nubi, having had 17 years of military service.

To complete fittingly the story of this and of other battalions of Askari in the second World War would require volumes, nor would it be completed by describing how Africans from Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias carried through the first monsoon operation ever attempted and opened the way to the final victory in Burma. The full part they played is still to be chronicled. Nevertheless there is enough material available to know of the invaluable contribution they made, and of the recognition accorded it.

The presence of the 11th(EA) Division in Burma called forth a special Order of the Day in which General Sir William Slim, G.O.C.-in-C of the 14th Army said :- "The 11th East African Division, a latecomer in the field, has lost no time in making its mark and showing itself to be of the highest fighting quality. Great things are expected of you and the Fourteenth Army is proud to have you amongst them".

And then after the East Africans had crossed the Chindwin, the river which Wingate and his Chindits had crossed on their raids, the message from the Corps Commander read :-

> "Please accept my heartiest congratulations and convey them to all ranks for getting across the Chindwin — the first troops to do so. I fully appreciate the enterprise, determination and endurance shown throughout since you first took part in these operations which have made this possible".

After they had formed the spearhead for the troops who followed in search of the broken 15th and 31st Japanese Divisions, General Slim sent this message to East Africa :-

"I came down and I saw your troops. They have

> made an exceedingly promising entry into this theatre. They have shown an unquestionable superiority in close fighting over the Japanese. I am impressed by their discipline and smartness, but above all by their cheerfulness in the most difficult climatic conditions in one of the worst jungle areas of the world".

Leaving very incomplete this picture of African combatant units, it is fitting to supplement it with references to the work of the African Pioneer Corps (E.A.), obtained from an undated voluminous report kindly supplied by Major P.E.W. Williams, Director of Training, East Africa, from which it is possible merely to extract a few sample illustrations.

First called the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps (East African) this unit was formed to meet Middle East requirements for military labour of all types in Egypt and in the near East countries including Arabia and Iraq. From the report one reads that :-

> "Their early role in M.E. was the helping in the colossal task of unloading stores for the Eighth Army, making and mending its air fields and roads, laying its railways and water pipes, building its bridges, and performing the numerous tasks behind the lines to help on the fight against the Axis in North Africa"

They were not involved in any shipping losses and casualties from enemy action were surprisingly small, but one learns that :-

> "They were not without their adventures, nor did they all work behind the lines. Some of the first went straight to Tobruk. Bombing and shelling became common-place to them, and they learned to work through it all for the job had to be done.
>
> Almost a complete Company was captured by the Germans in Tobruk, although some of its numbers escaped. Nearly all were in the retreat of 1942.
>
> There are many tales of fortitude and courage during the dark days before El Alamein. At Abu Hagag, East Africans went through a bad time one night when the station was dive-bombed incessantly and a petrol train blew up and caused many casualties. British ranks who were there said the Africans stood up to the bombing as well as people in England.

> There is the story of the section at El Daba which shifted 1,060 tons of supplies in a night. They were called out again in the morning to move petrol and then told to hitch-hike 100 miles back to safety. No lorry would stop. In desperation the weary men marched to the railway station. A New Zealand transport officer saw their plight and sent them back by train, but only after they had coaled two engines. Many were the sections that could tell similar tales of fortitude, danger, weariness and misery. It was remarked how the African N.C.O's with last-war experience steadied the younger men through those hazardous times, especially under shelling and dive-bombing."

They came out of the retreat practically intact, some of the companies which had been through the worst being sent to the comparative quiet of Palestine, whilst the rest remained in Egypt, working with re-inforcements from East Africa to rebuild the strength of the Eighth Army for the knock-out blow. Loss of supplies through pilfering had reached alarming proportions and the guard duties undertaken by these Africans led to considerable reductions in these losses. They took a hand also in stretcher bearing and were highly commended for their gentle handling of the wounded. Thentoo, apart from the more monotonous work of roadbuilding, rail-laying, orderly and mess work, sweeping and despatch riding, the pioneers made the decoy tanks and lorries which played so important a part in the strategy of El Alamein.

And "after El Alamein came the advance and some of the pioneers found themselves back in the old haunts of Tobruk, walking warily now with all the booby traps about. Once again they did the old jobs, and in addition the clearing of mine-fields. German bombers became scarcer and scarcer, and morale rose high". Up to April 1943, the battle casualties were as follows :-

Killed in Action	69
Wounded	33
P.O.W.	226

It is of interest to learn that :-

> "The P.O.W. were carried with the retreating armies of the Axis, right through North Africa,

> to Italy, then to France and Germany and most were finally quartered in the P.O.W. Camp in Front Stalag 133, Orleans, France. They were rescued by the advancing British troops in September 1944 and taken to England.
>
> In due course they were repatriated to Kenya via the Middle East."

With the final victory over the enemy in North Africa, there was a progressive change from the labour functions of the Corps to the role of second-line infantry, so that the report continues :-

> "When demobilisation started, there were thousands of the one-time raw and comparatively untrained labourers in uniform on guard all over the Middle East, trained soldiers at last and jealously proud of their new title of African Garrison Coys."

And so they guarded prisoner of war camps, secret installations, docks, ordnance depots, and trains, all over the Middle East from Tobruk in the West to the northernmost frontier of Syria, and from Madagascar to India.

Concurrently with military and technical training, and cognate activities, (at the Kampala Government Technical School alone, which was militarized for the purpose, 1,200 African artisans were trained annually in approximately 10 trades, by Major D. Mc.N.Cavers, I.S.O., and his staff) a Directorate of Education and Welfare was formed under the East African Command. Its officers, drawn chiefly from the East African Education Departments, were enthusiasts who knew their job and who, in consequence, appeared to achieve miracles with the African on the one hand, and with the B.N.C.O. on the other, as all who went to Kabete, from the G.O.C. downwards, warmly agreed. Apart from the very effective technique, which merely demonstrated what sound method can do with keen adults, if applied by imaginative and competent instructors, the wholesome 'race'-relations which permeated the training, demonstrated somewhat similar processes at work in a community which, sharing

the same interests in a cause much bigger than those who composed it, soon lost the idea that at a time of national crisis any real importance attached to the colour bar. In consequence there were many Europeans who, at the time, sincerely advocated that when peace returned the East African Governments should maintain camps resembling that at Kabete, for inter-'racial' training in preparation for post-war developments in these territories.

African clubs were opened in the Middle East at various places, and leave camps were established in Cairo, Jerusalem and Beirut, from which specially selected welfare officers conducted parties on tours that ranged from visits to the Holy Land to the Nile Barrage in the Delta.

Periodicals and news sheets in various vernaculars were regularly published; African Education Instructors were attached to each company; sports meetings and band contests were held; courses in English and Swahili were given; discussion groups were organized; wireless sets were provided; the spiritual welfare of the troops was safeguarded by chaplains and 5,000 devotional books were sold in the first twelve months; entertainment units were formed and sent on tour; African chiefs visited their men periodically — frequently by air — and a Family Affairs Bureau was inaugurated to keep the Askari in touch with their own villages.

It was realized that after the war problems of re-absorption and of re-habilitation would arise on a much greater scale than ever before, and territorial and regional plans were feverishly made to cope with obvious needs and possible emergencies. It is clearly as impossible to give a co-ordinated account of resultant action throughout the Continent, as it was to present a composite picture of the war-time activities of African soldiers throughout

the many territories concerned. As representative of parallel post-war programmes elsewhere, therefore, the Report for 1946 kindly supplied by the Kenya Director of Training may serve. The document covers 30 pages, indicative of the comprehensive nature of the training facilities provided for ex-servicemen and women in that Colony. Space limitations preclude more than brief references to such facilities.

Preliminary work had been done by means of pamphlets, broadcasts and personal talks given by unit officers, in order to explain the various courses to be offered, and also the impossibility of accepting 70,000 men for immediate training, had such a number desired this.

At the different centres it was decided to specialize in order to cater for varying needs, arrangements being made, for example, to train at one centre men who, after a course of two years duration, would enter paid employment as artisans to be employed mostly under urban conditions; to train at another men who would establish themselves, it was hoped, as craftsmen in African villages, or who would work as artisans in rural areas for farmers or other employers; to train others, some of whom would be engaged on government buildings of different types; and at still another centre to train men for service with government departments as teachers, welfare workers, agricultural instructors, etc.

At the end of 1945 it was reported that :-

> "1945 ends and 1946 opens for training with a large question mark — will the African ex-servicemen come forward for this training? The civilian employer hopes they will, and promises co-operation; the Army are supplying all stores, equipment and building they can spare; the country has made funds available, and an enthusiastic staff awaits them."

A year later it was reported that these ex-servicemen had responded so well to the call that, in spite of all the preparations made when it was difficult to predict their response, the facilities offered had proved much too limited, there being a waiting list of over 400 at each centre.

Most interesting is the following excerpt :-

> "No disabled man is refused training. When the Rehabilitation Officer reports that a disabled man is seeking employment, but is experiencing difficulty, he is immediately offered a vacancy at one of the centres. Here the Education Officer interviews the man and with the advice of the Rehabilitation Officer and the Medical Officer, suggests....any employment in which.. there are vacancies, and which his disability will permit him to undertake.
> The blinded are trained and cared for by the Salvation Army at their school for the blind."

At one of the centres the following was the distribution of trainees at the end of the year :-

Blacksmiths	24
Bootmakers	37
Carpenters	75
Cycle Repairers	5
Disabled men (special course)	2
Masons and Bricklayers	80
Painters and signwriters	27
Plumbers	1
Tailors	46
Tinsmiths	22
Turners and Fitters	20
Vehicle Mechanics	17
Welders	9
Wiremen (electricians)	23
	388

From this centre 247 men had left upon completion of training, of whom 163 were placed in immediate employment, 26 went to open their own rural workshops, and 58 wished to find paid employment themselves. At another centre the distribution according to the training being given was as follows :-

Further education	135
Agriculture	22
Clerical **	18
Teaching	38
Health Work	10
Social Welfare	22
Probation Work	2
British Legion	2
Traders' Course	10
Assistant Administrative Officers	8
	267

** (including four men being trained as Inspectors of Co-operative Societies).

At the end of the year many of the above who had completed training were found employment, including all the social-welfare officers.

Before the end of the War it was interesting to observe in high places the degree to which two very different obsessions held the field. The first was that social anarchy would follow the demobilization of the African, presumably chiefly because he had been allowed to exchange tribal tranquility for military might, and because, conceivably, he would not prove so sufficiently obliging as to forget this newly acquired experience as quickly as the administration desired, but might even use it to upset the status quo, to challenge tribal or other authority, and to use the national service he had so undoubtedly rendered as an argument in favour of his admission to citizenship within the nation. In "London Calling", 13th February 1947, Mr. F.S. Jodson writes "about 250,000 Askari have been reabsorbed into tribal and urban life in East Africa ..... and far more smoothly than many people expected".

The second was. that since according to the best military authority he had become literate in an incredibly short time, or skilled in the simple techniques required of so-called Army artisans, and since in the field he had

undoubtedly displayed valour and initiative of no mean order, he should lead his people in the postwar reconstruction which all desired.

The greater the fear regarding the first obsession, the more powerful the appeal of the second as a possible talisman against it. That it was natural to presume that returned African soldiers would tend to subvert the established order needed little imagination for as a post-war phenomen this is fairly universal. It was also natural to expect that not all the representations made would be equally reasonable, but that with them would be associated undesirable agitation to accentuate 'race'-conflict, or the clash of caste with caste. The second obsession was the result of over-simplification and of wishful thinking. Disregarding the wealth of evidence available concerning the length and nature of courses essential to the efficient training of competent African workers in professional, technical, social and administrative fields, and hoping that short cuts to a slender degree of literacy would point the way to similar short cuts for all the occupations which would immediately be essential to carry out high-powered post-war programmes, it was felt that society would discharge its obligation to these men by giving them tabloid courses, in consequence of which potential agitators would become community leaders in the new Africa.

Some of the fallacies underlying such a faith have already been revealed in various territories, and it is by no means established that men who have borne the brunt of a campaign, by doing a forced march through a training centre upon their return, can then form the battalions of reconstruction.

For the purpose of our study, however, there is significance in the fact that one of the by-products of

the war has been, and rightly so, the provision of vocational courses and of facilities for further education for many African ex-soldiers, who having experienced the violent impact of other cultures upon their own during the war, have since been able to assimilate some of the gentler elements of "European" culture, the benefits of which will be passed on to the communities concerned.

This brief chapter has dealt with but a few examples of cultural change resulting from training Africans as combatants and as non-combatants, examples which could be multiplied almost indefinitely. One could speak of those who came from French Colonies, where military service by the African is regarded as a national obligation in return for citizenship; of those who came from the High Commission Territories, exchanging the peace of the Blue Malutis, of the Bechuanaland cattle country, or of the Swaziland low veld, for the hazards of the Middle East; of the land and sea convoys to unknown destinations, and of the local defence units in which Africans were enlisted. One thinks also of the moral as well as of the physical casualties caused, and of the harmful influences of undesirable contacts made in so many places.

Then too our Africans were fellow campaigners with the British Tommy and with European soldiers from all parts of Africa and from other parts of the Commonwealth, with the American Doughboy, the Indian Sepoy and Gurkha, with hill men of Chinese caste, and with Africans from Nigeria, the Gold-Coast, the Belgian Congo, and elsewhere. Many have been decorated for gallant and meritorious service. Some have taken part in the Victory Parade in London. All deserve well of their country.

In a remote part of Uganda the writer met a contingent of Africans on their way to the recruiting office to be attested. They were unaccompanied, but wore a temporary uniform of their own devising, which they had had made, and they carried their own Colours as they swung along in marching order. On both uniform and flag they had a map of Africa, and the large printed "A" in the centre, emphasized that they were off to fight for Africa. They were not conscripts, and until a very short time before, their horizons had been largely confined to the tribal lands they knew so well, but which they were now leaving in order to play their part in a world war, and whatever the outcome, their lives could never possibly be the same again.

In the "Natal Mercury" of October 17th. appeared an article by Philip Blake, dealing with "The Empire's New Defence Base". It stated that Nairobi is to become the new British General Headquarters for the Middle East, and that "The British Cabinet and Chiefs of Staff are planning to make the surrounding area a new power-unit in Imperial Defence".

It went on to say :-

> "Mackinnon Road is a tiny village in Kenya, a pin-point in a semi-desert country twice the size of the British Isles. But it is a pin-point in just the right place. There lies the significance of its transformation from a jumble of Native huts into an ever-growing, high powered British base.
>
> Kenya is likely to be the hub of future strategic defence of the Empire."....."The new base lies close to the East African port of Mombasa, with a harbour big enough to accommodate the largest battleships of the world. The coast is studded with other natural harbours, and within comfortable distance are airfields that will take four-engined aircraft.
>
> The new base also sits astride the route to London and Egypt, and commands the land lines of communication to the rest of British Africa".

After describing how this decision will affect the lives of thousands of British Service people, the writer added :-

"There is little cultivation in or near the

> new base, so that it will be unnecessary to move the Natives. On the contrary there will be prosperity and higher standards of living for thousands recruited for work on the base - for at least 20,000 Africans will be needed, as well as several hundred Europeans".

The article is not very inspired, tending to concentrate on such facts as that when the service personnel wish to relax, "they will be able to hunt wild animals with camera or gun, fish the rivers for trout, or the sea for sharks and kingfish". Of infinitely more importance are the far-reaching changes which this development will bring to the multi-'racial' society of Kenya.

Among these changes will be growth of population, corresponding growth in the number of those who have contact with and influence upon the African, the consequential improvement or deterioration in 'race'-relations there, the migration of Africans to and from the base-area, the employment of large numbers of Africans in different occupations connected with the development of this new power-unit, the subsequent training and employment of others in military or civil duties, the circulation of the wages earned, with its many direct and indirect results, the development of local communications and of trade, the establishment of educational, religious, and welfare work to cater for the larger population, the increase of government revenue through augmented customs receipts and taxation, the enhanced government services which result, the inter-territorial repercussions in and beyond East Africa, and — for one cannot ignore it, the implication that, because of the location, but even more because of the successful record of African troops in two World Wars, large numbers of African soldiers will be recruited in peace or war.

A brief article, four months earlier, in the

"Sunday Times", Johannesburg, under the headline "Britain Plans to Train an African Army", said :-

> "In re-organising Empire defence to make up for the loss of the Indian Army, Britain's Chiefs of Staff have, I understand, decided to use the great man-power resources of East and West Africa. A recruiting drive will be launched from the Zambesi in Northern Rhodesia to the Border of the Sudan, in East Africa and throughout the West African territories, Gambia and the Gold Coast.
>
> British officers and N.C.O's of the Regular Army, and former officers of the Indian Army, will be offered encouraging prospects to go out and train the new divisions. The new African Army will also include cadres of former Native N.C.O's and troops who fought in Anyssinia and Burma.
>
> The new plan will, I hear, entail a larger H.Q. in Nairobi and sub-commands will be set up in Nyasaland, Rhodesia and Tanganyika" (It is not clear why Uganda is omitted).
>
> "Also envisaged under the plan is a general raising of the administrative and educational standard of the local populations.
>
> Among the manu subjects discussed at the semi-secret Colonial talks held at the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs last month between Britain and France was the possibility of pooling technical and military resources in Africa".

Even allowing for a little journalistic licence, it would seem clear that although it may be a cardinal principle of policy in South Africa not to arm the Native, the rest of the Continent does not subscribe to that principle, and that just as the culture of hundreds of thousands of Africans has been directly and most vitally affected by military training and service, and that of considerably more indirectly, the indications are that if the unfortunate necessity should again arise, this process will gain greatly in momentum and acceleration. Tribal culture had little hope of developing on its own lines when introduced to high explosives, and no amount of money voted by military and civil authorities for rehabilitation can subsequently restore it.

**

.....

** That there have not been specific references to the work of the African soldiers in Union Forces is due to the fact that it was not considered possible at Headquarters to make reports available pending later publication.

Chapter XX

MISCELLANEOUS.

(i) Transport and Communications.

"The material development of Africa", wrote Lord Lugard, "may be summed up in one word: 'Transport'".** Granted this, the development of communications across the length and breadth of this formidable land-mass must be richly significant for the African as well as for the European.

It is of related interest that in 1890, the Brussels Conference reached the conclusion that one of the most effective means of fighting the slave trade in Africa would be the construction of railways from the coast to the interior — thus abolishing porterage — and the establishment of lake and river steamship services. Lord Salisbury's Government accordingly decided the following year to build a railway between Mombasa and Lake Victoria, where it would connect with regular steamer transport. The British Parliament supported the undertaking primarily because it was held that the traffic in slaves must be fought in the interior as well as on the coast. Consistent with this was the introduction of a steamship service on the East African Lakes, by the African Lakes Company to assist the campaign against the Arab slave dealers.

Apart from the suppression of slavery thus envisaged, the action taken by the British Government meant that a modern transport system was destined to replace head-porterage, and also the dependence upon lake dhows and canoes. It implied, moreover, that rising revenues would promote expanding social services, and that before long, the cotton lint produced by the

** The Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa p.5.

≠≠ Lord Hailey. op.cit. p.1538
Thomas & Scott "Uganda" p.234.

Uganda 'bakopi' would be separately quoted by the Liverpool and East Indian Cotton Associations, and that its value in world markets would react to price movements in America and Egypt. It implied also the early development of a network of excellent roads in the Protectorate, and of bicycle and motor transport along those roads, in addition to the establishment of local markets and of cotton ginneries, the importation of migrant labour from Ruanda-Urundi, business connections with India and Japan, and the expenditure by the British Empire Cotton Growing Association of large sums of money on research in Uganda.

These are but a few of the influences exerted by these improved communications upon the socio-economic structure of the peoples concerned.

Long before the advent of the white man, human carriers were used, but during the early years of European occupation, very heavy demands were made upon this form of transport with resultant suffering, loss of life, and far-reaching cultural changes, the extent of which it is not possible to estimate. It is clear, however, that they included the spread of disease, the making of links between areas which had previously been almost inaccessible to each other, and the assimilation of culture from the administrator, the specialist, the hunter, the explorer, the missionary and the trader.

One reads that :-

> "The 'Safari' accustomed the people to the periodic journeying and absence of the men. It trained the Native to work under the direction of White men, and introduced him to wage labour and a supplementary source of income".
> **

Contained within that restrained statement is an abundance of material concerning the impact of culture upon culture

** Modern Industry & The African. p.279.

with consequential and enduring changes in the life of the African.

During the construction of the state railway line from Brazzaville on the Congo River, to Pointe Noire, a distance of 560 km, it is stated that health conditions were so inadequately safeguarded that between 15,000 and 18,000 Natives died, the mortality being over 45% in 1927. ++

As an illustration of the extent to which porterage has been pressed into the service of the European rulers, one may cite the fact that during the First Great War, the purchase of 4,200 tons of food by the French Government led to the employment of 125,000 carriers, whilst in 1924, according to the Report on Labour in the Tanganyika Territory, (Colonial 19,1926,p.37) "the transport of government loads in Tanganyika accounted for 400,000 working days of the porters employed". ≠≠

With the introduction of mechanical transport and the general improvement of communications, the use of head porterage has declined, which suggests that culture change has been modified but intensified, although it is open to question whether in all respects, e.g. in connection with the smoother flow of mine labour, it is less ruthless.

The transport of His Majesty's Mail would appear a peaceful occupation, but the following quotation from Thomas and Scott may serve to show that its introduction has resulted in further demonstrations by the African, that he can respond to the challenge suddenly imposed by the European in order that the latter's culture may be preserved :-

> "During the early years of the postal service, all internal mails in Uganda were conveyed by Native runners in a remarkably loyal, regular, and courageous manner. For long distances relays of

++ Hailey. Op.cit.p.1590.

≠≠ Ibid.pp.1538/9

> runners travelling day and night were employed, and some conception of the speed maintained under this system may be gathered from the fact that the 207 miles from Kampala to Fort Portal were covered in two and a half days.
>
> More than one runner lost his life in attempting to ford flooded rivers, or in encounters with lions. As recently as 1924 two runners on the Masaka-Mbarara route were killed by lions. They had previously experienced attacks but were not deterred by the obvious dangers of their work, and their action is by no means a unique example of the African's humble devotion to duty". **

Such examples could be multiplied in many parts of the Continent, but one tends to overlook the more decisive fact that the introduction of His Majesty's Mail implied that its security and regularity would be placed at the service of the literate African as well as at the service of the European.

The bicycle has been described as a social factor, for one reads that it has established communication between isolated villages, thus breaking down provincialism by disseminating news and ideas. In the same context one reads that :-

> "Trade is being stimulated by the bicycle. It is placing the fish of inland rivers and vegetables, groundnuts and other light produce within reach of the markets on the railway zone and copper belt. Within a radius of two hundred miles of the mines we repeatedly met lines of bicycles bringing in produce in large wicker baskets carried in front of and behind the saddle." ++

Consistent with this is the following statement from Professor Macmillan :-

> "'Boys' now carry dried fish over bush tracks on bicycles for two hundred miles or more from Lake Mweru to the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia. Bicycling is such a favourite means of travel that tropical railway stations need warning notices prohibiting cycling on the platforms. Roads are also a stabilising influence, preventing too great a drift to the towns, since they not only take people to market but bring them back whence they came — thus helping to maintain steady intercourse between town and country". ≠≠

Even the imported bicycle, therefore, represented a very marked advance upon the incredibly slow and expensive

** Op.cit.p.239/240.
++ Modern Industry and the African p.289.
≠≠ Op.cit.pp.291/2

head-porterage, a 56 lb load carried overland in the early days, costing no less than £7 from the coast to Uganda. A similar contrast is afforded in Barotseland, a visit to which, by river barge from Livingstone, took over three weeks, whereas today the Zambesi transport is exchanged for the aeroplane which covers the journey in a few hours. Related to this is the fact that, according to the "Star" of January 6th. 1947 :-

> "Catalina flying boats, each capable of carrying 50 passengers, will shortly be put into private charter service on the Zambesi.
> The object of the service is to accelerate the recruitment of Native labour from Barotseland for the Johannesburg gold mines, by substituting a two hours' air journey to the Victoria Falls — the nearest railhead to the Transvaal — for the present trip of three weeks by native barge down the Zambesi.
> The scheme is part of a bigger plan to open up Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to civil aviation".

It is of interest for our study to compare this with an article which appeared in the same paper on August 21st. 1947, below the headlines :- "Southern Africa's Only Remaining Native Monarchy", and an introductory paragraph which claimed, inter alia, that :-

> "With an established history of 300 years and legendary traditions going farther back, the Barotse are well fitted for their unique status. Their rigid feudal hierarchy remains almost unchanged, and the secret rites that accompany events such as the enthronement of a new king are still religiously observed."

It was from this tribal citadel, that Imwiko, with his State barge, provided an escort for Their Majesties at the Victoria Falls in 1947; it was of the Barotse barges with their 16 paddlers and an induna that the article under reference said that "The ability to paddle for six hours continuously is a feat that never fails to amaz e Europeans, sweltering under awnings in the humid heat of the Zambesi valley"; and it was of this tribally sacrosanct preserve that one read in the same article that:-

> "Almost the only motor barges in use are those of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, whose

> headquarters are at Mongu. These cover about 100 miles between Katima Molilo and Kasungulu, where assembling stations and medical depots are maintained. The Natives, led by uniformed conductors, come on foot to Katima Molilo, and from Kasungulu are taken by road to a siding south of Victoria Falls where they entrain for the Rand.
>
> The Association has little difficulty in obtaining the quota permitted by the Paramount Chief, and re-engagements are frequent. Angola Natives, slipping across the border, are also recruited".

And now, to supplement the motor barges of the labour recruiting organization, are to be Catalina flying boats to speed on their way the deep-level underground workers from "Southern Africa's Only Remaining Native Monarchy". Concerning this development, in a personal letter the District Superintendent for the area concerned writes :-

> "The question of large scale air transport had distinct possibilities, particularly in view of the physical difficulties involved in transporting recruits on roads built and maintained by ourselves in Tropical Africa. The scheme, however, has received something of a set back because of yellow fever precautions .....which would have to be enforced for air transport".

One may anticipate, therefore, that in the very near future, mine labourers will be transported at, say 300 miles an hour, from romantic Barotseland with its picturesque Zambesi Valley, to the unromantic skips which will drop them relentlessly 8,000 feet below the surface, to provide dividends for those who lead evidence to Parliamentary Commissions to the effect that this process preserves tribalism.

.....

The rich mineral deposits of South Africa largely determined the routes taken by the main railway lines, thus enabling the gold of the Witwatersrand, the diamonds of Kimberley, the coal of Wankie, the lead and zinc of Broken Hill, and the Katanga copper, to reach

the ports, from which the corresponding traffic in imports would inevitably result in growing customs revenue. Natal built its coast lines to serve the sugar plantations, and built its main lines to the Free State and the Transvaal to share in the rising volume of trade with the interior.

Branch lines were established to tap agricultural areas, and political considerations took the railway system through Bechuanaland, and linked Bulawayo to Beira.

So too with the road systems of various territories, for in many cases they were built for military reasons, or to meet the needs of European settlers, but at a later date provided essential communications for African cultivators or migrants, although it cannot be claimed that, in general, Native reserves are as well served by rail or road as is the bulk of European owned land. Thus Lord Hailey refers to the fact that in Southern Rhodesia within a zone of 25 miles on each side of the railway track will be found most of the European land, and in the Union, after prolonged representations, it has just been decided to connect Umtata and Kokstad by a line of whose urgency and great potential there can be no question, which will traverse the Native Territories.

Statistics are not maintained separately in South Africa in respect of Native and Coloured third class passengers, but the General Manager states that the Native traffic constitutes by far the greater proportion. It is of no little interest for our purpose, therefore, when in a recent letter he states that :-

> "the totals of third-class passengers conveyed by the Administration by rail and road during the year ended 31st. March, 1946, were 108,710,602 and 7,017,619 respectively".. ..... "The revenue earned in respect of the

> conveyance of third class passengers by the Administration's road motor services, is unfortunately not available, but with regard to rail journeys the figure is £5,486,854."

In their way these figures are eloquent of revolutionary changes in the life of the African, changes which need no elaboration here but which are consistent with the many-sided evidence already supplied concerning the impact of our culture upon his.

The revealing statistics quoted, however, do not reflect the full picture, for increasing numbers of Africans are among the non-Europeans who travel first or second class. The following excerpt from the Star of August 15th. 1947, bears upon this, although it chiefly refers to scholars or students :-

It reads :-

> "Natives want better Travel Facilities."
> "The problem of meeting the travel needs of non-Europeans has become one of quality as well as quantity, says the Railway Bulletin for August.
> Large numbers of Natives are joining the ranks of discriminating travellers and the railways have to take this into account.
> This year, for instance, 104 reserved saloons were needed to cater for Native scholars travelling first or second class in Natal and the Cape. Six years ago 40 reserved saloons were sufficient."

The Administration, by force majeure, has steadily improved its passenger accommodation for Africans, for there is something irresistible about a consequential annual revenue running into millions of pounds, and hence there is no thought of any self-denying ordinance which would restrict passenger service to the Europeans, even though this enormous government employing agency is still adamant about preserving for them alone skilled occupations. Twenty years ago it was computed by Professor Frankel that this 'civilized labour' policy was costing the South African Railways £300,000 a year, so that the

corresponding figure today must be very high indeed, although conceivably covered by the profits made out of the Native passenger traffic. One has already referred to the recent journey by air of an African reporter from Johannesburg to Dakar, to the visits paid by military plane of chiefs from Central and East Africa to their troops in the Middle East, and to the war-time convoy shuttle-service whereby African combatant and non-combatant troops, threaded their way by road and rail, by river and lake, across the continent.

Of the hundreds of African students at present in England, Europe and America, some, before arriving at their destination, may have used head porterage, canoe, train, plane, steamship tube and taxi.

On the waterways of Africa, which include the Nile and Congo river systems, and the great navigable lakes, improved steamer services operate and extend the traffic for hundreds of miles into Central Africa. Conversely the development of rail and road services augments the traffic on the lakes.

One learns too of international tourist projects to open up arterial highways from north to south near the eastern and western borders, with a network of communicating lateral roads.

And, as one writes, one is conscious that in the ships now ploughing the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and the Mediterranean, are Africans of many tribes, languages and traditions, whilst others sail in dhows of honourable but unAfrican origin, from the Persian Gulf, Madagascar, Zanzibar and Pemba, the Seychelles, Aden, and even India, to East African ports, or in similar craft from territory to territory across the lakes.

From the day when the scrub is cleared for the

making of roads, railways or aerdromes, to the stage when trunk and feeder services have been firmly established, and modern water-transport is available Africans are employed and the life of the communities from which they are drawn is correspondingly affected. And so one sees them chugging along in motor boats helping to take passengers to the flying boats or to re-fuel, spraying the interior of planes with insecticide, swabbing the decks on the lake boats, occasionally taking the wheel on the Albert Nile, serving as deck or saloon stewards, driving railway engines, employed as stationmasters or telegraphists, serving as stevedores, operating loading winches, acting as guards, and driving motor cars, buses and lorries. **

Even though this picture does not apply to conditions in the Union, the development of communications there as elsewhere must bring the Africans into ever closer contact with European life, apart from which their outlook will be powerfully influenced by those of their own kin who, in countries further north, have been trained in the necessary skills, and have then been given scope to use them, in connection with the transport services their unskilled labour helped to build, and their industry to maintain.

A recent investigation in Johannesburg showed that at the peak hour between 5.0.p.m. and 6.30.p.m. on the average one Native bus left Noord Street for Alexandra every three minutes. Anyone who has witnessed the queues there, however, must admit that inadequate measures have been taken to deal with a problem of real urgency, but that, nevertheless, in urban areas the European employer is dependent upon efficient transport services

** Lord Hailey writing in 1938 said that 56% of the engine drivers and 65% of the employees in the Engineering Department in Tanganyika were Africans. (Op.cit.p.1581), whilst in the Gold Coast were employed 570 African clerks on the railway, and 1,291 drivers and semi-skilled workers (Op.cit.1586).

for the Africans who work for him, that the latter have accepted this as essential to their new mode of life, and that municipalities and private contractors constantly add to their fleets of motor vehicles in a strenuous endeavour to overtake the need.

The day has gone for all time in which African villages were isolated from the outside world, for the development of communications has brought about mobility of population to a degree hardly dreamt of a generation or two ago. It follows relentlessly that cultural assimilation has proceeded apace.

(ii) Philanthropy.

There is a close correlation between benefactions and culture contact, and little evidence that practical benevolence towards the underprivileged takes the form of gifts to maintain the status quo. For this, the main reason seems clear enough, namely that the status quo is, in general, so undesirable, that benefactions are provided to effect reforms in the direction desired by the benefactor.

When Miss A.T. Jeanes of Philadelphia set aside one million dollars over 40 years ago, to establish a trust fund to assist small rural schools for the Southern Negroes, she was clear in her intentions that the income from this capital sum should be devoted to educational and social betterment, and to the improvement of race-relations. She had no thought that it should be expended on any effort to recapture for the communities concerned the African vernaculars which, at one time, their forbears had spoken when first they trod American shores, nor that it should be used to ensure that Negro share-croppers in the deep South, should be induced to regard their conditions not with divine unrest but with

sociological interest.

Little could this little Quaker lady have predicted the influence of her philanthropy far beyond the confines of the Southern States, where it helped to foment a social revolution which is still gaining in momentum, for it led to the acceptance or strengthening of the community conception of education in the two Rhodesias, in Nyasaland, in Kenya, in Zanzibar, and in other dependencies, apart from entrenching such concepts in teacher training centres throughout Africa. Among the dynamic influences underlying this renaissance, was undoubtedly the raising of living standards in the home by re-orientation within the school, and this was not done without furthering the assimilation by the Negro (and by the African) of "White culture".

From America, so famous for the wealth of its public-spirited benevolence, it would not be difficult to quote many such examples which have contributed in similar fashion to acculturation in the States or in Africa. They would include the endowment of colleges and high schools, the provision of library services, the establishment of generous scholarships at different levels, the promotion of research, the subsidizing of fact-finding commissions, and the publication of documents and reports. Moreover they would reveal the hospitality given at American universities to Europeans and Africans from many different territories, which in turn would imply that the results of their painstaking research, their wide field-work, and their stimulating seminars, as well as the inspiration of their achievement in the betterment of race-relations, had exerted no small influence upon attitudes and activities in this Continent. It would make an interesting study to attempt to assess the contribution made by the Carnegie Corporation,

directly and indirectly, towards the convergence of cultures in Africa. No true balance could be struck for we are dealing with imponderables, but sufficient evidence would be available to carry conviction concerning the magnitude of the power thus exerted in the direction of desirable change in the life of the indigenous peoples.

The name "Beit" is similarly synonymous with development in the Rhodesias, and of recent years the Trustees have made it clear that they are anxious to give African development a prominent place within their programme. Already they have made generous provision for educational work, and have attached no condition that its character should be indigenous, just as the founder of the fortune imposed no such condition upon those who helped him to build it. It follows again that philanthropy in Africa will promote cultural convergence.

Relevant too is the following newspaper item concerning a bequest of £100,000 for Bantu Welfare in South Africa, the extract being from "Naledi ya Batswana", of February 8th. 1947:-

> "Mr. Desmond S. Leech, a mining engineer and former member of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, who died on December, 17th. left the whole of his estate of more than £100,000 for the eventual creation of a fund to benefit the Bantu people in South Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.
>
> 'I am convinced that the Bantu, by their loyalty and patient labour, have been one of the prime factors in building up and maintaining the economic prosperity of South Africa', said Mr. Leech in his will, made in 1940.
>
> 'On the other hand it is in my view evident that little is done to improve the conditions in which they live, or for their general advancement and well-being.
>
> 'In recognition of the Bantu's fine qualities, and of their value to the country, I desire to initiate a fund for their benefit'.
>
> Mr. Leech directed that, on the death of his widow, the residue of the estate, amounting to £102,061.12.11, invested mainly in shares and stocks, should be administered as a fund to be called "The South African Bantu Betterment Fund."
>
> The fund is to be administered by a board consisting of five members, of whom three must be European and two Bantu. These members are to be

appointed by those members of Parliament elected directly to represent the Africans in the Union.

The will gives the following instructions for the use of the fund :-

> "The capital shall be invested, and the net income utilised for the amelioration of the conditions under which the Bantu people live and work - to teach them hygienic conditions of living, to inculcate in them habits of work, train them primarily in agricultural and industrial pursuits, assist them to attain elementary education, provide them with facilities for recreation, and, above all, to create conditions under which they may have regular employment all with a view to their gradual advancement towards better standards of living and thought."

The will also directed that the trustees may use the income for special purposes, "for the maintenance of hospitals, schools and other training institutions, for hostels, homes or clubs, sports and pastimes, or for the maintenance of individual Bantu in any such institutions".

It was then added that the fund may also be used for research, and that the trustees should endeavour to augment the capital sum involved.

The terms of the bequest clearly reveal that the benefactor who had made his money out of African labour on the mines, wished the whole of his estate to be devoted to "their general advancement and well-being" or, in other words, he was anxious that it should promote their assimilation of "European" culture.

When the history of non-European welfare work on the Rand comes to be written, the names of Pim, Hardy and Donaldson also will figure prominently, and in each case it will appear that these South African benefactors desired the betterment and not the perpetuation of conditions, chiefly urban, which derive from the clash of cultures or of others which ante-dated such clash. In no case were the beneficiaries expected to retrace their steps towards indigenous origins but rather to follow converging paths towards more abundant life, through the sharing of our values, knowledge and skills.

(iii) Broadcasting:-

As a potential cultural agency of great importance, broadcasting must win increasing recognition, for the constituency served depends neither upon literacy nor upon any other educational standard, although both may well influence the programmes given.

If words are potent, their value will accompany their spoken, broadcast, and printed expression, each supplementing the other.

Lord Hailey wrote in the following terms :-

> "Broadcasting tends to familiarize an immense public with points of view and information hitherto unfamiliar to them; and when it is used consciously as an aid to education, scholastic or civic, or to political propaganda, its persuasive effect is perhaps greater than that of any other agency". **

That was written before the Second World War, during which the communication of ideas, true or false, by means of world-wide braodcasts in countless languages, was considered essential to victory, broadcasts which gained or lost in effectiveness in consequence of others locally conceived and transmitted. From the response given to this war-time service for Africans, a service whose appeal depended entirely upon acculturation, it became crystal clear that this agency could not be neglected in peace-time, but that, wisely used, it would prove a powerful means of promoting the assimilation of culture which was essential to post-war betterment.

Great strides have been made during the last decade in the African territories of all colonial powers, both for official and for unofficial programmes, the development of broadcasting services naturally being due to local European enterprise, even where, as in the case of Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Nigeria and elsewhere, stations have been established for the reception and transmission of empire programmes in addition to local material. This European enterprise had for its

** Op.cit. p.1291

foundation a firm faith, which events have more than justified, that its maintenance would be assured by the nature of the response received from the Africans.

In 1938, before the stimulus of the war had been felt, Lord Hailey was able to state that :-

> "In Kenya.....an experiment from this station (Nairobi) is under consideration, for special broadcast programmes in English and the vernacular to African listeners in the Kiambu native reserve, supervised by a committee representing the health, agricultural, and other services. Loud speakers would be installed at district headquarters, and other centres such as bush schools, markets, or hospitals"......"In Nigeria a radio distribution service has been established at Lagos for subscribers. The use of this system as a means of spreading elementary information about market prices, control of pests and diseases, and other matters, is under consideration".... "In the Gold Coast a relay exchange of 2,000 subscribers, 80% of whom are Africans, exists at Accra. A weekly news-letter is broadcast from this station to other centres in the Colony."
> ...."The training of Africans in broadcasting work has been attended with success, and it has been found possible to staff stations with Africans".....
> "Experience has already shown", he said, "that Africans take readily to wireless apparatus and are capable of taking charge of it". ++

In Kampala, during the war, large multi-racial crowds gathered regularly before six loud speakers at different points, and at many African schools in the various dependencies students listened in to the B.B.C. and other stations, as well as to local educational and entertainment programmes, as did African troops at their training depots or on active service.

In consequence of the pooling of experience concerning this cultural agency, Information, Welfare, Public Relations, Education and other officers, helped in the co-ordination of post-war plans for its fuller development, support for which in certain territories has already been assured under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, so that convergence will, in consequence, be accelerated.

Relevant here is an article in the "Star" of April 11th., 1947, headed "Use of Wireless for Development

++ Op.cit.pp.1299-1300

of Non-Europeans". From it the following excerpts are taken :-

> "The introduction on a large scale of broadcasting services for non-Europeans in the Union as a means of accelerating their educational and cultural development, as well as to provide entertainment now conspicuously lacking, is strongly urged by the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality.
>
> The department has prepared a memorandum, approved yesterday by the Non-European Affairs Committee of the City Council, for submission to the Commission of Inquiry into Broadcasting Services, but the matter has still to go before the full Council.
>
> The memorandum stresses the wealth of non-European talent, contrasting it with the lack of available entertainment facilities. Radio should fill that hiatus, it states, in addition to meeting the need of non-Europeans for education and information, improved leisure time amenities, and to combat the unattractive conditions under which they are living, especially in urban areas." ....
>
> "One of the recommendations is that the provision of a broadcasting service for non-Europeans should be given priority over the establishment of a powerful central broad-casting station to serve Native territories and overseas countries.
>
> 'Many agencies are used to coping with the problem of poverty, ignorance, and backwardness of the non-European, particularly the Native people,' states the memorandum. Among these are the extension of school educations, the development of medical and hospital sciences, and the introduction of non-Europeans into industry.
>
> Books, newspapers, and to a lesser degree films, are pushing back the frontiers of ignorance, but the pace is too slow.
>
> Many adult non-Europeans are living in urban conditions without having the necessary educational, social, and cultural equipment for such life. They flock to night schools, when these are opened for them, they struggle to take up correspondence courses and they patronise the cinema, but of all the means so far used for raising their standards of life perhaps the most neglected has been the radio."

Having explained that radio-sets were rare in Non-European homes because of the cost of the sets and of the licence, apart from the fact that electric current is still uncommon in their townships, and having emphasized the inadequacy of the entertainment facilities but the richness of the talent, the article continued :-

> "This hiatus between lack of entertainment and the wealth of talent should be filled by radio, states the memorandum. Such entertainment would, in a negative way, combat delinquency by offering some inducement to non-Europeans to stay at home instead of roaming the streets.

The following recommendations are made :

> The S.A. Broadcasting Corporation should expand its services for non-Europeans.
>
> At least two governors of the Corporation should be appointed for their special knowledge of, and interest in the needs of non-Europeans and representatives of non-European interests should be appointed to local advisory councils or sub-committees.
>
> Adequate studio space should be provided, where "live" non-European talent could be used.
>
> A separate transmitter for non-European programmes should be established.
>
> Non-Europeans should be appointed to the staff of the corporation as announcers and non-Europeans should be used as script writers, producers, actors, performers, speakers, etc.
>
> Non-Europeans should enjoy training facilities provided by the corporation.
>
> The corporation should set up a committee or committees of non-Europeans; for example, Natives in the Transvaal and Eastern Province, Indians in Natal, and of Coloured people and Malays in the Cape, with some representation of Coloured people in the Transvaal and the Eastern Province. Such committees should advise on the content of non-European programmes and assist in listener-research".

That the above recommendations have been put forward by the Non-European Affairs Department of the largest municipality in South Africa, a department responsible for the urban well-being of many more Africans than inhabit the whole of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, is most significant, and consistent with its many comprehensive welfare activities, for the recommendations, if adopted, would clearly involve the assimilation of "our" culture, concerning which the cumulative effect would be considerable.

With the development of radio-diffusion it should be possible for such a service to be provided very inexpensively for all the Africans in a large Native township who desired it and could meet the small monthly cost involved. Of these there would be very few, however, if it were decided to supply indigenous fare only.

It may with confidence be predicted, on the other hand, that within a comparatively short time broadcasting will serve a very large African constituency as a dynamic

PART IV.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS.

agent of cultural change, for the process is steadily advancing and will gain momentum. Contributing to it are government, commercial and welfare forces, and last but not least — the growing demand of the people mostly concerned.

.....

Chapter XXI.

The Tide of Economic Change.

It has been stated that when van Riebeeck landed at the Cape, he was the employee of one of the biggest trading concerns of all times, and that :-

> "His official motives in coming here were neither missionary nor altruistic, neither foolhardy nor over ambitious. They were simply prompted by the need for the more efficient organization of the services of the Dutch East Indies Company, as it drew the wealth of the East into its own vaults.
>
> Africa was a commercial venture — which could fail or pay a limited dividend — to further bigger ends." **

Nearly 300 years ago, therefore, the first European settlement in South Africa owed its origin to commercial enterprise whose later development was destined to cause revolutionary changes in the life of the indigenous peoples.

Today the Union's national income has reached the unprecedented peak of nearly £486,000,000, although the bulk of the potential consumers have hardly begun to buy yet, for, being Africans, they still lack the money. It is recognised by economists that the problem, in the words of Professor Frankel, "is how to maintain and increase income standards all round, instead of diluting those already achieved". If this means anything, it means that the large African population must be converted from potential to actual consumers; that they must be trained in industrial skills; that their earning capacity must be increased considerably, and that

** Libertas, July, 1947.

correspondingly their living standards must be raised. In this there is nothing new, but its nation-wide acceptance in terms of practical policy, would be arrestingly new, for it would mean putting an end to the degrading poverty of the great majority of millions of people who live today at the lowest level of human subsistence. Unfortunately it is difficult for the small European minority to believe that this could be done without reversing their mutual positions, and so the challenge goes largely unheeded, and the Atlantic Charter, although given a place of honour in the Union archives, does not yet enable its signatories to ensure for the Africans that they "may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". Van Rebeeck's successors still await rich dividends in consequence.

When Alexander Campbell said "For all our problems and maladjustments are finally rooted in the problem of poverty; not only the poverty of individuals but our joint poverty as a nation", he spoke of an issue of very great urgency, although not of the greatest, for as Mr. H.J. Van Eck pointed out in his introduction to Campbell's book,

> "An increase in the standard of living would be a barren victory indeed if the finer things of life were neglected",

to which he added significantly :-

> "the material and spiritual welfare of the Union is not the responsibility of experts or statesmen alone. That responsibility is shared by the man in the street, by the reader of the book, by all South Africans".

Without in any way minimising the importance of raising the Africans' standard of living, which is as socially essential as it is economically sound, this means that to do so would be ethically sound also, which must follow if truth be indivisible. Mr. Van Eck's contention that economic progress, if unaccompanied by spiritual and

aesthetic progress, would impoverish the soul, is irrebuttable whatever the race concerned. It therefore follows that when he vests responsibility in the ordinary South African citizen concurrently to safeguard the material and spiritual welfare of the Union, of stern necessity this must imply that in both important issues the welfare of the African must be promoted by the European, and I would submit that this is patently impossible unless it be assumed that the former must assimilate increasingly the culture of the latter.

In 1939, in Nigeria, 30 cowry strings with 6 cowries to a string, was equivalent to one penny. Had not their monetary system become related to that of the Bank of England, it would have been necessary to exchange nearly 11 million indigenous cowries for a less indigenous £500 motor car. In an earlier chapter we have considered the recent constitutional developments in Nigeria, and in particular the significance of the African membership in Legislative Council, and one must admit that there would be something Gilbertian about a Budget debate in that vast Territory, if the estimates of revenue and expenditure were based upon the cowry standard.

The British Minister of Economic Affairs, Sir Stafford Cripps, when addressing a Conference of Governors of British African Colonies on November 12th. 1947, was thinking neither of barter nor of the subsistence economy of peasants when he said :-

> "The whole future of the sterling group and its ability to survive, depends, in my view, on the quick and extensive development of our African resources". ≠≠

He was reported too as saying that :-

> "The economics of Western Europe and tropical Africa were so closely interlocked in mutual trade, supply of capital and currency systems, that their problems of overseas balance were essentially one.

≠≠ The Star, Johannesburg, 13.11.47.

> FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN RESOURCES IS OF THE SAME CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE TO THE REHABILITATION AND STRENGTHENING OF WESTERN EUROPE AS THE RESTORATION OF EUROPEAN PRODUCTIVE POWER IS TO THE FUTURE PROGRESS AND PROSPERITY OF AFRICA. EACH NEEDS AND IS NEEDED BY THE OTHER." (capitals mine).

It was then emphasized that the present monetary position was so urgent that it was "essential to speed up the tempo of African economic development out of all recognition", in which connection :-

> "We must be prepared to change our outlook and our habit to colonial development, and force the pace so that within the next two or five years we can get a really marked increase of production in coal, minerals, timber, and raw materials of all kinds, and foodstuffs and anything else that will save dollars or sell in the dollar market."

For the purpose of our study this is of arresting interest, for it means that in the opinion of the Minister of Economic Affairs, an African solution is being feverishly sought for the dollar shortage at this hour of national crisis, and that time is the essence of the solution.

Elsewhere we have studied some of the implications of the vast East African groundnut scheme. Here we merely need to note that throughout tropical Africa generally, the grave emergency has led to the abandonment of a detached academic interest in tribal culture, or of step-by-step development of a nature and tempo approved by current sociology and anthropology, in favour of quick returns by mass production methods. The bulldozer is enthroned, co-operatives and collectives are to be established, a modicum of Soviet philosophy which not unnaturally accompanies their technique is quietly accepted, and, more quietly still, it is assumed that the Africans will readily acquiesce, provide essential labour, and trustingly look forward to the time when they will forget their present distress in the Utopian conditions which will be a by-product of the re-habilitation of Britain. In the meantime it is clear that the wish to

preserve the indigenous has given place to the need to preserve Western civilization, and that African economy is to undergo radical transformation to bring this about.

In the "Star" of September 16th. 1947, Dr. A.J. Bruwer, National President of the South African National French Association, writing as an economic philosopher and not as a politician, to ease the world trade crisis urged the forming of an economic agreement between France, Britain and South Africa, under which the resources of Africa would be more intensively developed. He wrote inter alia :-

> "..the African Continent in which Britain, France, and South Africa are vitally interested, is one of the most undeveloped continents economically and culturally, and...these three countries should co-operate to develop it in a way that would make us forget the dollar shortage."

According to his point of view, a tripartite agreement of the kind proposed, using the pound sterling as the common link, and placing the South African gold at the disposal of the sterling bloc, and accompanied by co-ordinated development, a common currency and multilateral trade within a huge area, would usher in a new and important economic epoch, and pave the way for a wider grouping of Powers including the rest of the Commonwealth, Portugal, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries.

That reveals broader horizons than can be explored within the range of this small study, but I would submit that, fiscal considerations apart, the accelerated and integrated development of the African territories which Sir Stafford Cripps and Dr. Bruwer regard as of the greatest urgency, will remain but another blue-print unless and until the European and the African economies become one.

In reply to those who might claim that in a

multi-racial society there can be no general interest, but only the warring interests of diverse 'racial' groups, the following opinion was recently expressed by Professor S.H. Frankel, Professor of Colonial Economic Affairs, at Nuffield College Oxford, and previously of the Witwatersrand, the occasion being the reading of a paper at a joint meeting of the Dominions and Colonies Section of the Royal Society of Arts, and the Royal African Society, on March 18th. 1947.

> "In my view, there now exists an objective world economic solidarity, which is an inescapable reality and affects the lives of individuals in every community on the globe.
>
> This world economic solidarity exists, whether we like it or not, but there is a distinction between it and our subjective solidarity, the solidarity which we feel and create by an active attitude of our mind and soul"....
>
> ....If it is true that the world as a whole is indeed an economic unity, and that perhaps nothing is more important for the future of all of us than a realisation of this truth, how much more justified is it to postulate an objective economic solidarity in any particular country, no matter how racially diverse may be the composition of its inhabitants, and to stress the necessity of a subjective realisation of this inescapable fact.
>
> Indeed there is no single part of the multi-racial society of South Africa which can even at this moment of great prosperity afford to be oblivious to the direction and rate of movement of the society as a whole". **

Coming from such an authority, this has special relevance for South Africa today, and against it should be placed the so-called 'civilized-labour policy', and the legislative and other devices which maintain it. In our chapter on Agriculture, Mr. Norton's evidence before the Fagan Commission demonstrated convincingly how fallacious was the idea of the economic self-sufficiency of the Native reserves. Equally fallacious would be any parallel idea of the self-sufficiency of the European in African industry. But there can be no effective nor just synthesis here, by simply transferring the spectre of want from the sub-economic small-holding in the Ciskei or elsewhere, to sub-economic wage-earning from

** Quoted in "The Colonial Review", June, 1947.

a hessian shelter in a shanty-town slum.

Consistent with this is the following excerpt from a sub-leader in the "Star" of October 25th. 1947 :-

> "In South Africa...the inspiration of progressive thought in Native Affairs is not fear, but finance, not demagogues but economists".... "That is why the Prime Minister was well understood at Cape Town on Wednesday when he said that South Africa could achieve the industrial development it looked forward to only by making full use of its manpower, whatever its colour, and that nothing could prevent the integration of the Native into the country's industrial system.
> That is the voice of hope, not of fear. It is not so much a question of providing a safety valve to prevent an explosion of colour, as of clearing away some of the impediments threatening the country's economy with strangulation."

If, in spite of such authoritative warnings, the economic system should continue to be regarded as a white citadel which must be defended against the encroachment of the Non-Europeans, the defenders may well find that in consequence its growth has been prevented by their own racial fortifications so narrowly circumscribing its perimeter, in which event the European standard of living must of necessity suffer.

Frankel, having admitted that the general poverty of the people of the Union has been the main aspect of its economic life, nevertheless considered it probably true that :-

> "...the most characteristic feature of the Union's economic history during the last 50 years has been the tempo with which its indigenous peoples have been swept into, and have benefitted from the modern economy."

He illustrated this as follows :-

> "the incomes of the non-Europeans who have been drawn into the orbit of modern economy have increased greatly as compared with the primitive subsistence standards of tribal economy.
> In 1942/43 there were 671,812 Natives employed in private manufacturing industry, in mining, and on the South African Railways. These earned total incomes amounting to £39,220,000 or an average of £59.4 per head, as compared with £39 per head in 1936."....."The non-European incomes earned in these industries should be contrasted with the incomes of those occupied in subsistence production in the Native areas. For these, rough calculations

made in 1936 indicated an average income of about £3 per head per occupied person. It is probable that this figure in 1942/43 had reached about £5 or £6." **

For our purpose, we are less concerned with the adequacy or inadequacy of the increase in average earnings, (although in passing, one may reflect that it would seem commensurate neither with basic needs nor with the altered cost of living during the period quoted) than with the degree of acculturation which must result from the employment of so many Africans in urban industries and from their annual expenditure of nearly 40 million pounds.

We have had occasion to refer, in various chapters, to some of the social impacts of a money economy upon people who so recently were subsistence peasants. Concerning this much has been written in blue-books and elsewhere. ++

Since the poverty of the Union Native is a byword, and his thriftlessness taken for granted, the following figures kindly supplied by the Accountant of the Government Savings Bank, Pretoria, which reflect the position as at 30th. September, 1946, may be of interest :-

Savings Bank.

Estimated number of Native depositors.. .. 392,478
Estimated value of Native investments.. ..£7,074,795

Union Loan Certificates.

Estimated value of Native investments .. .. £364,817.

These figures speak for themselves of large scale cultural change of undeniable value.

Twenty years ago, the European-Bantu Conference held by the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches in Cape Town, unanimously passed the following resolution :-

"The Conference is of the opinion that, Natives and Europeans being comprised in the same economic system, the co-operation of both is necessary for the material welfare and progress of South Africa, and that consequently all measures are to be

** ~~Libertas, July, 1947.~~ Ibid.
++ Vide "Report of the Native Economic Commission" and "Modern Industry and the African"

> welcomed which have as their object the improvement of the Native's economic position and his higher qualification as a worker."

In 1927 it was recognised that the above resolution represented a very marked advance in public opinion on inter-racial relations in the economic sphere. In 1947 General Smuts in addressing a United Party meeting in Cape Town was reported as saying :-

> "Once more the question of industrial development dominated the scene. South Africa could only achieve the industrial development it was looking forward to by making the fullest use of its man-power, whatever its colour.
>
> The Native would have to be integrated into the country's industrial system. Nothing could prevent that, and it was the only way to move forward with speed and efficiency.
>
> Today there was an immense flocking of Natives to industrial centres throughout the country. They came because they were wanted in industry. 'We have taken a census of some of those shanty towns near Johannesburg and we found that 95% of those people are working in our industries.' ". **

Although 20 years divided these two statements, made in widely different political camps, they both reflect the same liberal aspiration that the African is entitled to a fuller share in the Union's economy, an aspiration repeated in the Report of the Native Affairs Commission for the year 1945-46 (U.G.14-'47), which in its introductory paragraph said:- "..it is clear to the Commission that the integration of the Native into South Africa's economic life, and into its planning for the future, is of vital importance", or as the "Star" interpreted it, on March 24th. 1947, the day when the Report was tabled in the Assembly, "South Africa must learn to draw her Natives into the family circle of her economic life, and not look on them as mere auxiliaries on the outer fringes".

As this principle gains wider acceptance, and is correspondingly translated into action, it will carry conviction regarding the harm done by industrial segregation to all communities, for 'racial' discrimination in economic

** The "Star", October 23rd. 1947.

matters reacts adversely upon those who erect the barriers, as well as upon those whose advance they are intended to restrict. By force majeure it must gain wider acceptance, some of the barriers will disappear and further acculturation take place, and there is present significance in the fact that this will in all probability be most pronounced in the country where today, on political grounds, the principle is most violently opposed, for ultimately the danger of a serious decline in production in dividends and in living standards will be realised.

Moreover the principle holds good whether we are concerned with agriculture, with commercial, mining, or other industrial development, or with such related questions as free enterprise and capital investment. Some of these we have considered, and to others we shall turn. Since it may be thought, however, as we so often tend to claim, that the situation on the Rand is entirely unique, and hence that in more remote and less industrialized areas the pattern of tribal life is undisturbed, one may be permitted to quote again from Godfrey and Monica Wilson, who write :-

> "The economy of Central Africa today is part of a world organization; there is no longer any local self-sufficiency. Foreign cloth and foreign hoes have now become necessities of life for the majority of the African population, while foreign bicycles and sewing machines, tin-dishes, ploughs and padlocks are increasingly bought.
>
> Payment for these foreign goods is made by the export of copper, vanadium, zinc, lead, tobacco, beeswax and timber from Northern Rhodesia; sisal, gold, rice, tea and coffee from Tanganyika; cotton, tea and tobacco from Nyasaland. Even the most remote villages are intimately affected by fluctuations in the price of these on the world market.
>
> With the foreign trade an internal trade between the newly grown towns and the country has developed. The town workers buy their goods from the peasants, and the peasants buy foreign goods in town. At the same time old businesses have increased in range. Pots made on the shores of Lake Nyasa...are sold over a much wider area than formerly, and dried fish reaches villages where none came before. Railways and metalled roads have been built, and lorries and bicycles have largely displaced the porter. The principal towns are linked by air services. Everywhere money is in general use.

> Not only is Central Africa now a specialized unit in the world economy, importing some goods and exporting others, but internally also its economy is much more specialized than before. The raising of food is no longer everyone's business. Formerly the few specialized workers, such as smiths and doctors, engaged in subsistence farming like their neighbours, and practised their specializations in their spare time. But today production for export commerce, government, religion, education and transport engage a host of full time workers whose food is supplied by others. The most obvious mark of this is the growth of towns."... "Specialization and interdependence with distant groups have grown continuously for fifty years"... **

Every line in the above extract illustrates convergence of culture in Central Africa, and in respect of every territory in the Continent a wealth of similar material is available, revealing the steady transition from locally self-contained, unspecialized and primitive economies, into others more highly differentiated, and more widely interdependent. Mere subsistence-peasants in many countries have given place to those who produce export crops and depend upon world prices which they cannot control. Wage earners include migrant labourers for the mines, the towns and the farms, and in addition to these is the growing number of traders, clerks, craftsmen, government servants, and also the professional class. We have upset the balance in African life, and there is no turning back. A new balance is urgently needed, and to attain it we must go forward in an endeavour to resolve some of the conflicts our economy has created.

It was believed by the Native Economic Commission of 1930 that the primitive subsistence economy must ultimately be completely disintegrated by our money economy. As it existed before the advent of the European, little has survived unchanged, but in the process much discord has been created, even though much good has undoubtedly been achieved. What is required is a co-ordinated advance along the whole socio-economic front, rather than the development of certain sections and the stagnation of

** Op.cit.pp4-5

others to which they are closely related. ++

In other words just as progress towards a better world-order must imply progress all along the line, so too must this principle apply to inter-racial policy in Africa or elsewhere, and thus, in the sphere of economics, moral decisions are called for and not merely economic decisions. Concerning this Professor Frankel said on the occasion quoted earlier in this chapter:-

> "The men and women of South Africa on whom the responsibility for decision in these questions now rests, are no better and no worse than other men and women which compose the human family of nations and societies. Like these they are encompassed by fears and doubts — some peculiar to their own environment and history, others which they share with their fellow men across the seas.
>
> Their problem, like those of other people, is to disentangle right from wrong and to illumine the consequences of fear-impelled social action by the fearless light of reason based on social justice and greater human understanding".

A complementary truth is that apart from enabling African craftsmen to acquire technical qualifications, it will be essential for them to develop those moral qualities which will ensure the will to use their new found knowledge and skill thoroughly. thus creating confidence in the honesty and quality of their work.

Later sections will deal with the Africans' participation in free business enterprises, his decisive part in mining, and the formation of African co-operatives. That government is taking a far more active part in economic development with effects of great magnitude for the indigenous peoples, has already been illustrated, and in general it may be agreed that the economic transition now taking place throughout many territories, as was claimed by Mr. E.A.G.Robinson of the Copper Belt of Northern Rhodesia, is comparable with the Industrial Revolution of Europe in its scale and violence.

++ "The Challenge of African Poverty" by Dr. Hinden, in Fabian Colonial Essays p.54-5

~~** Modern Industry and the African p.203.~~

He said :-

> "The revolution is in some respects more ruthless than that of the industrial revolution as it was known in Europe, for there the changes involved were the spontaneous changes of an indigenous economic system, the next stages in a process of change which had been proceeding less rapidly, but none the less certainly, during the previous centuries.
> Here the changes are the consequence of the importation of an entirely new and exotic technique, in circumstances which for the first time have favoured radical change." **

It is admittedly most difficult, satisfactorily and at the rate which the urgency of the problem demands, so to modify Native institutions that in their new form they prove equal to the demands made upon them by the developments of European industry. It is not to be wondered at that being outmoded, their institutions cannot meet these demands, and hence that they must adopt as well as adapt, for on the economic plane white and black must advance together, as Campbell points out. ++ Only thus can there be the unified development of both 'races' within a single economic structure.

Although the Merle Davis Report on "Modern Industry and the African", was written in 1933 to describe conditions in the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia, there is much relevance for South Africa today in the following statement by Mr. E.A.G.Robinson in his chapter dealing with the difficulties of economic transition :-

> "The wisest economic policy for the moment may reasonably be regarded as that which grapples effectively with the problem of poverty without creating insoluble problems of political and social adjustment in the present, or of racial relations in the future. But it must always be remembered that most of these adjustments have to be made either sooner or later. Our power to postpone them is only limited."...."An attempt to use such powers as we may have of resisting the forces of economic change in order to maintain unchanged outworn forms and institutions and to prevent their modification or replacement by new types better adapted to the needs of the present, is doomed sooner or later to failure". ≠≠

It seemed clear to this Fellow of Sidney Sussex College

** Modern Industry and the African p.203.
++ Op.cit.p.115
≠≠ Op.cit.p.205

and Lecturer in the University of Cambridge, that the policy of economic segregation could never be carried to its logical conclusion, which confirms the point of view implicit throughout this study.

Irresistible change for the African gains fearsome momentum before the industrial drive. Having produced this dynamic result, it is imperative that we should assist him during this difficult transition period to the very fullest extent. And, once again, this means inescapably that he must assimilate 'our' culture. There is no alternative, for even if we had not destroyed his own, it could not possibly cope.

Chapter XXII.

FREE ENTERPRISE.

In this chapter, which is a brief postscript to the last, it is proposed to consider some of the effects upon indigenous culture of the free business enterprise of both African and European.

In the "Forum" of September 27th. 1947, appeared an interesting article ~~over the nom de plume~~ by John Layman, on the subject "The Bantu in Business".

The writer quoted the fact that less than ten years ago the Reddingsdaadbond inaugurated its policy of developing Afrikaner businesses, adding that :-

> "This example of a deliberate economic target for a particular racial group is of peculiar interest at the present time because stirrings of the same kind are becoming apparent among the Bantu"....."The Bantu are.....by no means blind to the opportunities which private enterprise offers; on the contrary, there are many thousands of them trading in the cities, where density of population, the availability of ready cash, and the reduced leisure of the Native worker (who is in consequence unable to spare time to perform many small personal services for himself), combine to provide a livelihood for scores of boot repairers, tailors, launderers, caterers and other traders and craftsmen.
>
> A feature of especial importance is the number of women engaged in small-scale trading"....

The writer proceeded :-

> "While these small traders and craftsmen, and their more imposing colleagues who own large shops and businesses, cover practically the entire range of African wants, most of them enter the field ill-equipped, and long after business men of other races had established themselves".

In consequence, he pointed out that of the tens of millions of pounds which comprise African buying power, by far the largest proportion

> "goes to the Europeans and Asiatics who have vested claims to licences and concessions, and who possess sufficient capital to withstand the competition of newcomers who have no backing but their own small savings and loans".

Being conscious of this, sporadic attempts had been made from time to time by different Native concerns to ensure that, as far as possible, the money available should be spent with Africans. That little headway had been made was partly due to the frequent inefficiency of their businesses, to the number of casualties suffered in consequence, and also "because" African leaders have felt that political objectives must have priority since political emancipation was, in their opinion, the first step towards economic progress."

> "More recently", it was claimed, a new tendency has been discernible. Increasing attention is being paid to consumers' co-operatives which pool resources to provide fairly substantial capital, and at the same time the link between commerce and political nationalism has grown stronger. An indication of the direction in which things are moving is given by the type of advertisement favoured by some concerns. A large African co-operative in Natal, for example, addresses its advertisements to 'Mabandla Ka Majokwane Ka Ndaba' (a description of the Zulus in terms of their ancestors); lists its wares and prices; and then appeals for help 'in returning the cattle of Africa to those who farmed them out', linking this with the 'emancipation of the Black race', and somewhat irrelevantly quoting the African National Anthem'."

It is difficult to see how the inclusion of the African National Anthem is in any way irrelevant to the rest of the appeal, for it asks that the horn of Africa may be exalted and that its people may prosper, which would give support to the idea of economic solidarity on the way to national solidarity.

Such sentiments, it was pointed out, are not confined to commercial men but are shared by journalists, and, increasingly, by the masses. Thus the Alexandra Bus Commission found that many Natives would patronise an African rather than a European, even when the latter provided a superior service.

The article concluded that it was but a small step from this stage to the more deliberate organization of African buying and selling on nationalistic lines, concerning which the author wrote:-

> "At any time during the next few years we may expect to find the Bantu equivalent of the Reddingsdaadbond emerging to mobilise African capital and enterprise, and to campaign for the diversion of African spending power from European and Indian establishments to those conducted by men of their own race.
>
> The effect on European incomes of a successful campaign on these lines can well be imagined. It will be real segregation, but there will be few professed segregationists who will like it."

From barter to business is a far cry, and from small shopkeeping to large co-operatives is another. In this, as in so many other departments of life, the African is going our way, even to the extent of emulating those who wish to develop two separate economies, which is to attempt the impossible, for if successful chain stores were established by Africans for Africans, the buying power would largely derive from money earned in European industry and other employment, and the profits would be shared by the European manufacturers, distributors, and transport owners.

Space limits preclude more than a mere reference to the large number of Africans in the different territories who possess hawkers' licences, to the development of Native markets, to the aptitude shown for commerce by the Hausas and certain other tribes, to the growing number of more established individual traders, (a trading concern in the Bechuanaland Protectorate was recently bought by an African at a price between six and seven thousand pounds), and to the steady growth in extent of Native owned commercial

transport. Neither is it possible to do justice to the emergence of African co-operatives, but in illustration of this, an article in "The Democrat" of July 1947, by Mr. H.I.E. Dhlomo may be quoted. In this he spoke of those of his 'race' who realise that their future lies in their own hands, and said that

> "In spite of the poverty of individual Africans, as a group the 8,000,000 Africans whose purchasing power is estimated to be £30 million a year, can be a great economic force, and if properly organised can bring about their liberation. This can be done by forming strong economic groups.
>
> Such an organization is the Bantu Co-operative Movement in Natal and Zululand. Although Father Bernard Huss has preached co-operation as far back as 1922, the present strong movement dates from 1940 when Mr. W.J. Mseleku came on the scene. Mseleku studied the history and principles of co-operation in Manchester, England, where he obtained a social science degree. He also visited France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland, studying the various social services there."

Upon his return from Europe this African became Director and National Organiser of African Co-operatives in Natal and Zululand, the writer adding that White and Indian traders and certain government authorities opposed the movement, since "In the movement they saw the writing on the wall", and "others feared that this mass movement would be exploited politically."

But apparently the work spread in both rural and urban centres until :-

> "Today the movement has nine registered societies and 111 buying clubs. All these are run by Africans for Africans. The membership is over 5,000 with savings and share capital of £20,000. The branches are scattered all over the Province and the members belong to the lower income groups."

After stating that there were political difficulties as well as economic problems to contend with, Mr. Dhlomo wrote:-

> "The movement has a five year plan which embraces co-operation in agriculture, industries, commerce, education, and social welfare organisation. The idea is to make Africans producers and not mere consumers. Knowing that Africans cannot get loans from Government and private banks, that African moneys deposited in these banks are used to finance non-African enterprises, and that only money in circulation is helpful, the movement is on the threshold of establishing a Co-operative Credit Bank and a wholesale department to serve its societies."

It was reported also that a monthly magazine was produced, that a winter school was organized, and that they were pressing for a technical college and for an agricultural school so that they might have the training "to face the demands and competition of an acquisitive society".

After making due allowance for the enthusiasm, emotion and the possible over-statement of this African journalist, it remains obvious that the experience of the various European countries visited by the African graduate who is now organizing African co-operatives in Natal and Zululand, has contributed cultural elements which are being rapidly assimilated by the descendants of a warrior people who vainly tried to stem the advancing European tide with their assegais in 1879.

Free enterprise or capital investment policy in Africa by the European also, naturally reflects commercial development on a much bigger scale, development which is devastating in its effects upon African culture. As an illustration of this, it would be difficult to cite anything more convincing — with the exception of the mining industry of the Rand, which will be examined later — than the survey of developments given by Mr. Geoffrey Heyworth, Chairman of Lever Brothers and Unilever Ltd. at their annual general meeting on November 30th. 1946, as published in the 'Financial Times', and summarised in the Colonial Review for March, 1947. Because of its relevance this summary will be freely drawn upon. Having explained that their development projects fall under the four heads of natural resources, commerce, transport and industry, Mr. Heyworth said :-

> "For many years the United Africa Co. has worked forest concessions in Southern Nigeria. Originally all the timber shipped from these concessions was in the form of logs. Some ten years ago we established a large saw mill at Sapele, which enabled a far wider range of species to be marketed"..... "Now we propose entirely to renovate and enlarge that mill"...."We are further developing the potential of

> our timber concessions by entering into new fields of activity. We are installing a dimension mill which will enable short length materials to be cut into sizes and finishes suitable for the joinery and furniture trades, and we are erecting a range of kilns for timber seasoning"..."Finally a plywood factory is now nearing completion"....."This undertaking, however has its technical and administrative problems.....We have to instil into our African employee the skill necessary to operate the modern plant we are installing and to accustom them to working under factory conditions. On the social side we are making a start with the provision of houses for the workers at rents within their means, an experiment we hope will contribute to a general improvement in living conditions.
>
> We plan to extend our timber operations to the Gold Coast where vast forests of fine timber stand in their virgin state"....."we hope to acquire felling rights over 500 square miles of forest"...."This new project, which promises to make a notable contribution to the economy of the Colony, not only as a result of the increased revenue from royalties and by way of taxation but also because the development of the timber trade will increase the traffic on the Government railways and at the Takoradi Docks".. ....."We shall have to build an extensive road network including a trunk road 100 miles long.... these projects for the development of the Nigerian and Gold Coast timber concessions will take some four years to bring to full fruition and will involve a total expenditure of £2,250,000."

If this company report had ended there, it would have served to show how the granting of forest concessions had led to the employment of Africans under factory conditions, the provision of new quarters for them at economic rentals, the raising of their standards of living, and the development of railways, harbours and roads, as well as the increase of revenue and expenditure. But the report did not end there, for it turned from Nigeria and the Gold Coast to the Belgian Congo, where it was claimed that for well over 30 years the Company had taken a leading part in the development of its natural resources. Of their activities in this Territory the Chairman said :-

> "In the Belgian Congo where for well over thirty years we have taken a leading part in the development of its natural resources".....we are now completing the last stage of a programme".... "for the planting of 82,000 acres with oil palms and some 15,000 acres with rubber. To this programme we have added this year 6,000 acres of cocoa" ....."THE CONVENTION UNDER WHICH THE COMPANY OPERATES IN THE BELGIAN CONGO MAKES IT INCUMBENT UPON IT TO ASSURE THE PROVISION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION WITHIN THE ORIGINAL CONCESSION AREAS. WE ARE NOW

> EMBARKING ON AN EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF A DIFFERENT KIND. IN JANUARY 1947, WE SHALL OPEN A FULLY EQUIPPED AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL FOR TRAINING CONGOLESE TO BE ESTATE OVERSEERS, IN A THREE YEARS COURSE"..... "A SCHOOL OF SIMILAR DIMENSIONS IS BEING OPENED FOR THE TRAINING OF OIL MILL ENGINEERS AND MECHANICS." (capitals mine).

Apart from the direct effects upon the Native economy of developing this plantation system on so large a scale, are the far-reaching indirect effects which derive from the active participation of the Company in primary, agricultural, and technical training.

The report revealed that the original trade was one of barter, but that it had grown to the buying of tropical produce for disposal in the world's markets, against the importation of merchandise of all kinds for local requirements. In consequence one read that :-

> "The motor agency businesses are being extended and brought up to date in anticipation of the increasing demand for cars, trucks, and tractors, to which the projected improvements of road facilities will give rise.
>
> Technical departments for the selling and servicing of machinery, engineering and electrical equipment, and builders' supplies, are being expanded. We are increasing the expert staffs for hardware, made-up clothing and so on. ALL THESE SPECIALISED SERVICES HAVE THEIR COUNTERPARTS IN LONDON, MANCHESTER, PARIS AND BRUSSELS, WHOSE FUNCTION IS TO PROCURE SUPPLIES OF THE MOST SUITABLE GOODS. The pattern of the businesses of the United African Company is thus gradually changing from general wholesaling and retailing to one of specialised wholesaling with retailing passing more and more into the hands of the African." (capitals mine)

Here with a vengeance are international impacts upon African culture, which is thereby radically changed for all time.

Mr. Heyworth spoke also of building a new wharf at Leopoldville, and of the Company's ocean port on the Niger Delta, where, he said "we are installing cargo-handling plant that will compare favourably with the best in Europe."

> "In tropical Africa", he continued, "the greater spending power of the population has led to a higher demand for the basic consumer goods, of which soap is one"....."We have therefore decided to extend our soap factory at Apapa...and to establish a new one at Port Harcourt"....."In the Belgium Congo a new factory is to be built at Alberta"....."We shall enter a new

> field by building a soap factory at Abidjan to serve the French Ivory Coast."

This report, so encouraging for the European shareholders, then turned from soap to beer, presumably another of the basic consumer goods. Of this, he reported that they had embarked upon a project

> "for the provision of good locally brewed beer. This involves the establishment of an up-to-date brewery at Lagos, with an annual capacity of 500,000 gallons, which, it is anticipated, should meet the growing needs of the community."

Turning to East Africa he claimed that the time had come to manufacture soap and edible products, because of which, subject to Treasury consent, they proposed to erect a combined seed-crushing unit and soap and edible oil factory, at Kampala at a cost of three-quarters of a million pounds.

Having spread the economic net over the East and West Coast Territories and the Belgian Congo, he was able to reassure his listeners that South Africa had not been overlooked, since :-

> "In the Union of South Africa increased capacity is urgently required tomeet the demand for soap and edible products resulting from the rise in the standard of living of the non-European element of the population. The extensions necessary to meet immediate needs are now under construction at Durban and Capetown."

The report of this unassuming concern ended on the modest note that :-

> "These, then, are the developments to which we are devoting our resources and our energy in Africa.
> At every step we try to take into account the social as much as the economic aspect. In terms of money, the total, including some lesser items, amounts to £9,800,000."

I would submit that no commercial company can invest ten million pounds in African trade today, without affecting the lives of more than ten million Africans. Whether or not the company promoters or their executives, effectively "take account of the social as well as of the economic aspect", there can be no reasonable doubt concerning the disruption of the social fabric for which they are responsible through

the high-powered economic drive, directed with such ingenuity and skill, against any tribe or population-group likely to respond in terms of dividends. Moreover, to doubt this in the case of the mining industry, would be to discredit the obvious.

Chapter XXIII.

MINING AND MIGRANT LABOUR.

In remote ages, as pointed out by Lord Hailey, it was the search for precious metals which established contact between Africa, Asia and Europe, thus suggesting that, then as now, the profit motive led to the assimilation of culture, a principle as true when over 100 million tons of rock were taken out of the 'ancient workings' of Southern Rhodesia, as when thousands of years later the cyanide process of gold extraction so enormously increased the gold production of the Union.

In South Africa, it has been a truism, which may soon call for modification, that the gold mines, which have yielded millions of pounds in taxation, are the only major industry of the country. In consequence it has been stated that "The Union's utter dependence on the mines should be in the forefront of every discussion"**. With equal relevance it might be claimed that "The Union's utter dependence on Native labour should be in the forefront of every discussion".

Speaking of the mining revolution in South Africa Alexander Campbell wrote also :-

> "There seemed to be no alternative at all".... "Africans were to come out from the kraals and work for a time in the mines and return to their homes — return with pocket money and, perhaps, a beneficial civilising influence on their stay-at-home fellows.
> It could not be foreseen that in less than 50 years the mines would be employing an annual labour force of 400,000 Africans. Nor could it be foreseen that mining would have great repercussions on the whole social framework of the country, and that towns and industries would be created - all at white heat - making great and growing demands in their turn on

** "South Africa - What Now?" p.29.

the rural population, both white and black". ++ Campbell went on to explain the inflow of African labour, which was to 'commute' between the Reef and the reserves with 'substantial benefits to both', but also that increasing numbers, being divorced from the land, were settling permanently in urban areas where no provision had been made for this powerful insurge. To this he added that every South African industry was dependent on the mines; that solely because of the good price obtained for gold it was possible to buy large quantities of consumer goods, raw materials, semi-manufactured goods and plant and machinery, and that most would agree that if the mines were closed, "South Africa's living standards, even such as they are, would crash in the most catastrophic manner". **

Later sections will deal with the migratory labour system, its effects, and the imperative need for reform, for it is impossible to attempt any true assessment of the impact of the mining industry as a cultural high-explosive, without considering labour migrations as an integral part of it.

In 1943, the Gold Producers' Committee of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, in a well-produced volume of some 200 pages, gathered together the evidence submitted in various statements to the Witwatersrand Mine Native Wages Commission. According to the last paragraph on p.187, at the conclusion of its evidence, the Committee revealed the significant assumption on which it had been based, when it said :-

> "It has assumed that the Commission will arrive at its findings in the light of conditions and economic requirements as they exist to-day under the law and custom of this country, including the Colour Bar, the system of family cultivation in the Reserves, and the Native Policy of the Union of South Africa".

In other words, given assurance regarding the inviolability of the Colour Bar, the static nature of discriminatory

++ Ibid. p.14
** Ibid. p.33

policy, and continuing agreement that mine wages should not be equitably related to the value of the work performed, but should be determined also in relation to the hypothetical value of other work performed under widely differing rural conditions by the families concerned, it was not a matter of great difficulty for the Committee to submit "a good case" for the observance of the status quo. Hence one reads in the penultimate paragraph :-

> "The Gold Producers' Committee has set out its case. I submit that it is a good case and a sound one, and that as regards the main question referred to the Commission, namely the remuneration of mine Natives in relation to their economic requirements, it provides over-whelming evidence that the requirements of the average mine Native are more than adequately met by the existing wage scale, leaving a margin for progression to a higher standard of living if the Native desires it; in other words, that the wages provide for economic requirements plus a margin for uplift." **

If this were reduced to a mathematical formula, it might almost appear that a family contribution of £x enabled the industry to provide the mineworker with £y from which to meet his basic economic needs, and with a small addition of £z to assist upliftment. In this study, however, we are not concerned with the logic of this argument, but with the operation of the process of acculturation for which mining is responsible.

From Statement No.I of the evidence under reference, one learns that during 1942 the total expenditure by the mines on Native wages was £12,730,628, which represents the magnitude of the change from a subsistence economy to a cash economy system. Every contract of service bound the labourer "to work on every working day, on day or night shift, on piece work or day's pay, at the option from time to time of the employer, to reside in the quarters provided by the employer and, when called upon, to do Sunday work" ++

It was provided, moreover, that in the event of any act of God, such as "flooding, fire, strike, strike of workmen, accidents to mine or plant, or other cause beyond

** Ibid. p.188

++ Ibid.pp.12-13

the control of the employer, such Natives will receive half pay"....and, again, that until the expiration of their contracts all would be provided free of charge with the prescribed rations, quarters and medical attendance. The minimum period of engagement is for 270 worked shifts.

A 48 hour week is prescribed under the Mines and Works Act, 1911, "exclusive of the time occupied in going to or from the working place". The food ration exceeds the Government scale, and it is claimed that :-

> "The excellent feeding provided by the mines is one of the most important factors in the popularity of mine work"....."and the improvement in the physical condition of the Native after a spell of mining employment is remarkable." ....."Housing, feeding, hospitalization, recreation and other amenities are always being improved". ++

In the same statement one reads of mine hospitals well equipped with all modern facilities for surgical and medical cases, of 68 medical officers in the mine service in addition to a European nursing staff of 241 and an African nursing staff of 435, and of the fact that the minimum compensation for ante-primary silicosis was raised in 1941 to approximately £50.

A remittance agency which is a free service, leads to the transmission of over half a million pounds a year to specified beneficiaries at home, whilst deferred wages, totalling about three quarters of a million pounds a year, are paid as accumulated earnings in the home districts. Such money is invested in Government securities, the interest being devoted to approved objects of benefit to the Africans in the territories concerned.

An annexure classifies the Natives according to the type of work done, the following being illustrative:-

Engineering Department: Hoisting, including winch drivers, workshops, drill sharpeners, boiler and stationary engine attendants, boss boys.
Reduction Works and Assay: Transport to crushers or mills, sorting and crushing, mills and tube-mills, cyaniding, assay office, boss boys.
Acclimatization.

++ Ibid. p.13.

Compounds, Offices and Stores. Indunas, clerks, police and watchmen, brewers and cooks.
Hospitals. Ambulance, orderlies.
Surface-General:- Convalescents, dumps, timber treatment, surface transport, handywork, plantations, gardens etc. boss boys.
Rock-Breaking:- Shaft-sinking, developing, stoping, hammer-boys, machine boss-boys.
Shovelling and Tramming:- Hauling, tramming, loco.
Support of Workings:- Shaft stope and drive timbering.
Underground Mining Department-General: Pipes, tracks, truck repairing, sampling, survey, sanitation, ambulance and first aid.
Underground Engineering Department: Hoisting, pumping, mechanics' boys, drill sharpening, boss boys.

≠≠

It seems reasonably clear, that in spite of the oft-repeated contention of the Chamber of Mines that, more than any other agency, they maintain the structure of tribalism, the above occupations had no origin in allowing the African "to develop along his own lines", any more than had their colossal pay-roll, their deferred wage or remittance system, their highly efficient medical service, their dietary or compound system or social welfare work.

In 1942 the highest number employed in any one day was 375,923, and of the average of 353,086, 174,726 were from the Union, 63,501 from the High Commission Territories, 88,270 from Mozambique, and 26,589 from north of Lat.22 S, figures which are richly significant of the enormous constituency drawn upon and profoundly influenced by the Rand Mines.**

In Statement No.4 of the same document it was shown that today the African mine labourer remains at work for longer continuous periods, and it was calculated that the working age is between 18 and 40, during which period he spends, on the average, about 12 years on the mines.++ It is obviously impossible to estimate with any accuracy the resultant of the detribalizing and culture-changing forces brought to bear during these most vital years upon literally millions of Africans, and by them, indirectly, upon millions of others. In an article headed "Can We Afford Stabilised

≠≠ Since this wide classification may mislead, it may be well to add that the Statement refers to the underground workers as "this force of unskilled labour". ** Ibid.p.21. ++ Ibid.p.31

Mine Labour?" which appeared in the Forum of August 23rd, 1947, the writer began as follows :-

> "South Africa's divorce courts and social welfare agencies have not yet caught up with the social havoc caused among Europeans by the separation of men from their families during the war. This devastation among the White population will give some small indication of the complete disruption of family life, community organisation and moral standards which is constantly proceeding among the Native people as a result of the system of migrant labour. For the migrant labourer is, from a sociological point of view, perpetually on active service.
>
> The result is that Native social life in and around mining and industrial towns is always like what Cape Town and Durban were when a convoy was in, and that in the Reserves the young women vastly outnumber the men, while the matrons are left to rear and discipline children, to manage household finance, and to carry on heavy pastoral and agricultural work without the guidance and assistance of their husbands.
>
> The effect of this unwholesome and unsatisfactory way of life is readily apparent both in the cities and in the Reserves, and has been fully described by a number of competent investigators, including Government commissions.
>
> IT IS THEREFORE SHEER BALDERDASH TO SAY, as the Chamber of Mines does in a recent pamphlet, THAT MIGRATORY LABOUR IS 'A SYSTEM THAT GRADUALLY ACCUSTOMS THE PRIMITIVE TRIBAL NATIVE TO THE EUROPEAN WAY OF LIFE, WHILE ALLOWING HIM TO RETAIN THE BEST IN HIS OWN CULTURE.' The best in any culture is healthy family life, and migrant labour permits its existence neither in the Reserves nor on the mines. Nor is family separation the European way of life". (capitals mine).

More will be said of this a little later, but in the meantime the following avowal in the fourth Statement in the 1943 evidence of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, would appear a mixture of candour and finesse:-

> "The policy "(i.e. the South African Native Policy) is a coherent whole, and is the antithesis of the policy of assimilation and the encouragement of a black proletariat in the towns, divorced from its tribal heritage.
>
> THE ABILITY OF THE MINES TO MAINTAIN THEIR NATIVE LABOUR FORCE BY MEANS OF TRIBAL NATIVES FROM THE RESERVES AT RATES OF PAY WHICH ARE ADEQUATE FOR THIS MIGRATORY CLASS OF NATIVE BUT INADEQUATE IN PRACTICE FOR THE DETRIBALIZED URBAN NATIVE, IS A FUNDAMENTAL FACTOR IN THE ECONOMY OF THE GOLD MINING INDUSTRY". (capitals mine). **

** Ibid. p.33.

It is natural that the mining industry should claim to be loyal interpreters of government policy, and it becomes correspondingly difficult for government to reverse its policy in favour of a stablized rather than of a migrant system. For our purpose it is merely necessary to point out that either system inevitably spells the disruption of indigenous culture, but that the former offers infinitely more possibilities of the integration of wholesome elements from 'our' culture.

In a brochure entitled "The Native Workers on the Witwatersrand Gold Mines", a Transvaal Chamber of Mines publication,++ some specious pleading in favour of the status quo is supported by a number of excellent photographs, certain of which are obviously intended to illustrate the harmonious way in which mining is related to tribalism. Thus opposite to a peaceful scene of a Tonga family at home outside the main hut, is a photograph of a happy group of mineworkers sitting in the sun in one of the compounds. Opposite to the photograph of Xosa ritual at an initiation ceremony, is one of a tribal dance in another compound. Similarly paired are two photographs, one showing an open air tribal "kitchen", and the other an enormous mine kitchen where electric light and rows of steam cookers are installed. Another pair show a Zulu 'doctor' in Natal operating "with an unsterilised knife and unpredictable results on a patient ignorant of the implications", and opposite an operation in progress in a modern mine theatre. Then too there is another of Mr. Duggan-Cronin's excellent photographs showing a Zulu asleep in his hut, opposite to which is one showing the interior of a compound room with bunks. Of the last two photographs in the pamphlet, one shows a labourer regarding his pay with a radiant smile, and the other a number of homeward-bound workers displaying bicycles, trunks, and other newly acquired possessions.

++ P.R.D. No.7, 1947.

The moral of the whole appears to be that for the tribal African this is a home from home, although neither the mine kitchen, nor the very attractive modern hospital, nor the first-aid station 4,000 feet underground, nor the mass radiography, nor the photograph of the mineworkers leaving the shaft-head, is strongly reminiscent of the distant kraal. And the letter-press is equally inconclusive. One is warned against "the superficial reforms of impatient idealists"; informed that "the white man's unending quest for financial security" is incomprehensible to the Native; instructed that urban Africans, having "exchanged the tranquil security of the kraal for the confused instability of town life", have degenerated physically and morally; consoled by the assurance that "The many difficulties and maladjustments of these too-hastily urbanized Natives are avoided on the gold mines of the Witwatersrand", and assured that, as for the much wiser tribal Native working on the mines, "As soon as his economic needs have been satisfied, he returns to the tribe", his venture into the European world being described as merely "an interlude". (Twelve years of mine work between the ages of 18 and 40, as a migrant labourer, would appear to constitute a record interlude).

Consistent with this rationalizing is the finding that:-

> "The great value to the Native of employment in the gold mining industry lies in the fact that during his periods of living on the mines his tribal pattern of life is preserved as far as possible. The compounds temper the impact of what is to him, a strange bewildering world."

One is almost prepared for the possible argument that as mining increases in depth and the rock temperature increases with it, as jack-hammers multiply and mechanization is extended, and as the labour force grows but not the wage rates, the Africans from Angola, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias, the High Commission Territories and the Union will be sheltered from a bewildering world by preserving their many tribal patterns through the medium of an occasional dance in the protective tranquility of the compound, even though, as we are informed, such dances are popular with the Europeans "who come in large numbers to watch them", and who are thus helped "to realise the state of development and the

nature of the Natives over whom they have accepted the responsibilities of trusteeship."

Of the interplay of influences at the mines upon the Native worker, Merle Davis writes :-

> "There is a spiritual cutting adrift from his old foundations. He finds himself free to break tribal laws. Family sanctions are left behind, nor has his spiritual world followed him to the mines. His spirits and the taboos connected with them no longer dominate him. The mine is a place where he can defy all taboos — of food, ceremonials, purifications, sex relations, ancestral sacrifices — and nothing happens to overwhelm him in disaster. He is no longer dependent upon his tribe for support or protection. He finds he can take care of himself. On his return to his village there is an obvious lessening of respect towards his elders.
>
> He has been out in the great world, lived an independent, individualistic life and broken the bonds of communalism and family discipline. Not only is disrespect shown to his elders; it is evident in his relationships with Europeans"......"A new criticism born of disillusionment of the White man now shows in his dealings with Europeans. He has begun to discern, discriminate and question, and these uncomfortable faculties are turned upon all White men"....**

It is because of factors such as these, resultant social tensions, the weakening of tribal cohesion and of family responsibilities, the development of an unbalanced individualism, the growth of casual sex associations on the mines and in the reserves, prostitution, serial 'wifehood', the dissemination of subversive propaganda the spread of disease, and the deleterious effects of absentee labour upon the rural economy, that one cannot avoid the conclusion that deep-level mining has been accompanied by deep-level undermining so far as the Africans are concerned, a fact which no amount of rationalizing by the Chamber of Mines or by any other agency can obscure. To state this is in no way to decry the liberal welfare policy of the mines, or the fact that it is the mines which have made possible the development of secondary industries, the steep rise in national revenue, and the improvement in the European standard of living, all of which have stimulated acculturation. That a liberal welfare policy on the mines is in the interests of the European shareholders, is but an illustration of a universal principal that in a multi-'racial' society the well-being of one ethnic group contributes to that of another.

** Modern Industry and the African. pp 290-1.

To revert to the Merle Davis Commission's Report, it was there affirmed that through the impact of modern industry it was chiefly in the field of psychic attitudes and social organization that 'our' civilization was taking root among the Africans. Thus it said :-

> "Mental attitudes, whatever the behaviour, had unquestionably changed. The worker was more discriminating, more favourable in his attitude towards Native reform, more impatient with the inefficiency of his Chief, more interested in education, more critical of old codes and social taboos, more emancipated from tribal superstitions, more ambitious to attain the standards of the civilization of which he had been temporarily a part.
>
> That these attitudes were inhibited of expression need not prevent their bearing fruit in succeeding generations. The new and subversive ideas of their children, exposed to similar contacts, will find a readier reception and sympathy because of the earlier experience of the parents, just as the children of former Native Christians find it immeasurably easier to think and live their Christian lives". **

This suggests that good as well as bad flows from the introduction of the African to modern industry, if only the gains can be conserved and rightly directed, but it in no way supports the specious claim of the Chamber of Mines that the mining industry safeguards tribalism against change. On the contrary it is evidential that it does exactly the reverse by promoting the assimilation of culture.

In the Introduction to the Report of the Lacey Committee, appointed in 1935 to enquire into Emigrant Labour in Nyasaland, it was stated that :-

> "Our investigations have deepened profoundly our individual and collective sense of responsibility. We must confess that, six months ago, there was not one of us who realised the seriousness of the situation: as our investigations proceeded we became more and more aware that this uncontrolled and growing emigration brought misery and poverty to hundreds and thousands of families and that the waste of life, happiness, health and wealth was colossal".

The Report, which was concerned with the exodus of Africans from the territory, and its effects, present and potential, upon the life of the Protectorate, estimated that from 25% to 30% of their migrants became 'lost ones' who never returned; it recorded many of the undesirable results referred to elsewhere; it added that progress in the village was arrested, that gardens remained untended, and that before long large

** Modern Industry and the African p.125.

tracts of land would be rendered unfit for cultivation, so that "in the no distant future the Protectorate will have reached a desperate condition".

These findings were supported by quotations from Professor Schapera's article on "Labour Emigration from a Bechuanaland Native Reserve", in the Journal of the African Society for October, 1933, and January 1934, which revealed similar conditions.

In a memorandum recently issued by the Central African Council on the same subject (the roneoed copy is unnumbered and undated), having quoted from the 1935 Nyasaland Report regarding "the changes which are taking place in the customs, habits and whole social structure of Native life", and of the manner in which "The whole fabric of the old order of society is undermined when 30% - 60% of the able bodied men are absent at one time", nevertheless listed three advantages which accrue from migrant labour :-

> "(1)the outlet provided for what is virtually a surplus of manpower for which no employment or economic occupation offers at home;
>
> (2) the opportunities which offer to acquire skill, experience and breadth of outlook which travel gives;
>
> (3) in the case of territories like those of Central Africa, which are economically and — as contiguous units of the Commonwealth and Empire — inevitably interdependent to some extent, the increased development and prosperity of the group."

All three factors ensure for the African cultural assimilation. The southward migration, including as it does many thousands who cross the frontiers clandestinely, is a cause of more anxiety to Southern Rhodesia than to Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia, for the last two have still a labour surplus, whilst Southern Rhodesia with its expanding industrial and agricultural development fears retardation in these respects. A conference was therefore held in Pretoria in August 1947, between representatives of these three governments and of the Union, to explore the better regulation of control. It may be assumed again that the measures which result will lead to further acculturation, for they will

be concerned with inter-territorial migration in relation to sociological as well as to economic factors. In the meantime Africans from the northern territories use Southern Rhodesia as a stepping stone to the Union border; there they obtain a permit, valid for 6 months, at a cost of 5/-, to look for work in rural areas, (it is stipulated that they must not seek work in urban areas), and then they use the Northern Transvaal as a stepping stone on their southward march to the Rand. Of this migration, an article entitled "invasion from North", published in the Forum of August 23rd. 1947, wrote :-

> "The handful of European immigrants who, in the past year or so, have challenged the forbidding hardships of the African Continent and made the overland trip to the Union, gained great publicity; but the Black men of Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia, have been doing it in their thousands year after year, almost since the start of the century. The urge which impels them to leave their homes and risk the hazards of the long trek through lion-infested country, obscure trails and semi desert territory and over the crocodile-infested Limpopo, is the same urge which has driven countless thousands to daring deeds and distant parts — money. Far south lies their goal — the glittering golden Rand. To them it spells quick wealth."

Migrant labour with all its dire consequences, and with others less sinister, is the direct result of the free investment of huge capital in gold mining by the Europeans, on the one hand, and the introduction of the African to our cash-economy system on the other.

In an article by Mr. G.E. Stent on "Migratory Labour", published in the 1947 issue of 'Theoria', the journal of the Arts Faculty of the Natal University College, the writer affirms that :-

> "The reserves cannot provide even a bare subsistence for the vast majority, and for some, their holdings are to all intents and purposes useless as a source of income."....."Money had to be raised to pay the taxes of a Government which realised the effects a money tax would have in promoting the flow of work-seekers among a people to whom money was extraneous."

He then describes a survey being conducted at the Dunlop Rubber Factory in Durban, which has shown that the African employees average 22 months at work for every two months away, this and other evidence being indicative of the increasing

numbers who look to urban employment, not as the supplementary, but as the main or sole source of income, and he suggests that since earnings range at Dunlop's from £10 to £12 a month the present wage-policy of the mines may represent a barrier to an increased labour supply. In any event, he points out, that :-

> "What should be noted, and made the basis of policy is.. that within the broad drift towards urban employment, an increasingly stable urbanised group is emerging despite the barriers raised by inadequate housing, the Native Urban Areas Act, discriminating industrial legislation, and the inertia of established ideas and ways of life among the Africans".

Relevant to his comparison between the wage-policy of the mines and that of an industrial concern such as Dunlop's, is the following excerpt from an essay by Professor W.H. Hutt on "The Economic Position of the Bantu in South Africa":-

> "There is one cause of dissatisfaction in respect of which their"(i.e. the Chamber of Mines) "hands are tied. The lack of encouragement for skill and experience which may be an important factor in any unrest, cannot be rectified. There is no scope for Native advance, even of the most meagre kind, on the mines." **

There are many who consider, with Professor Hutt, that "the force of competitive capitalism will prove too strong to enable the continued subjection of the Bantu, and the struggle against it.....is a fight with the inevitable". ++

In a more comprehensive paper by Mr. G.E. Stent, entitled "Migrant Labour and Industry", (as yet unpublished), the writer having reviewed the position as it affects the Union, says :-

> "I would suggest that a persistence in the present treatment of African labour is liable to have extremely serious results on the well-being of our country. It is not only the urban-ward drift of population and the shortage of housing to accommodate them that are causing the present sharp conflicts on the Rand, a second series of eruptions following only a year after the Rand miners' strike. Other factors are casual employment and the demoralising effects of vagrancy, migrant labour at its lowest level."....."We should take note of the experiences of other countries with their migrants, and realise how liable migrancy is to induce degeneration, demoralisation and lawlessness among those who are subject to its influence. These traits are not racial traits. They are human tendencies, socially induced."....
> "Both earnings and productivity suffer, hopelessness turns to bitterness, the frustration ends in demoralisation."....
> "violence of an anarchistic type is likely to occur and"....
> "responsible African leaders are liable to lose their prestige and capacity to give leadership if the situation should come to a stage where nothing but despair was felt".

** "Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa", p.225.
++ Ibid.p.237.

After these trenchant words of warning, Mr. Stent reaches the following general conclusions :-

> "For these reasons it seems to me that the urbanisation of our industrial population should be facilitated, and the degree of migrancy of our industrial labour force should be reduced. It is not a question of ending migrancy everywhere and in all cases at one fell swoop. The problem is to find the balance, and in finding a balanced approach to the question three main and complementary steps are involved. The first and second have frequently been mooted, the economic development of the reserves, and the provision of increased housing facilities in the cities.
>
> Both involve many difficult problems of finance and policy. Both are essential to a finally satisfactory solution of the problem. Development of increased productivity will reduce the rate of flow to the towns. But in any case it should be noted that as the townward flow continues, equilibrium between town and country grows closer.
>
> Until a true equilibrium is reached, legal and physical measures to check the townward flow are liable to fail, for they run counter to fundamental economic forces. They also be it added, tend to check the growth of our national income for the bulk of the movement is on transfer from less to more productive employment.
>
> The third point is the decasualisation of the labour market, and the opening up of avenues for skilled employment for Africans without which decasualisation will never be adequately developed."....."the supply of labour is two-dimensional. It is made up both of numbers and of their efficiency. It is in the development of this aspect, in the use to which our labour is put, that the best prospects of development lie".

For the sake of our national income as well as to reduce the demoralising effects of migrant labour, this economist advocates what in effect would be rural as well as urban stabilization, and the training and employment of African skill by the removal of the colour bar in industry. It is clear that these reforms could not be implemented without the wider acceptance of the principle of cultural assimilation. In the long run, however,— and undue delay adds to the mounting tragedy — this point of view must of necessity replace that, which, according to the "Star" of February 27th. 1947, was represented by the Chamber of Mines, through its Gold Producers' Committee, to the Native Laws Commission of Inquiry. To this Committee the press report attributed the statement that :-

> "Any change over from the migratory system of mine-labour to stabilised communities of native labourers would be disastrous to the mining industry and the country from the economic point of view. It would also have a catastrophic effect on the natives themselves".... "The change would be so great that those opposed to the present system should produce the most convincing reasons before

any deliberate attempt to make even a partial change is contemplated.

The issue at stake is all-important, and the ultimate results of any ill-considered action might prove disastrous to the people as a whole."

It was then contended that "the traditional background of the native peoples should be maintained as fully and as long as was consistent with progressive development on sound lines".

This is a question-begging contention, based on the assumption already examined, that progressive development on sound lines is being fostered, and can be fostered only by the present migratory system and its allied mine-compound system, an assumption from which, with Mr. Stent, we beg to differ. The subordination of big-business to the common welfare is a moral as well as an economic issue, and differences of policy naturally arise from differences in value.

An article with the title, "Can We Afford Stabilised Mine Labour", in the Forum of August 23rd. 1947, already quoted, supplied figures to show that in the Union it would not be an extravagant investment to preserve labour supplies in this way, and ended on the note that the National Housing and Planning Commission might well share the costs, as in the case of a municipal scheme, claiming that "It would cost the Treasury far less than trying to patch up the human ruin that migrant labour is causing at the moment".

In concluding this chapter it may be relevant to refer to the Secretary of State's Memorandum on Colonial Mining Policy, published as Colonial No.206 on December 10th.1946. From it the following extracts are taken :-

"minerals are important economic assets to a territory, and, being the gift of nature, their benefits should be shared by the community generally to which they belong, and not be enjoyed merely by limited groups of private individuals who are often not members of the community concerned"

"Mining should be carried on according to a deliberately planned programme and its social consequences carefully foreseen and directed so that the evils of unregulated development and consequent social distress, in the effects on agricultural village life and the diversion of manhood do not arise"

"In Colonial conditions, mining industries offer a particularly good opportunity for the development of technical and managerial skill among indigenous people,

> and all Colonial Governments should consider how they can best implement the recommendations of the 1944 International Labour Conference at Philadelphia on the Prohibition of Colour and Religious Bars and other Discriminatory Practices."
>
> "It should be the Government's policy to secure that such a wasting asset should be converted into a permanent asset, and this can be done by securing that the moneys accruing to Government from royalties etc. are employed to build up such assets, e.g. by training the local population as rapidly as possible to acquire the knowledge and the aptitude to support a higher standard of living".

An article in "The Economist" for December 21st. 1946 refers to the above memorandum as marking an important milestone in colonial development; he agrees that colonial governments should have a much closer grip on the instruments controlling economic activity, but advises that :-

> "In the more advanced territories the Government's main economic pre-occupation should be to create the atmosphere in which private enterprise can thrive within a development plan for the whole colony."

It merely remains to be said, that in the degree to which the principles embodied in this Colonial Paper are made effective in the dependencies concerned, the convergent development of the African communities towards European culture will be correspondingly promoted. Active participation by government must mean active responsibility in the raising of standards as well as in the raising of revenue. Similarly if mineral rights be reserved to the Crown, human rights will be reserved to the individual, and among these must be that of progress through the assimilation of culture.

.....

Chapter XXIV.

TRADE UNIONS.

In South Africa prominence has recently been given to the pros and cons of giving recognition to Native Trade Unions, since the absence of such recognition helped to create the present impasse between Government and the Natives Representative Council, whilst the form of their proposed recognition, as defined in the Native Trade Union Bill, brought about

no rapprochement with Council and much controversy in labour and other political circles.

In a brief article dealing with the raison d'etre of trade unions in general, the Rev. G.G. Higgins, Assistant Director of the Social Action Department of the N.C.W.C. said that among the different views held of the purpose of such unions, were the following :-

1. "The purpose of Trade Unions is purely defensive — to bargain collectively with employers or their representatives over wages, hours, and working conditions, and to defend the special interests of the workers in other appropriate ways.

2. The purpose of trade unions is in large measure, if not predominantly political, to prepare the ground for the establishment of a labour government through which, and through which alone, it is argued, the interests of labour can adequately be provided for.

3. The purpose of trade-unions is partly defensive, but principally co-operative — to co-operate in an organized fashion with the management and with the government, for the particular common good of each industry, and for the general economic welfare of the whole community." **

He then claimed as a simple statement of the facts of contemporary economic and political life in many of the industrial countries of the world, that "the price of depriving labour of the full measure of economic democracy to which it is entitled, is likely to be the establishment, sooner or later, of a militant labour government, together with a heavy, and perhaps excessive, dose of the socialization of industry".

If any, or all, of the above objects were accepted by African trade unionists, it is evident that this would be the result of European indoctrination, as would also their development of efficient organization. In this connection, although one would be over-optimistic in imagining that the third motive was dominant among African workers to-day, it would be helpful if we could be sufficiently far-sighted to think of the long-range purpose of trade-unionism rather than of its early inconveniences or irritations. In that event one would be permitted the hope that the time may come when they need not concentrate so much on the intensity of the

** Southern Cross 1.10.47.

struggle to defend their own special interests, as upon wider interests common to labour, management and community, although to pretend that it is yet possible for them to adopt this point of view would be to ignore the stark realities of the situation since their struggle for reasonable working and living conditions is of necessity intense. On the other hand there are liberally minded European labour-leaders, even though but a small minority, who think of industry as a co-operative enterprise for the common good of employers and employees, and of white and black, rather than as an inevitable contest for restricted material gains. Until this concept gains considerably in the number of its adherents, more and more will economic and social issues for the African remain political pawns to be moved by members of the dominant race.

In the first appendix to his book, already freely quoted, Alexander Campbell gives the substance of a most interesting paper read to the Federated Chamber of Industries in Johannesburg in 1945 by Mr. W.H. Windsor, the General Secretary of the Natal section of the Industrial Employers' Association. From it the following extracts are taken :-

> "It will be recalled that the Federated Chamber, at a Meeting held in Cape Town in April 1945, adopted a resolution from the Natal Chamber recommending that the Government afford recognition to native trade unions, subject to some modified form of control, and that Govt: has since stated it is not prepared at this stage to take any steps in the matter."....."the Minister for Native Affairs said that the decision was largely influenced by the attitude of the native trade unions, most of which are apparently not prepared to accept any concession short of full recognition under the Industrial Conciliation Act, and that in view of this fact no good purpose would be served by attempting to introduce a non-statutory scheme. This decision has caused grave concern to industrialists and to large employers of native labour, and the concensus of opinion seems to be that the matter cannot be allowed to rest there, but that the Government should be asked to reconsider the matter.
>
> It is appreciated that there are difficulties to be overcome. The mining and farming industry have intimated that they are not in favour of encouraging native trade unionism, and there are many employers in other industries who may not be prepared to entertain the idea that natives should be permitted to negotiate at round table conferences and take part in collective bargaining." ....."the Smit Report (1942) while recommending registration and administrative recognition of native trade unions, excluded the mining industry on the grounds that 'natives for the gold mines are recruited almost exclusively from reserves and tribal areas, and there is a considerable percentage of foreign natives from tropical Africa and Mozambique. This labour force, over 300,000 strong, constitutes a mass of untutored humanity which, if well

organised and wrongly directed would be difficult to control.. All these men are serving under contract for fixed periods, and have come forward under known and accepted conditions of service. They are well housed, well fed and physically well cared for." ++

It was pointed out by Mr. Windsor that the 1943 Witwatersrand Mine Natives Wages Commission expressed very similar views, for although admitting the principle of negotiation between employer and employee, they considered the majority of mine-workers insufficiently advanced to benefit from trade unionism, recommending instead that their grievances should be brought to the notice of the authorities by specially appointed officers or councils, possible exceptions being in the case of the existing Mine Clerks Association and the workers in the electricity supply section for whom unions might be established, since they were of higher standard and their labour more constant. He continued :-

"Farming is, of course, excluded from the operation of both the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act, but it is significant to note that some steps are now being taken in Natal to endeavour to organise agricultural workers in the sugar industry"....."With regard to those employers who are not prepared to negotiate with natives, the Chairman of the Wage Board recently expressed his strong disapproval of this attitude in no uncertain terms, and the Minister of Labour in reviewing the work of his department in the Senate on May 30th last, said that the recognition of native trade unions by his department had worked well. A large number of disputes had been settled before they could go very far. as a result of the willingness of officials of the department to receive and negotiate with representatives of native trade unions.
....."IN APPROACHING THIS PROBLEM OF NATIVE TRADE UNIONS WE MUST REALISE THAT SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRY IS LARGELY DEPENDENT UPON NATIVE LABOUR, AND THAT ORGANISATION AMONG NATIVE WORKERS MUST BE ACCEPTED AS A STEP IN THEIR PROGRESS TO A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING. ANY ATTEMPT TO HOLD THE NATIVES DOWN TO MENIAL POSITIONS WOULD RESULT IN LABOUR UPHEAVALS WITH ALL THEIR RESULTANT EVILS." (capitals mine)

The last paragraph is significant, as is also the reference to the attitude of the Chairman and of the Minister of Labour, significant of progress made towards the recognition that the organization of African labour is not per se undesirable, but is a step to be welcomed on their way to more responsibility and higher standards.

In connection with the manner in which the Natives were pressing for full recognition within the terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, there were two schools of thought among South African trade unionists, one sympathetic to these claims and the other holding that for some time Native trade unions should be

++ Op.cit. p.178 et seq.

controlled by tribunals representative of these unions and of sympathetic and experienced Europeans. He then quoted a Rhodesian delegate to the Southern Africa Labour Conference, who pressed for Native representation in the following words :- "If there is a grain of truth in our talk of representing united labour, we must admit representatives of the non-European workers" Whether Native trade unions be recognised without any distinction, or whether distinctions be made and Europeans help in their initial control, it remains equally clear that this is a radical departure from things indigenous to things European.

Windsor then supplied approximate figures of the membership of Native trade unions, adding that in Durban it was not possible to obtain parallel figures. An enquiry made through the Economics department of the Natal University College there, elicited the fact that there were 12 African trade unions, II with Indian and African sections, and 6 with European and African sections, all with a combined potential African membership of 15,000. If one assumes an African membership in Durban of say, 12,000 the approximate figures today would be as follows:-

	No. of Unions.	Membership
Johannesburg	50	80,000
Pretoria	15	15,000
Bloemfontein	10	5,000
Kimberley	5	3,000
East London	10	15,000
Port Elizabeth	19	30,000
Cape Town	10	10,000
Durban	29	12,000
	148	170,000

Should Native trade unions be regarded as noxious bodies or not, the striking facts emerge that 170,000 African workers who form an essential part of the economic structure of the country, are organized in a world-wide movement of European origin, and that they constitute the advance guard of hundreds of thousands of others who will demand freedom of association at a later date, freedom which is the right of every citizen in a democratic state.

It was natural, therefore, that this liberally-minded officer of the Industrial Employers' Association should express the view that :-

> "Since freedom of association is an accepted principle of our common law, and the Wage Act enables even the Native to vindicate his right, it seems not only wrong but exceedingly stupid to recognise native unions, the formation of which is not prohibited by law."

Accordingly he moved the following resolution which was duly carried, that the convention :-

> "is gravely concerned at the continued development of Native trade unions in South Africa, free from any form of control or recognition by Government" and that it "notes with satisfaction the report that the Prime Minister is considering official recognition of native trade unions and trusts that this principle will be implemented by early legislative action".

In his comments regarding this sympathetic statement from the employers' point of view, Campbell wisely predicted that much would depend upon the nature of the 'control' to be exercised, and that little good would be served if Government were to recognise only those unions which suited its book, for this would lead to the violation of the freedom of association so essential to fuller enfranchisement.

Earlier reference has been made to the fact that at the South African Trades and Labour Congress at Port Elizabeth in April 1947, after the result of voting on a motion for the amendment of the constitution, which would in effect have debarred Native trade unions from affiliation with the Council, representatives of six unions announced that they had a mandate from their organizations to withdraw if the amendment were defeated, and accordingly they left the Congress. The debate revealed the familiar opposing points of view between those who wanted racial separation in industry as in other departments of life, and those who wanted to organise workers irrespective of colour or 'race'. It needs no explanation to show that the debate, the action resulting from it, and the press publicity which followed, would all contribute towards the further education of African workers in 'racial' attitudes as well as in trade unionism.

In a letter to the "Star", dated January 13th,1947,Mr.E.S. Sachs, General Secretary of the Garment Workers' Union, among other trenchant things said :-

> ."the comparatively large increase in the number of Native workers has in no way reacted adversely on the wages and conditions of European workers, and this applies to industry as a whole as well as to the individual industries. Economic facts prove beyond dispute that the increase in the number of Native workers in no way constitutes a threat to the standards of the European workers, and in no industry have Europeans been dismissed and replaced by non-Europeans. Many Europeans changed their occupations to improve their position. But a real danger does exist to the higher European standards if Africans are not afforded opportunities of collective bargaining, proper training, and acquiring efficiency".

His letter, which was written to deal with the attitude of the building trade unions towards the training of Africans, and which threw into relief the conflict between industrial efficiency and racism, ended with these words :-

> "a sound national economy and national co-operation and planning will be impossible so long as racial prejudice is allowed to take the place of clear economic thinking".

One would re-iterate that economic issues are moral issues, as are 'race' attitudes.

In the "Star" of May 10th 1947, a Draft Bill was announced which made provision for the registration and regulation of Native trade unions, for the prevention and settlement of disputes between employers and Native employes, and for the regulation of conditions of employment by agreement and arbitration. Of significance was the fact that the news item began with the words:- "Strikes and Lock-outs are prohibited under the provisions of the Native Trade Union Bill", thus reassuring the European public that the pass had not yet been sold.

The next reassurance was the following :-

> "Recognition is given to Native trade unions in every industry, trade, or occupation, except the mining industry and those engaged in farming operations and in domestic service".

After those consoling statements, the European electors would be more reconciled to learn that a Central Mediation Board was to be appointed by Government, with power at any stage "to take over the determination of any dispute which is under consideration by a local board"; that "Once the Minister gazettes an agreement it becomes binding on both parties", but that

> "Whenever the Minister considers that it will be in the interest of persons living within any Native area that

any agreement or award should not be operative within that area, or in respect of any particular class of work in that area, he may in his discretion exclude the area from the operation of the agreement", and that

"no person who is not a Native employe or ex-employe in an undertaking in respect of which a Native trade union is registered may assume office or exercise any function in relation to that office until he and the union concerned are advised that the Minister has approved his appointment.

Nor shall a person who is not a Union national be elected or appointed as a member of the executive or committee of management as an office bearer, official, or employee of a Native trade union"

There was much to the same effect, but the above will suffice to show something of the advance made and of the limitations imposed. Since this was to be the first legal recognition of Native trade unions, the definition of such is of interest, namely :-

"a body whose members consist exclusively of a number of Native employes in any particular undertaking, industry, trade or occupation, associated together primarily for the purpose of regulating relations between themselves or some of them, and their respective employers, or protecting or furthering the interests of the employes or some of the employes".

In its leader three days later, the "Star" opened by saying that :-

"In deciding to grant recognition to Native trade unions the Government is only catching up with a situation which has far outrun the existing legislation",

explaining that

"Disputes in which Natives are involved are...subject to the unsatisfactory provisions of a war measure which, by prohibiting strikes, sometimes precipitates them, for no adequate alternative is provided".

This state of affairs could not continue. Five years ago the Smit Committee on the social condition of urban Natives recommended the recognition of their unions, and although action appeared to be imminent, it has been delayed from year to year. There is no reason why it should be postponed now and every reason why it should not. The most important is that, as in the case of the extended powers to be given to the Natives Representative Council, the proposal is in danger of being out-dated before it is implemented.

Early reactions show that a reform long demanded by those who speak for the Natives is now dismissed as inadequate because it is based on parallelism instead of integration.

Natives wish to be allowed to join European unions instead of having their own, and the recent Trades and Labour Council congress demonstrated that some of the European unions agree with them. It is plain that the Government policy will have to hurry along if its policy is not to be outdistanced by events".

This is most significant, for it advocates no gradual, carefully considered concessions, but immediate legislative action

action clearly regarded as overdue in the field of Native labour within organized, registered and recognised organisations. And this sense of urgency in acculturation is thus given emphasis, not by Exeter Hall nor by the Aborigines Protection Society, but by the sedate and unemotional "Star", although it makes clear its view that in the mining industry it would be incongruous and possibly mischievous to introduce trade unionism in this important respect supporting the Chamber of Mines which had issued a lengthy document re-affirming previous representations on this issue, and recommending that the alternative procedure advocated by the Lansdown Commission should be implemented,** (whereby welfare officers under the control of the Departments of Native Affairs and Labour would give expression to the collective opinion of the mineworkers).

A statement by Professor Z.K.Matthews in the "Star" of May 22nd. 1947, may be taken to represent the views of the caucus of the Natives Representative Council on this matter which they had frequently represented, and on which, he admitted, the European trade movement had split. Of those who had not walked out of the Congress he said :-

> "The remaining body of trade unionists believe, I think rightly, that the common economic interests of workers engaged in the same occupation are of greater importance than the differences in the pigmentation of their skins, and have taken their stand on a united front of all workers in protecting their interests against the employers.
>
> Separate trade unions for Africans will lead to a conflict of interests between European and African workers which the captains of industry will naturally exploit to the detriment of workers both white and black. The white advocates of separate trade unions for Africans will, I think, live to rue the day when they took that decision".

Remembering its source, this opinion cannot be lightly disregarded, although one regrets that this capable and distinguished African leader should suggest that in industry the united-front of white and black is to protect themselves against the exploitation of the employers. That, unfortunately, this remains an important function of trade unions is readily conceded, but it might have been a better augury had Professor Matthews emphasised the co-operative as well as the defensive

** A Reprint of "Tribal Natives and Trade Unionism", issued by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines in November 1946.

function of the movement.

He is on safer ground when he continues :-

> "Under this Bill it will be illegal for African workers to strike. The primary object of establishing machinery for the orderly settlement of disputes between employers and their employes is to obviate strikes, not to make them illegal. The right of the worker to withhold his labour when he is not satisfied with his conditions of employment, without fear of being bludgeoned into acquiescence, is the only effective weapon he has in his struggle for the betterment of his working conditions. To compel the African worker to submit to a system of compulsory collective bargaining without the right to withhold his labour if he is dissatisfied with the decisions of a conciliation board on which he will not be represented, is to give him the shadow instead of the substance of recognition."

Of the alternative machinery provided for dealing with mine-workers, namely an inspectorate under the Department of Native Affairs, he considers that the Africans have no reason for believing that they "will make a better job of protecting the interests of African mineworkers than the inspectorate has done in the past".

That from the non-European point of view — which is largely shared by the more liberal European trade-unionists — the Bill is a piece of unsatisfactory draft legislation calling for radical amendment before enactment, may be judged from the following further comments :-

> "The recent reports in the Press giving an outline of the Bill have been received with profound disappointment by the non-European trade union movement, particularly at a time when the entire civilised world expects all democratic governments to introduce industrial legislation designed to improve the social and economic conditions of the working people.
>
> The suggestion to exclude the African miners and farm workers who are the lowest paid sections of the workers is a clear indication that the Government is determined to perpetuate its present policy of cheap native labour".
>
> "Under the Bill any worker who takes part in an illegal strike may be sentenced to pay a maximum fine of £500 and in addition to undergo imprisonment for three years."
>
> "Under the Bill it is an offence punishable by a maximum fine of £100 plus one year's imprisonment for anyone to organise, conduct, or be a member of a trade union which includes both Africans and non-Africans."
>
> ...."the Registrar may, on his own, authorise the Government officials to supervise the conduct of an election or the taking of a vote on any matter. Any instructions issued by this official must be obeyed by the executive of the Union even if not in agreement with the Union's constitution"
>
> "From the date of the Act's coming into operation, every African who is a member of any trade union registered under the I.C. Act would cease membership and within 30 days the

> the secretary of every such union would have to delete the names of African members from the register. Any trade Union secretary failing to comply would be guilty of an offence".
>
> "The Bill provides for a Central Mediation Board of five members; two appointed by the Governor General and three officials representing the Departments of Labour, Native Affairs and Commerce respectively(to be appointed by the Minister of each Department). No provision is made for the appointment of an African"**

An analysis of the Bill by E.J. Burford, which appeared in "The Democrat" of June 1947, ended with the following passage:-

> "The Bill contains provisions to undermine agreements made in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act, as well as awards made under the Wage Act. One provision enables the Minister to mandate lower wages and standards in Native territories, which is of importance now that industries are to be established in such places.
>
> In these and innumerable other ways it constitutes a dangerous menace to the future of all workers — white no less than black. If it is allowed to become law, it will divide the South African working class permanently into separate racial divisions, and eventually involve them in fratricidal strife....."The sternest and most immediate steps must be taken by every section of the organised trade union movement, European and non-European, working in co-ordination, to prevent this Bill from reaching the Statute Book."

The appeal underlying Burford's analysis clearly is, that African and European workers should co-operate now to nullify a legal measure which, if enacted in its present form, would make it an offence for them to co-operate effectively over matters of common labour interests later. He speaks on behalf of those Europeans who are opposed to economic segregation, and its proposed extension to segregated unions, because of a conviction that there should be one economy and not two in the South African 'Union'. In the degree to which this conviction gains acceptance on each side of the Colour Bar, as typified by Burford and Matthews, freedom of association inter-racially, as well as between workers of the same 'race', will be promoted in the economic sphere, and inevitably the assimilation of "our" culture by the non-European will be still further accelerated.

The risk of industrial warfare is there whether the Bill be passed as gazetted, or whether it be amended as its critics, African and European, would wish. Liberty used to damage the rights of others is not worth preserving, whatever the 'race' or group that so abuses it, and all who have at

** "The Guardian" 22.5.47.

heart the true good of society would agree that legislation on this most important issue must be rooted in an enlightened and aroused public opinion. For all communities it would then prove a memorable step along the road of social progress and civilization, a road which, with us, the African must take unless he is to remain the mere economic tool of production.

In his inaugural address in January 1937, President Roosevelt speaking of the millions living below the accepted standard of decent American life, used words which could apply with even more force to the vast majority of Africans living in our midst today, when he said :-

> "I see millions denied education, recreation and the opportunity to better the lot of their children.
> I see millions lacking the means to buy the products of farm and factory, and by their poverty denying work and productiveness to many other millions. I see one-third of a nation ill housed, ill clad, ill nourished.
> It is not in despair that I paint you that picture. I paint it for you in hope — because the nation, seeking and understanding the injustice in it, proposes to paint it out.
> We are determined to make every American citizen the subject of his country's interest and concern; and we will never regard any faithful law-abiding group within our borders as superfluous.
> The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little".++

If the spirit of that statement, — so characteristic of the late President — could animate the Members of the Union Parliament when they go into committee on the Native Trade Unions Bill, incalculable good would be done, for the dark spectre would disappear of the use of political and economic force to compel men to work for a sub-economic wage and to live with their families under perpetual peonage.

If the spectre were laid, the promotion of higher standards for the non-Europeans through cultural assimilation would be regarded as a natural process, and would be welcomed accordingly. But even if this consumation continues to be frustrated owing to political intransigence, there will nevertheless be progress to record in the struggle for recognition, and the convergence which the measure is partly designed to prevent will slowly but irresistibly continue.

.....

++ Quoted in "The Church and a Living Wage" by Dr. J.A. O'Brien.

Chapter XXV

URBAN CONDITIONS.

In earlier chapters the study of economic and social developments has thrown into relief the magnitude of the ever growing force exerted against indigenous culture, by the disruption of the system which created and sustained it, and its replacement by elements desirable and undesirable from our own. The tide of economic change moved irresistibly along, carrying with it a large influx of Africans to the mines and other labour markets, far-reaching social and cultural changes resulting.

To a few other urban conditions we now turn, to supplement the data already examined.

The Natal Mercury of September 4th 1947 carried a leader on "The Urban Native" from which the following excerpts are made:-

> "It is time that the citizens of the larger South African towns began to think seriously about the problem of non-European housing and social conditions in their midst. There has been too much indifference about a matter so vital to our economic well-being, to our health and to the evolution of a tolerant, self-respecting and law-abiding urban population in our complex multi-racial society. So rapid has been our industrial expansion in recent years that tens of thousands of Natives have flocked to the towns to supply the labour needs of our factories. The towns have been unable to cope with this tremendous flood of migrant labour. The world shortage of building materials, the economic effects of the colour bar and the lack of adequate finance have each helped to aggravate the problem with the inevitable result that the provision of those ordinary amenities and facilities which are considered to be essential in all modern urban communities has lagged far behind the demand. The consequences are many and frightening. They are already directly responsible for the growth of insanitary squatter camps on the perimeters of built-up areas, for the present wave of burglaries, house-breaking and immorality, for the spread of illicit liquor racketeering and drunkenness and for an alarming deterioriation in racial relationships."

Under the heading "A Social Crisis" the next paragraph read:-

> "The brutal and savage stoning to death of three European policemen at Meroka township in

Johannesburg.../

> Johannesburg last Saturday by a frenzied Native mob and the assault on three White men at Pretoria the following afternoon are the terrible culminating incidents in a long series of crimes of violence committed on the Rand in recent months. The immediate responsibility for, and cause of, these ghastly deeds is for the Courts to determine, but it must be clear to even the most complacent among us that a turning point has been reached in the history of urban development in the Union. Whatever the cost proper housing and recreational facilities must be provided for the tens of thousands of Native workers our industries are attracting to the cities. Natives must be given the opportunity to live a normal family life within reasonable distance of their place of employment and they must be provided with the amenities that will enable them to spend their leisure hours in some beneficial form of occupation. If we fail in this task, if we do not recognise its urgency the terror of lawlessness and bloodshed will stalk our cities and the efforts of the police to maintain order will be largely rendered impotent."

The leader then referred to disclosures made by Councillor Nicholson concerning the plight of "thousands of homeless Natives in Durban who, although in regular employment, can find no place to sleep".

Many of them, it was stated, "crowd into Corporation compounds without permission", and "When the police raid these buildings, as they do fairly regularly, these Natives, very few of whom are vagrants or criminals, are arrested and fined". After appealing for hostel facilities to be provided without delay, the warning was sounded that:-

> "unless drive and initiative is brought to bear in the handling of the joint problems of non-European housing and recreational facilities in Durban, we shall reap the whirlwind of our own neglect".

The reaction of this leading Natal paper is interesting, for it constitutes a strongly worded indictment of grossly unwholesome urban African conditions; associates these with mob-violence leading to the murder of three European policemen; admits that Durban may soon follow Moroka unless remedial action be taken, and accordingly emphasises the urgency of the need to take such action.

Other newspapers were similarly balanced in their reporting of this most unfortunate occurrence, whilst others again were more emotional and, in effect, preached 'race'-conflict as the cure for 'race'-conflict.

The "Star" of September 1st, in its account of the incident said inter alia:-

> "While few Natives were willing to comment on the incidents on Saturday, several said that while they deplored the stoning and killing of the constables, the authorities should realise that the difficulties caused by bad housing, inadequate food at high prices, and other difficult living conditions, together with repressive measures created a spirit of resentment which at times flamed into violence.
>
> The remedy was an effective attempt to remove the root causes of dissatisfaction. Once this was done the majority of law-abiding Natives would have the strongest possible incentive to root out the lawless elements in their own ranks."

Two days later the "Star" described a meeting of the Active Citizens' League, a newly formed organization whose object is to expose the root cause of the crime wave, and to demand action from local and central authorities in its eradication.

> "Nobody can condone these murders," said Senator Basner, "and they have come as a great blow to race relations. But they are a pointer to the future; unless this blot of Moroka, where thousands of Natives are herded together in poverty and degradation, is speedily removed, friction between European and non-European will grow and eventually spread throughout the country.
>
> But in this township, the population is 60,000 or more, and probably less than 200 took part in the murders. It would be wrong to blame the whole township for the actions of the few".

The report continued:-

> "The chairman, Father T. Huddleston, of the Anglican Mission, Sophiatown, said that they met under the shadow of the Moroka tragedy, a shattering blow to race relations, and an act condemned by European and Native alike.
>
> 'We cannot, however, share the optimism of the acting Minister of Justice who said that such incidents are unlikely to happen again. Unless the Native is given adequate housing, lack of which - with the subsequent disruption in family life - is one of the main causes of the crime wave, the situation will deteriorate.'
>
> On the suggestion of Miss Hilda Watts a resolution was adopted calling on the Mayor to convene a public meeting on race relations".

For details of this appalling shanty-town, which epitomizes some of the worst features of the squalid urban conditions among which hundreds of thousands of our non-Europeans live, one may be permitted to quote from an article by Councillor Hilda Watts in the October, 1947, issue of "The Democrat". Having associated herself with those who react with horror to any form of murder or mob violence, which she describes as the most useless, futile and unjust weapon in the world, Councillor Watts attempts to examine the cause, and writes as follows:-

> "There are slums, big and small, in nearly every city of the world, and sociologists can write volumes on the degrading effects of slum life on any race or section of people. Moroka is a unique slum. It is surely unknown in modern times that a ruling authority should set 60,000 people (the eventual anticipated figure is nearer 100,000) to live in the conditions that obtain in Moroka, and to maintain those conditions for an anticipated minimum of five, probably ten, years.
>
> Civilisation to-day means the culture of people living in cities. It means decent homes, clothes, food, schools, entertainments and opportunities for culture; practical amenities like sewage and sanitation and transport. Without these, the most cultured and civilised peoples in the world cannot live in a civilised fashion.
>
> Moroka lacks them all. On a 20-feet square stand, at a population density of 224,000 to the square mile, with one water tap for fifty families, in self-erected hessian shacks which cannot be made weatherproof (the regulations permit only dwellings of a temporary nature), with no halls, cinemas, libraries or opportunities for entertainment, with primitive pit-latrines and no lights, on ground that is thick with penetrating dust in dry weather, and an ocean of mud when it rains, the people of Moroka lack everything modern civilisation knows to make life decent, good and fruitful.
>
> The people who live in Moroka town-ship have been hounded and persecuted for the crime of having no legal place to live in. Some of them first squatted outside the communal hall in Orlando West, from where they were chased by municipal police; they camped under the blue gum trees, night after night in wintry weather, with municipal police posted to tear down any shack these "lawless" people dared to erect. Not until one policeman and one of the squatters were killed in a fight in a night of driving rain were they permitted to put up sacking shelters. Some of the Moroka people first camped at Pimville, where their poles and possessions, loaded on to lorries by police, caught fire and were destroyed; from there they trekked across the railway line to start a new camp out side Orlando West. Some of the

> Moroka people come from Alexandra, where they first formed a camp, and from where they went to Orlando West, only to be loaded on to trucks and dumped back again in Alexandra."

After this glimpse of some of the unlovely features of the Moroka slum settlement we learn that the squatters include ex-servicemen and their families "who have lived in shanty-towns since they returned from the war for democracy and human decency".

Councillor Watts contends that the City Council never regarded the problem as primarily one of lack of housing for the urban worker, but that instead:-

> the squatters "were called criminals, they were called agitators and law-breakers, they were called Basuto prostitutes, they were called an illegal'influx', they were called comfortably housed sub-tenants who left their homes deliberately to embarrass and annoy the Council.
>
> The Council tried 'solving' the problem by every forceful means at its disposal - destroying their shacks, obtaining sheriff's orders for their removal, attempting deportation orders for their leaders."

Accordingly she asks "What could be the frame of mind of people who had undergone such treatment at the hands of authorities by the time they were finally settled at Moroka?"

If allowance be made for her crusading zeal, her general picture has the stamp of authenticity and is signed by a City Councillor. Of no little significance, too, is the fact that General Smuts gave publicity to the finding, after a census had been made of the population, that its man-power was composed not of vagrants, but almost entirely of urban labour.

Admitting that the Council has very great housing problems to solve, she denies that the Moroka Africans created them and she proposes the following remedial measures:-

> "(1) Direct representation for non-Europeans on the City Council, as the only real way in which municipal progress can be made for all sections, and past neglect remedied. With the vote, the squatters and slum-dwellers of our city would

become important people, to consider and assist. Councillors fear nothing on earth as they fear losing the vote.

(2) Immediate removal of irksome and repressive restrictions in municipal townships. Radical reduction of the 15s. rent. Dissolution of the Advisory Board in Moroka. Negotiations between squatters and Council, through leaders chosen by the people, in or outside the township.

(3) Permission for the home-brewing of kaffir-beer in the townships. (This was twice refused recently by the Council, although some Government authorities favour it.)

(4) The immediate laying-out of a township in which the squatters will be permitted to erect houses of whatever materials they can obtain on reasonably-sized stands.

(5) Appointment of Africans to administrative posts in the Council.

(6) A thorough enquiry into police methods and the countless charges of man-handling of African prisoners.

(7) A fundamental change of basic laws of this country, to admit Africans as free citizens in their own land.

(8) Immediate, strongly-imposed measures against all instigators of racial violence and all responsible for racial assaults."

It is largely immaterial whether one agrees with these proposals as they stand - with their desirability or adequacy.

What is relevant to our purpose is that immediate action is necessary to ameliorate a very grave situation; that constructive recommendations of the kind outlined must receive early consideration, and that instead of compelling the majority to share our culture by means of legislation which ensures that they will commit offences, they must be allowed to participate in its more wholesome elements.

For each twenty foot square on which a family lives, a rent of fifteen shillings is levied by the City Council of Johannesburg, this to cover water and the use of the latrines. To live under sacking in such squalid confinement, and to pay £9 a year for the pleasure of doing so, makes it obviously impossible

for the African tenants to develop along their own lines, or on ours. What it does make certain is our joint degradation.

The leading article in "The Forum" for September 13th, 1947, entitled "The Sands Are Running Out Fast", dealt with the same issue as a matter of intense urgency.

> "Public opinion is not moving fast enough. The hostility and antagonism which has grown up between the races in the last ten years will be overhauled only if we modernise our thinking and quicken our pace; otherwise catastrophe will overtake us."

After describing as utterly impracticable the doctrine advocated by a small fanatical coterie of a "Pakistan" for the Black people in Central Africa, with the Europeans carrying on alone in the Union; and after affirming that the theory "that White and Black can live together peacefully on a basis of domination of one race by the other has been proved to be dangerous nonsense", the writer adds trenchantly:-

> "Nor will more police do anything to overcome the terrible sense of frustration from which thousands and thousands of educated and responsible Natives are suffering to-day, people whose goodwill and co-operation we need to solve our race problems.
>
> Stricter application of the pass laws, more restriction on movement, and further repression will simply aggravate these things and sooner rather than later-much sooner than some realise - that aggravation will result in an explosion."

One can agree with him that this is the essence of the problem, and that the solution is not to be found in the formation of revolver clubs. His own downright proposals include the provision of housing, recreation facilities, and education, as inalienable rights; the giving to the African people of some voice in central and local government; the abolition of the humiliating pass laws, and the granting of rights to property ownership in Native townships and villages.

As in the case of Councillor Hilda Watts, these proposals, all eminently sane, would yield immediate

dividends in terms of shared citizenship through shared culture, and consequentially would reduce 'race'-conflict and introduce an era in which life on a higher plane became possible for both 'races', for the Africans would not be the only ones who would be uplifted.

The leader concludes as follows:-

> "If the African feels that he has a stake in the country, if he feels that he is a citizen of South Africa, a partner in a great enterprise, the responsible elements will most certainly respond, and develop a sense of responsibility which cannot be expected from voteless and propertyless people.
>
> Under the present scheme of things they have nothing to lose and nothing to gain, no matter what happens. This is a situation in which the gangster thrives and the instigator of evil-doing too easily finds a response."

By way of contrast to the intolerable housing conditions at Moroka, - and it is realised that the City Council is wrestling desperately with the grave problems of squatting, - the following statement by the Minister of Native Affairs in opening health week at Germiston in September, 1945, is of interest:-

> "In all cases where I have seen a large and honest attempt made to house Natives decently, they have responded to the gesture one hundred per cent. You find them contented, house-proud, decent living, and carrying themselves with self-respect and dignity. A second direct result is also a marked decline in crime and drinking. From this I contend that housing and crime have a direct and inverse ratio."

The above, quoted in the Evidence to the Native Laws Commission of Enquiry, led by the South African Institute of Race Relations,++ was supported by data from other sources, in these words:-

> "These conclusions are borne out by the statistics of health and crime relating to the new model and old condemned locations in Vereeniging. (The Star, July 16th, 1946). The children of Sharpeville are at the age of 8 on an average 8 pounds heavier and three inches taller than those living in the old location. The death rate per 1000 has dropped from 32.8 to 12. In three months there were 38 arrests in Sharpeville compared with 502 in the old location, where 13,000 Natives at present crowd 600 stands, - in effect 71 persons on a stand holding a normal house. The Police Commandant stated 'The negligible number of arrests at Sharpeville can be ascribed to contentment and clean living conditions.

++ R.R. 26/47 p. 7

> The Natives of the new town are well behaved and have given no trouble in the past 15 months.'
> Similar striking dividends from good housing allied with a well-planned health service..... have been obtained in Port Elizabeth". xx

The facts speak for themselves, and must lead to the acceptance of responsibility by the Central Government for the urban housing of Africans, in which event, as the same memorandum points out, the State would "have a direct interest in an upward trend of wages and the opening of fresh avenues of opportunity of employment for Natives." XX It does not admit of argument, therefore, that herein is close correlation between State action and Local Authority co-operation in promoting the assimilation of culture, on the one hand, and the reduction of crime and disease on the other. Conviction regarding this may have been regrettably slow in gaining acceptance, but the writing on the wall is so clear in both the official and the Native languages, that apathy must give place to action through the driving force of public opinion. It will then be discovered by many to their profound relief, that by assisting African development "on European lines", urban plague spots are converted into urban betterment areas, so that the principle of cultural assimilation will appear less sinister in consequence.

According to "The Star", November 27th, 1947, in a 230 page memorandum submitted by the Johannesburg City Council to the Commission of Inquiry into the Meroka disturbances:-

> "At least 40,000 houses are immediately necessary to meet the need for Native housing in Johannesburg, and the post-war shortage of skilled labour and building materials makes it impossible to meet that need by conventional building methods in less than about 10 years",

the Native population of greater Johannesburg having grown from 229,122 in 1936 to 395,231 in 1946, an increase of 72%. It was calculated that the increase through migration was about 57%. Limitations of space prevent one from

xx Ibid p. 8 XX Ibid p. 11

developing further the implications of this situation throughout the Union, but a few additional points may be noted.

From a separate memorandum on the work of the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality, the following facts emerge. Prior to the 72% increase in Native urban population referred to above, this had doubled itself in the previous 15 years, and later, the war-effort retarded building operations but caused an unprecedented influx of workers and their families to the City, on account of the rapid expansion of war industries.

Whereas in 1934 interest and redemption charges were being paid on 1,100 new houses which stood vacant, to-day the Department has a waiting list of 16,000 families.

Up to June, 1946, accommodation had been provided in four townships for 115,375 Natives at a capital expenditure of £2,307,642; an additional Native township (Dube), is being established where Africans will be able to acquire the lease of lots for 99 years on which to erect their own houses, generous loans to be made available over a repayment period of 30 years. Initially, one learns, that 500 stands are being laid out for the purpose. Moreover at Zuurbekom a further township is to be established where at least 8,000 stands of this kind will be provided. And in the 1945/46 Report one reads that:-

> "The demolition and rebuilding of Pimville on modern lines is the subject of active negotiations with the Union Government, with particular reference to the financing of compensation which must legally be paid to the owners of condemned building".

It is clear that the City Council is doing much to meet its statutory obligation to provide improved housing conditions, even though the extent of the need is still terrifying. It is also clear that whether we study the

efforts in this direction of Johannesburg or of any other large municipality, there is no civic or industrial authority which attempts to meet the need by housing these African masses in kraals of indigenous pattern alongside mine dumps or blast-furnaces. On the contrary one learns of such significant developments as the pilot scheme town-planned for Zwelitsha in the Kingwilliamstown District, a scheme which may well spread to other parts of South Africa.

Of this pioneer scheme, the "Star" on February 13th, 1947, wrote:-

> "Plotted and drawn by Mr. M.J. Mitchell, town planning officer of the directorate"(i.e. National Housing Directorate), "it is also the first of its kind in the Union to plan for housing native industrial labour in the best modern manner, with the fullest regard for the most economic use of the site and the most satisfactory distribution of shops, churches, and entertainment amenities in relation to the planned distribution of the houses"....."The project is primarily for the raw landless native - to give him and his family the advantages of a progressive and planned urbanisation"....."Two thousand families are to be catered for in the form of single dwellings, and hostel sites are situated near the main road, but separated from it by a wide green belt.
>
> Three shopping centres are planned to cater for the new town, and there are also social halls, cinemas and garages.
>
> The hilltop - an area of 22 acres - is reserved for the reservoir site, a secondary school site, a technical college and a large health and welfare centre which will provide pre-natal and antenatal care, a guidance clinic and emergency hospital facilities.
>
> Seven schools are included in the design"... ...."Large recreation grounds are scattered through the town"....."The zoning is in five stages. Raw natives come into Zone I to live in an elementary and simple type of house. After a period they are moved to Zone 2, which is a bit more elaborate. This process is continued through Zones 3 and 4, and finally they reach Zone 5, where it may eventually be possible for them to acquire a plot and house."

There is no mistaking the accents of planned cultural change throughout this comprehensive pilot scheme intended to establish happy self-contained communities for whom the main labour outlet will be the Industrial Development Corporation's textile factory opposite the new town, as well as Kingwilliamstown itself, and local industries such

as bootmaking and tailoring to be established in Zwelitsha. Power will be supplied, and, later, water-borne sanitation. There is little here to resemble Umgungundhlovu, Nodwengu, Bulawayo or any of other historic kraals, nor could there be, for Dingaan, Mpande and Mzilikazi have given place to the captains of industry for whom grass huts have no present meaning.

To revert to the reports of the Non-European Affairs Department, Johannesburg, will serve a double purpose. In the first instance it will reveal that the City Council which has been stigmatized over-harshly for the slum conditions at Moroka, has been most active in its many wholesome welfare activities, (some of which have been described in an earlier chapter), and in the second place the cross-sections taken will serve to illustrate other urban contacts productive of acculturation.

In addition to the thousands of dwelling houses built by the Council in its various locations, and leased to Native families at rentals varying from 17/4d. a month for a two-roomed cottage, to £1. 8. 0. a month for a four-roomed cottage with bathroom, hostels have been provided where for small amounts ranging from 7/6d. to 11/- a month, Africans may live under comfortable conditions, with electric light, hot and cold showers, gas kitchens, and reading and recreation rooms.

A skeleton medical staff comprised in 1944 6 European medical officers, 6 European health visitors, 47 African nurses and 11 African health orderlies. In each location are poly-clinics where ante-natal, midwifery, mothercrafts and general medical services are provided, the service being free.

In the 1944 Report one read that:-

> "For the last two or three years the Council has distributed free of charge vast quantities of fruit and vegetables in collaboration with the Union Government amongst the local Native population. These fruit and vegetables, consigned by the Citrus Board or produced on Native Trust Farms, are

> subsidised by the Union Government and sold.... at very low prices. In addition the Council itself employs a Farm Manager to grow quantities of vegetables which are also sold to the Natives at approximately 50% of ruling market prices.
>
> The Welfare Officers.....also organise and direct communal vegetable clubs where any shortages or gaps in the subsidised foods can be procured at wholesale costs.....The Welfare staff also carry on active propaganda designed to raise the skill in cooking as well as knowledge of food values. These officials also conduct a series of training classes for domestic servants as well as clubs for housewives and children. Other officials.....are responsible for the investigation and distribution of public assistance to handicapped persons, children in need of care, cripples etc."

In the 1945/46 Report it was stated that 2,500 bags of mealie meal had been sold monthly at the controlled figure, a service which contributed to smashing black market operations in this staple food. For the same reason an arrangement had been concluded with the Native Trust farmers in the Northern Transvaal, for the purchase of 30,000 bags of Kaffircorn at 68/- a bag, plus railage, as against 95/- a bag charged locally.

The Native Welfare section gave advice and relief to location tenants who found it difficult to adjust to urban conditions, the cases dealt with including maintenance grants for children of destitute widows, juvenile delinquency, poor relief, street beggars, cripples and epileptics and mental deficients, apart from domestic difficulties. It investigated applications for Old Age Pensions, and also Invalidity and Blind Pensions. Another important aspect of its work was address public meetings and conduct educational tours in order to educate public opinion.

As a result of experimentally established work depots which give training in garment-making, many women are enabled to earn 5/- a day, and it is anticipated that these depots will develop rapidly.

With the co-operation of the Transvaal Education

Department, the Orlando Vocational Training Centre was opened at the beginning of 1942, and is doing most commendable work. One reads:-

> "At first the aim was social - to keep the boys and youths who are unable or unwilling to attend the ordinary schools out of mischief. Much success attended this object and one can safely say that many boys have been kept out of the reformatories by the work of the school.
>
> To-day the aim goes further. Without forgetting the social side, the school attempts to turn out respectable and useful members of the community, and at the same time prepare for the demand in skilled Native artisans which is bound to come. The courses taken at present are building, carpentry, gardening and tailoring"......"Such courses as plumbing, tinsmithing, cobbling and leatherwork, house decorating and painting, and hairdressing are under consideration.
>
> Each course endeavours to supply some need in the urban communities; builders to help in the construction of the thousands of houses that are required for urban Natives - carpenters to furnish those houses with simple but durable furniture, gardeners who will assist the Municipality in beautifying the Townships and assist the tenants in growing vegetables for their own consumption, tailers to make and mend clothes for the inhabitants".

In connection with the municipal beer halls, eating houses are conducted by African tenants, and have become popular with single men who do not wish to cook for themselves.

An earlier chapter has described more fully the welfare and recreation activities for which the Non-European Affairs Department is responsible. In addition they give annual grants in aid and gratuities to a large number of charitable, social and welfare institutions, grants amounting to approximately £10,000 per annum to assist such endeavours as children's feeding schemes, nursery schools, Child Welfare Society creche work, clubs of different kinds, hospitals, health centres and clinics, youth organizations, and the Hofmeyr School of Social Work.

It cannot be doubted that this Municipal Department is a most dynamic urban agency for the combatting of many grave evils by the promotion, among Africans, of "European" culture.

This by no means exhausts the theme, for one could speak of the community centre in process of erection

at Orlando at a cost of £25,000. To this project Colonel Donaldson is contributing £10,000 through the Bantu Trust, the Johannesburg Municipality £10,000 and the Union Department of Social Welfare £5,000.

> "Planned on spacious and modern lines the centre will have a number of recreation rooms for group activities and educational courses, games rooms with change and shower facilities near by, a cafeteria, offices and a large main hall with a gallery for meetings, lectures, cinema shows, concerts and similar entertainments". ++

One could speak of the recent decision that the ill-starred Moroka is to have elections on European lines, with 11,000 Natives voting in 24 wards, of the formation of the "African Citizens' League", a body established to combat crime and to promote better 'racial'-understanding, of the training of African operatives under the C.O.T.T.[xx] scheme who hope to receive employment with local authorities, and of the wholly admirable work of Johannesburg's Legal Aid Bureau, which assists indigent persons of all races - (It held no less than 9,500 interviews in 1946, and on its executive committee are members appointed by the Side-Bar Association, the Bar Council, the Non-European Affairs Department, the Native Affairs Department, the Institute of Race Relations and the National Council of Women).

One is mindful too of the rehabilitative work of the Penal Reform League and of other bodies in sympathy with its objectives, of university extension work, and of the unassuming but powerfully integrating and invaluable service of the clergy.

In the heart of Johannesburg but a few blocks from the City Hall a modern hotel costing more than £30,000 is to be built for Africans. It is to be run on the lines of a first class restaurant, will be staffed by ex-soldiers and ex-Y.M.C.A. Natives, and will possess a Native orchestra. "Above the restaurant will be a block of modern flats,

++ The Star, 21.11.46.

xx Central Organization for Technical Training.

including bath-rooms with hot and cold running water. These flats will be let mainly to Native teachers, clergymen and university students." ++

Sociologically the compound system and the shanty-town slum both stand condemned, together with the standards they reflect and the manifold evils which result. To house African industrial workers in beehive huts, and to expect them, when off duty, to live in the manner of subsistence peasants a thousand miles, and fifty years away, is as reasonable as to expect European migrants from the backveld to outspan in Eloff Street, to turn to the serious business of a braaivleis, and to remain impervious to the surrounding traffic.

++ Sunday Express, 26/1/47.

Chapter XXVI

RURAL CONDITIONS.

In view of the treatment accorded in earlier chapters to agriculture, and to the effects of migrant labour upon rural economy, it would be redundant to review the data already examined from the economic aspect of changing culture in the reserves, much having been written regarding this. By introducing a few more illustrations to supplement those already given, however, the postscript may serve to add a little emphasis to a familiar theme.

Gradually the conviction grows in South Africa, that to send the Natives back to their territories without ensuring that these are large enough to support them, would be to blind oneself to the inevitable consequences - desolation, the destruction of the land, and, among derivative effects, depressed standards of living. By comparison, isolated betterment projects appear to thrust small salients forward rather than to advance the whole line, although most of these projects will exert a beneficial influence, varying in nature and range. And thus one welcomes the laudable efforts being made for soil conservation and the saving of arable lands in Native reserves, for the restoration of soil fertility and of water conservation, for veld reclamation and rotational grazing, for the centralizing of arable and grazing lands, for the planning of model villages, and, concurrently, for the development of social services to assist the adjustment of the African to the many forces which offer a compelling choice between destruction and re-construction.

The ninth report of the "Social and Economic Planning Council", recently published, wisely stated without equivocation that:-

"The development of the reserves, though well worth

> while in itself, does not save South Africa the trouble of thinking out proper policies as regards farming and urban Native labour."

In the same tone it continued:-

> "At this stage the main point which the council desires to make is that its recommendations with regard to the future of the reserves, while they will materially assist in reducing the number of unattached, migratory labourers in the cities and towns, will not enable South Africa to avoid coming to grips with its problems of urban housing, wages, and control."

It is of interest, therefore, that the "Star" in its issue of August 30th, 1947, should have an article on this Report, with the heading "Native Reserves should have a stable Population". It thus interprets the main message of the Report to be that, at a time when consideration begins to be given to the stabilizing of African urban populations, it is essential to think in terms of a stabilized rural population also. The goal of policy, therefore, will not be confined to the establishment of a permanent labour force, with consequentially increased production, but will also include the reform of land use, the development of rural industries, and the synchronous promotion of the standards of living in both stabilized areas, urban and rural.

The article just referred to says:-

> "So far as the reserves themselves are concerned, the Council proposes the improvement of Native agriculture under Regional Development Authorities, with a re-allocation of land, and definite rules for its use.
>
> The immediate aim must be to increase food supplies. This implies a switch-over to intensive farming with an emphasis on fruit and vegetable production and an improvement in the milk yield of cattle. Where possible the cultivation of cash crops such as sugar, should be encouraged to provide additional income."....."The Council emphasises that the development of other economic activities on "Western" lines is becoming essential in order to increase the total available income"..... ....."Some initiative will have to be taken by the Government in providing the conditions making the establishment of industries possible, and, if necessary, providing the capital required.
>
> The provision of water, power, lighting, and transport, must be the responsibility of the State."

Implicit in the above is the inescapable inference that the

rehabilitation of the Native reserves in South Africa is almost entirely dependent upon the speedy assimilation by the African of European knowledge, attitudes and techniques.

Of late, independent farmers, and their associations, have held the Native Trust responsible for reducing "Native areas" to desert, concerning which, the following excerpt is of interest:-

> "Desert conditions on "Native lands" are due to over-crowding and over-population of both locations and Native-owned farms. As a result, huge areas which should have been kept for grazing were ploughed up, valuable sponges were dried up and water sources were destroyed as the Natives were driven further up the hillsides in their efforts to obtain arable land.
>
> On land acquired by the Trust, however, every precaution is taken to see that this does not happen. At first these precautions were resented by the Natives, and there was some unrest in the Pietersburg district when control was enforced. The carrying capacity of the veld is assessed by agricultural officers, and only the correct number of stock may run on the grazing areas. Flooding schemes and fodder banks put in hand by the Trust have increased the numbers of stock which may profitably be run and the introduction of better bulls has made that stock more valuable. The culling of cattle on Trust farms in the Pietersburg district this winter was carried out with the co-operation of the Natives, so that over-stocking was avoided and relatively few cattle died in spite of the drought last summer.
>
> Ploughing and manuring units provided by the Trust have resulted not only in greatly increased production, but in the conservation of soil, water and fertility. Land is ploughed on the contour and water sources (when these fall in Trust areas, which is not always the case) are safeguarded. Increases of up to 400 per cent. in the production of maize, beans and kafir-corn on Trust farms where the average rainfall is 21 in., have been recorded, due to proper manuring and ploughing done at the right time under the guidance of agricultural officials."

The same article went on to describe how:-

> "The Olifants River irrigation scheme supports 500 Native families on land which formerly gave a bare living to half a dozen European farmers. The Trust farm "Lorraine", formerly a "labour" farm in process of complete ruination, now supports 120 Native families who produce not only enough fruit and vegetables for their own use and for barter, but a substantial surplus for sale in the Native urban areas. Here irrigable land had lain unproductive for hundreds of years, and now increasing yields show that the fertility of the soil is being kept up, and that it will remain productive, if it remains under the Trust, for generations to come."

One then learns that:-

> "Chief Mohlaba, faced with the insoluble problem of providing living room for the 3,000 tax-payers of his location on 12,423 morgen of land, applied to the Trust for help, and handed over 250 morgen for reclamation purposes. To-day, not only do irrigated plots relieve the congestion, but a fenced-in catchment area of 150 morgen provides grazing under control, a water meadow put down to star grass gives additional grazing, and 100 morgen under gum trees provide building timber and fuel".

It is claimed that instances such as these could be multiplied all over the Northern Transvaal. One thing is certain, namely that irrigation and other reclamation schemes of the European specialists are undoubtedly helping a number of African cultivators, who, a few years ago, were subsistence peasants vainly trying to eke out a bare living from their sub-economic holdings.

Consistent with this cultural development is the soil-conservation service of the Native Affairs Department, which hopes to protect what arable lands the Africans have from washing away, and also the rotational grazing so effectively carried out in Basutoland.

Concerning these cognate problems the following excerpt from an article in the "Star", dated July 9th, 1947, may be of interest:-

> "Rather less than two years ago various articles appeared in Union periodicals and in the Press about serious erosion in Basutoland. Although a tribute was paid to the great progress made in anti-erosion work in the lowlands, it was suggested that little was being done in the mountain areas to protect the sources of the Orange River, so vital to the life of South Africa.
>
> It was true that the situation was grave at that time, but there was a tendency in these articles to exaggerate the position, and to suggest that the authorities did not realise the dangers.
>
> How different the picture is to-day! I have just returned from a mountain trip and have been greatly impressed with the progress accomplished in anti-erosion work by the Basutoland Department of Agriculture, working in conjunction with the people and the district administration.
>
> In another two years almost all arable land throughout the whole of the mountain area will be protected by buffer grass strips. In the Mokhotlong district two-thirds of the arable land is already grass-stripped and a total of over 130,000 acres has been protected in this manner.
>
> In addition, hundreds of thousands of yards of graded terrace banks have been constructed above

> the arable lands in the mountains. These banks are designed to hold and carry away the large quantities of surface water which, in a heavy downpour, reach the arable land from the slopes above. In another two years this work will be completed and the Orange River Valley will be protected.
>
> More praiseworthy still is the action recently taken by the Basuto themselves, who, let by the Paramount Chief, have asked that grazing control may be instituted over the whole of the north-eastern part of the territory, which comprises more than half its total mountain area.
>
> After demonstration the value of "deferred rotational grazing" has been recognised and the chiefs and people are determined to see their mountain slopes once more covered with luxuriant grass. In my travels I have seen thousands of acres of mountainous country, once almost denuded, now covered with waving, golden, red oat grass, the result of action taken by the chiefs themselves.
>
> At the present rate of progress in five years' time the whole of the Orange River catchment area will be protected by grass and by anti-erosion works.
>
> It is said that the mountains of Basutoland are the watershed of South Africa. The Union can be reassured, therefore, that its future water supplies from Basutoland are being secured.

It seems reasonably clear that this effective anti-erosion work of the Basutoland Department of Agriculture, whose effectiveness depended almost entirely upon the co-operation of the Paramount Chief and his people, had its origin in "Western" culture, but owed its success to its ready assimilation by the Basuto, whose own tribal culture had proved totally inadequate to the demand.

In 1935, the Board of Trade and Industries, having conducted an investigation into the condition of the Native Territories, drafted proposals for the establishment of industries in the reserves. We have already examined in outline the scheme formulated by the Industrial Development Corporation for the production of textiles in the Ciskei, at Zwelitsha, and hence we are in a position to appreciate that the increased industrialization of the rural areas is inevitable, a principle admitted also by Sir Godfrey Huggins in respect of Southern Rhodesia.

In an article by Ellison Kahn, in the July 1947 number of "Trek", one reads that:-

"The industrialists have gradually become reconciled

> to the establishment of manufacturing concerns in the territories, under certain conditions.
>
> Organized labour, never against State assistance for industry or for the impoverished reserves, has also required safeguards. I understand that agreement between these opposing interests has been reached. Lower wage rates than those prevailing in neighbouring areas may be paid, but the rates must be raised as the operatives become fully trained and productivity rises. The goods are to be sold only in Native areas. There must not be competition with existing industries".

The article concludes on the following note:-

> "Native areas are no longer to be looked upon solely as depositories of labour for the European. It is realised that the establishment of the present reserve population as a settled peasantry on the existing land is an impossibility.
>
> If the migratory system dies down, as many hope it will, a fundamental change in the reserves will be inevitable. And it lies in increased urbanisation and industrialisation".

This is a categorical statement to the effect that it is no longer possible to maintain the integrity of tribal life, and that in the reserves, as well as in urban concentrations, radical change is inevitable. This change will not be confined to the agrarian system but will permeate the whole mode of life of the African people. It may be assumed, that as never before, there is a sense of urgency concerning the revision of a national land policy; that it is recognised that the time has passed for temporary expedients, for the depressed condition of both rural and urban Natives menaces the whole community, and that if their general economic level is to be raised with as little delay as possible, outmoded African traditions and outmoded European 'Native policy' must give way to revolutionary readjustments on a territory-wide scale. Such readjustments must help to bridge the gulf between black and white, and this, if it means anything, means convergence of culture in the national interest. If this be a valid conclusion it will hold good whether we think of wage-paid farm labour, of rent-paying leasing or of individual ownership of land; whether we think of land tenure in Native areas and elsewhere, of improved techniques, of the establishment of

regional authorities, of the development of co-operatives and collectives, or as in the case of the East African groundnut scheme, of large-scale government enterprise; whether we think of the admitted need of establishing industries in the reserves, of the stabilizing of rural as well as of urban communities, or of amending and supplementary legislation to provide for these matters. That they are of great moment is dramatically clear. That, as always, they constitute a moral challenge, is certain, and that they depend upon the speeding up of acculturation cannot reasonably be denied.

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PART V.

R E L I G I O U S A S P E C T S.

Chapter XXVII.

Moral Obligation.

Throughout this study we have had occasion to examine some of the chaotic experiences and the clash of purposes which have created a deep insecurity for the African, resulting frequently in a fear of life and what it may do for him. This clash of purposes and of values is not confined to South Africa, but causes grave confusion wherever a dominant 'race' continuously imposes a way of life upon another, or wherever the help given to the under-privileged is in the nature of a grudging concession to a need rather than the recognition of a fundamental right. It is of significance, therefore, that the United Nations Charter has for one of its purposes the "promoting and encouraging of respect for human rights", and that a Commission on Human Rights has just been established.

This would appear to be a return to Natural Law, that unwritten law inherent in the mind of man and founded on reason and justice, the law from which comes the idea of the natural dignity and inalienable right of every human being, irrespective of race and colour.

An article in "The Shield" for September, 1947, by Trevor Fletcher, says:-

> "It is these common rights which modern materialism and the omnipotence of Parliaments deny, and yet there can be no common bond between the peoples of the world without them.
>
> In our modern world the individual hardly counts and is seldom referred to; he has been passed over to the planner who no longer looks upon him as a man, but as a cipher to be moved about at will under the name of 'operatives', and even the poor are not referred to as human beings, but as 'the lower income groups'.
>
> This silent revolution now going on has degraded man by depriving him of his dignity and inalienable rights, and if they are to be recovered, it will be by the inspiration of something strong enough to break up this revolution. That something is a return to Natural Law, which for centuries was an over-riding principle alike to the Courts of Common Law and the Houses of Parliament"....."It was the Natural Law and the Divine Law that

held in check the modern claim to the omnipotence of Parliaments.

Blackstone, in his 'Commentary on the Laws of England' wrote:-

'The Law of Nature being co-eval with mankind, and dictated by God Himself, is of course, superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe in all countries and at all times; no human laws are of any validity if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force and all their authority mediately or immediately from this original'."

In contrast he points to the modern assumption that Parliament is omnipotent; that it has the last word in law-making, and that it has an arbitrary power subject to no control, whether of reason, of justice, or of the ordinary moral law. It is this assumption of absolute arbitrary power, he claims, together with the decline of religion, that has made the arrival of the totalitarian state so much easier. Consistent with this is his finding that "Parliamentary legislation to-day....does not rest on ethics, reason or justice, but on the calculated power of force", although he notes that both the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the Military Tribunal at Nuremberg imply the existence of the Natural Law.

Harold Laski in a recent article on the extreme gravity of the international situation, as viewed from Lake Success, said "Civilisation depends on the common acceptance of moral values. When common acceptance breaks down, we walk from civilisation into the jungle". ++ In many ways the inter-'racial' situation in South Africa is fully as critical as the international situation, and for very similar reasons, and here as well as at the United Nations it is possibly "later than we think". It may be well, therefore, to devote a brief space to the moral obligation laid upon all of us, since a revival of the Natural Law which enjoins it, is not only an essential weapon against materialism, but is a link between Christian and non-Christian communities, and between different ethnic

++ Quoted in "The Forum", October 25, 1947.

and national groups throughout the world. Granted this, it ought to provide a most valuable link between African and European.

It is clear that our conception of 'race'-relations must be founded on our concept of human rights, a concept which in turn must derive from our ideas regarding man's nature, destiny and obligations. It follows that if we regard the African's nature as fundamentally inferior, and his destiny the unquestioning service of the European, we are not likely to concentrate overmuch on our obligations towards him. On the other hand if we believe in the moral unity of the human race, and the infinitely larger destiny in which, in consequence, he is called to participate, we shall disregard his supposed limitations, believing that in our relationships with him, the really important consideration is not mere expediency, still less our material profit or comfort, but the manner in which we respect human rights. (His very need constitutes a specialized right as it were, and a claim upon us to meet it, but the essential human rights of Africans have no more origin in the fact that they are African, than have the parallel rights of the Europeans their origin in the fact that they are European. All such rights "flew from the essential constituents of our nature, not from its accidental character". ++)

Endowed with intelligence and free will in common with all humanity, he is under a common obligation to employ these in service and in the perfection of his nature. For him to forego his basic rights were immoral. For us to deny him those rights were equally immoral.

++ "Inter-Racial Justice". America Press. p. 79. As reference will show, this chapter has drawn very freely upon La Farge's valuable study.

They are neither vested in nor conferred by the State. For government or any political party to base its policy on such an assumption would be a gross abuse of authority, for the doctrine of human rights is based upon ethical principles which derive from the universal spiritual nature of man.

Concerning this La Farge writes:-

> "By the same token, human rights are not conferred or taken away by social custom or mores, no matter how much these social customs may have developed into social institutions".....Civic rights and civic duties alike spring, as from their ultimate source, not from any human instrument but from the citizen's relation to the Creator, as the Author and the supreme Ruler of human society". ++

In South Africa, as in other countries where 'racial' problems are acute, there is a widespread tendency on the part of the ruling 'race' to assume that among its own basic rights which are of divine origin, is that of prescribing from time to time the human rights which may be granted to the subject 'race', and of preventing its members from asserting others. Such an assumption almost suggests that God had abdicated in favour of an ethnic group or political party.

Fortunately there are many who cannot approve the view that racial affiliation should be decisive in these matters, and that accordingly opportunity should be denied to a population group of many millions. On the contrary they would agree with La Farge that:-

> "Inter-racial justice requires that:-
> (a) individuals and groups shall deal with one another in such a manner that equality of opportunity shall not be denied because of the attribution to any group, as a group, of that inferiority which attaches only to certain individuals;
> (b) society (or the social community) shall be so constituted that no such considerations shall be allowed to interfere with the practice of equal justice". xx

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++ Ibid. p. 61.

xx Ibid. p. 65.

This conception, as it gains acceptance, must operate at all levels, from the relationships between individuals to the recognition of the rights of the family, which is the unit of social justice, and to the insistence upon economic justice, so that rights in the industrial (and agrarian) fields, etc., are thereby assured. As this gradually takes place, it will of necessity be correlated with cultural assimilation. Such assimilation is inevitable but to attempt to with-hold it would be a miscarriage of justice.

Correlative also are human rights and duties, each bringing the other. Hence as enlargement of rights for the Non-European is conceded, his duties will increase to his own benefit and to that of society.

Relevant is the following statement by the Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, when speaking of parallel conditions in the United States:-

> "There is a minimum of goods which all men, both white and black, need and upon which they have a claim. That minimum includes the right to life and the right to liberty. It involves in return for honest labor, the right to remuneration sufficient to maintain the worker and his family in health and comfort. It involves the right to reasonable opportunities for recreation and education. It involves the opportunity to seek a home in an environment which is conducive to wholesome moral living.
> To all those rights every Negro has a claim. To deny him less is to degrade him, to treat him less than a man". ++

The most elementary of human rights is the right to exist and to use the means essential to the sustenance of life, and this no-one would deny the African. Among other specific rights implied, however, would be just legal procedure, protection against mob violence, protection from insanitary living conditions which menace the health of the individual, the family or the community, and the right to exercise the means of livelihood and to enjoy an adequate return for labour.

++ Quoted by La Farge. Op. cit. p. 66.

A corollary is that labour should not be treated as a commodity to be bought and sold on the open market, but as a matter for free agreement, and hence collective bargaining to ensure such freedom is a legitimate development.

To exclude a person on 'racial' grounds from full participation in these basic rights is to deprive him of social and inter-'racial' justice, in which connection it must be admitted that in South Africa many of the under-privileged are thus excluded, suffering no little deprivation in consequence.

The right to liberty would include liberty of conscience and in the practice of religion, freedom to exercise natural rights concerning children and the home, liberty of speech and assembly, and, where other human rights are secured by the franchise, and qualified electors are available the right of franchise. In these matters too, there is much progress to be made before we can claim that we respect as inviolable the African's right to liberty.

La Farge points out that social justice is progressive and not static, and that while certain basic elements remain permanently unchanged, with the development of civilization new rights ensue "so that individuals who contribute to the progress of the common good may share in the benefits of that progress".

This is of the utmost significance so far as 'race'-relations in Africa are concerned, for its acceptance, which cannot reasonably be opposed, would mean the admission of all the co-operating community, regardless of colour of 'race', to an equitable participation in "the progressive advantages of the united human effort". (Ibid). And since the contribution of the Africans towards such advantages has been considerable in justice their benefits should be commensurate.

Related to this naturally would be their access to full educational opportunity, access so indispensable for the enjoyment of other opportunities. Hence its denial on our part would constitute a flagrant violation of a basic human right, as would also the with-holding of opportunity for decent living, for wholesome recreation, for self-development, or for worship. In these respects, therefore, those who deliberately foster 'racial' prejudices are guilty of a sin against humanity, whilst those who endeavour to maintain these human rights by voluntary effort, in spite of set-backs and casualties, are contributing more than they can measure to the cause of justice and charity.

To quote La Farge again:-

> "History shows that abuses in the matter of human rights tend to shape themselves into anti-social institutions. What began as a mere matter of private enterprise, ambition, or gain, took permanent form by receiving legal sanctions. A rationalized philosophic justification arose; new governmental and cultural forms developed in accord with the legal and philosophic structure.
>
> This is seen in the history of the slave trade, of commercial exploitation, of financial manipulation.
>
> THE REMEDY, THEREFORE, FOR ANTI-SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IS TO BE FOUND NOT IN THE MERELY COLLECTIVE ACTIVITY OF LARGE NUMBERS OF INDIVIDUALS BUT IN THE ORGANIZED RECONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY UPON AN ETHICAL BASIS." (capitals mine)++

Herein is to be found a challenge of the greatest magnitude for South Africa, where, as in many other countries of multi-racial composition, there is evidence that "the tendency of our times to subordinate all considerations of the dignity of the human person to the unbridled quest of material gain", is "the primary source of inter-racial, as well as of economic, industrial, and international injustice". xx

As a final quotation from this Christian sociologist to whom this chapter clearly owes so much, one would select the following:-

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++ Ibid. p. 77. xx Ibid. p. 77.

> "When the human personality is cheapened, when human life is set at naught, it makes little difference whether this is done in the field of finance, industry, war, or race-relations. The root of the evil in each instance is the same. CHEAP LABOUR BRINGS CHEAP LIVES. AND FROM CHEAP LIVES FOLLOW CUSTOMS AND MAXIMS SANCTIONING THE CHEAPENING OF LIVES." ++ (Capitals mine)

In no African territory will any concept of society be adequate which is based upon the divisions between ethnic groups, instead of upon the contribution which each person, according to his God-given capacity can best make to society.

In that very small but profound and stimulating book, "Christianity and Democracy", Jacques Maritain writes:-

> "To-day the poor and the oppressed are setting out for the land of justice and fraternity. To have awakened and then betrayed such a hope is a measure of the failure of the modern world. It would be a worse failure to renounce this hope and to seek to uproot it from men's hearts". xx

He too speaks of universal human rights in the following trenchant words:-

> "What has been gained for the secular conscience if it does not veer to barbarism is faith in the rights of the human person as a human person, as a civic person, as a person engaged in social and economic life and as a working person; and it is faith in justice as a necessary foundation for common life and as an essential property of the law, which is not a law if it is unjust"..... ..... "What has been gained for the secular conscience if it does not veer to barbarism is the sense of men's equality in nature, and the relative equality which justice must establish among them, and the conviction that by means of the functional inequalities demanded by social life equality must be re-established on a higher level, and must fructify in everyone's possibility of acceding to a life worthy of man, in everyone's assured enjoyment of the elementary possessions, both material and spiritual, of such a life, and in the true participation of each one according to his capabilities and his worth, in the common task and the common heritage of civilization"....."What has been gained for the secular conscience, if it does not veer to barbarism, is faith in the brotherhood of man, a sense of the social duty of compassion for mankind in the person of the weak and the suffering, the conviction that the political task, par excellence, is to render common life better and more brotherly, and to work to make the structure of laws, institutions, and customs of this common life a house for brothers to live in". ##

++ Idem. xx p. 28. ## Ibid. pp 31 - 37.

The words of this scholar cannot be set aside as mere sentiment. The alternative they offer is inescapable, the choice being between maintaining faith that all 'races' and communities may share in the forward march of humanity, and veering towards barbarism, and in South Africa the wealth of the Rand but accentuates the fact that we too are confronted by the same alternative.

Nevertheless, of South Africa as of other countries it is also true that comparatively few would wish to deny opportunity and other human rights to their fellows, whatever their 'race', once they fully realized the depth of their need. In the next chapter we will examine briefly the true dynamics of justice and of charity, which provide more effectively than any other agency the motive and the spiritual force for the realization of these universal rights.

In concluding this inadequate treatment of moral obligation in 'racial' matters, it merely remains to add that wherever it gains ascendancy in this Continent, and wherever, in consequence human rights for all communities are respected, there will undoubtedly be found the sharing of a common culture, the culture of the more advanced.

As an epilogue to this chapter one may be permitted to quote from the Radio Broadcast of President Roosevelt, on Flag Day, June 14th 1942, when he spoke of the Four Freedoms for all Peoples, i.e. the freedom of speech, the freedom of religion, the freedom from want and the freedom from fear. Of these he said:-

> "The four freedoms of common humanity are as much elements of man's needs as air and sunlight, bread and salt. Deprive him of all these freedoms and he dies - deprive him of a part of them and a part of his withers. Give them to

him in full and abundant measure and he will cross the threshold of a new age, the greatest age of man.

These freedoms are the rights of men of every creed and every race, wherever they live. This is their heritage, long withheld. We of the United Nations have the power and the men and the will at last to assure man's heritage.

The belief in the four freedoms of common humanity - the belief in man, created free, in the image of God - is the crucial difference between ourselves and the enemies we face to-day. In it lies the absolute unity of our alliance, opposed to the oneness of the evil we hate. Here is our strength, the source and premise of victory". ++

After completing his inspiring message, the President read a prayer specially written for the United Nations on that day. In spite of its length it is quoted in full, because, not only did it constitute a rallying cry in that time of crisis, but because in our own time of crisis there are those who, sharing its sentiments, are helping to open for many Africans the door which leads through these freedoms to fulness of life:-

"God of the free, we pledge our hearts and lives to-day in the cause of all free mankind.

Grant us victory over the tyrants who would enslave all free men and nations. Grant us faith and understanding to cherish all those who fight for freedom as if they were our brothers. Grant us brotherhood in hope and union, not only for the space of this bitter war, but for the days to come which shall and must unite all the children of the earth.

Our earth is but a small star in the universe. Yet of it we can make, if we choose, a planet unvexed by war, untroubled by hunger or fear, undivided by senseless distinctions of race, colour, or theory. Grant us that courage and foreseeing to begin this task to-day that our children and our children's children may be proud of the name of man.

The spirit of man has awakened and the soul of man has gone forth. Grant us the wisdom and the vision to comprehend the greatness of man's spirit that suffers and endures so hugely for a goal beyond his own brief span. Grant us honour for our dead who died in the faith, honour for our living who work and strive for the faith, redemption and security for all captive lands and peoples. Grant us patience with the deluded and pity for the betrayed. And grant us the skill and valor that shall cleanse the world of oppression and the old base doctrine that the strong must eat the weak because they are strong.

Yet most of all grant us brotherhood, not only for this day, but for all our years - a brotherhood, not only of words but of acts and deeds.

++ The War Messages of Franklin D. Roosevelt (December 8, 1941 - October 12, 1942. p. 63)

> We are all of us children of earth - grant us that simple knowledge. If our brothers are oppressed, then we are oppressed. If they hunger, we hunger. If their freedom is taken away, our freedom is not secure. Grant us a common faith that man shall know bread and peace - that he shall know justice and righteousness, freedom and security, an equal opportunity and an equal chance to do his best, not only in our own lands, but throughout the world.
>
> And in that faith let us march towards the clean world our hands can make. Amen". ++

Whatever it may lack, this prayer breathes common humanity, and adopts a clear and realistic objective for its petitions, namely the achievement of a lasting peace based upon the freedom of man.

To assist in the accomplishment of this purpose, there is no suggestion of cultural segregation, nor of any other denial of basic human rights, all of which are supra-'racial'.

++ Ibid. p. 64.

Chapter XXVIII.

THE IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY.

"There is nobody in Africa who has a serious belief in the future of the indigenous religions".++ So wrote Dr. Westermann, Director of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and his opinion is entitled to respect.

He explains that decay threatens indigenous religion because it is so localized. Thus, he says:-

> "What happens when a young man leaves his native place for any length of time? The gods or ancestors in whose reverence he grew up have their seat in the native village and can only be worshipped there within the social group. In strange lands there are strange gods of a strange people, with whom he has no connexion and to whom he cannot pray.
>
> The thought that his own god or forefather is near him and will protect him everywhere does not occur to him, quite apart from the fact that this would presuppose a personal relationship to the god or ancestor such as does not actually exist.
>
> Cult is not the business of the individual but of the group, hence he who is separated from the group can no longer take part in its religious activities.
>
> In addition the young man in the towns and work centres as a rule comes into an atmosphere devoid of religion, and it is no wonder that under such circumstances the whole religious attitude of mind, and with it the essential part of his standard of values, are deeply changed, if not completely paralysed.
>
> If the resulting feeling of emptiness is once overcome the thought gradually gains strength that a man can manage without religion, that doing so really makes life easier and frees it from the constraints which were imposed by the religious duties practised at home. That is the fate of hundreds of thousands to-day. Their religious root is dying, and what remains is a crude belief in magic, a fear of spirits, and some undigested European ideas. The reverence for that which is greater than man has been extinguished".xx

Of the attack on indigenous religion opened from all sides he adds:-

> "The activity of the mission, the teaching of the schools, the growing understanding of natural processes, the spread of mechanical science, the lack of religious feeling of many Europeans, the universal unrest, and the materialistic tendencies of modern life which the utilitarian instincts of the Negro meet half-way; all these things create an atmosphere which is fatal to indigenous religion, and its end is only a question of time". ⁂

++ The African To-day. p. 203. xx Ibid. pp. 201-2.
⁂ Ibid pp. 202-3.

To the above he might have added much besides, including the disruption of the tribal system, the sledge-hammer blows of our industrial urban economy, the development of individualism, the fading authority of the chiefs, and the absence of any inherent spiritual power to survive these attacks by contact with a spiritual or religio-social order transcending environmental change.

Westermann explains that in primitive African belief:-

> "there is hardly any link between ethical life and religion. The gods and ancestors are a-moral; they take no interest in the ethical behaviour of their worshippers and are indifferent as to the inner attitude in which they are approached. What they demand is offerings and prayers. If in spite of them they refuse their help, it is through anger that one of their many commandments has been, probably unwittingly, disregarded.
>
> Ethics are rooted in the social groups. One is moral and acts morally if one keeps to the norm which regulates the relations of the members of the clan or of another group to one another.
>
> These norms are binding, however, only in relation to members of the group; they relate to those outside only in so far as the security and well-being of the clan are affected". ++

In the same context he claims that indigenous religion and social groupings are so inter-dependent that to destroy one means to destroy the other, because of which "Religion is thus drawn into the present whirlpool, and its collapse weakens social cohesion". ##

Or again that:-

> "For the African religion is not only a social bond of union of the greatest significance but also the giver of warmth and colour to his life. Most of the communal celebrations, such as sacrifical feasts, initiations, funeral rites, and harvest festivals, have a religious character, and life is the poorer for their disappearance. Above all, religion gave inner strength and peace of mind. If the vanishing faith is not replaced by a new one, a dangerous barrenness looms ahead for the African, and it cannot be for the good of man or of a community that a large sphere of inner life should lie fallow or overgrown with evil weeds." xx

The significance of these extracts would appear to be that because of its nature, indigenous religion is

++ Ibid p. 195. ## Ibid. p. 198. xx Ibid. p. 204.

fast collapsing, that it was never concerned with ethical behaviour, that in the face of new social groupings it had no survival value, but that this outmoded religious faith must be replaced by another unless disaster is to overtake the African and the community in which he lives - and, incidentally, that would imply disaster for the European also.

The need for such replacement of faith will have no meaning for those who are victims of the superstition that man is an animal needing only food, warmth and shelter, - unless he be a European - in which event he will require the additional comforts assured by an attractive salary and social security. To such people the African would have significance by virtue of his classification only, and would not be regarded as an individual destined to achieve an individual end. Still less would he be regarded as one who need be responsive to "the supernatural forces that cradled the West in a single creed and lifted spires all over Europe". ##

Even among the many who consider that Christianity upholds a view of human life and destiny infinitely more encouraging and inspiring than the best that the materialism of Marx can offer, there are those who regard Christianity as a by-product of Western civilization. Because of this they tend to adopt the position, although they would shrink from defining it, that the African should wait until he has assimilated the rest of our culture, - a process which, in any event is opposed - when he would have won the right, as it were, to such elements of Christianity as we thought most suitable for him.

Postponing for awhile the question as to whether

Quotation unidentified.

any 'racial' differentiation is possible in Christianity, it may be helpful to recall that Christianity is definitely not a cultural by-product of Western Civilization, for in the words of Christopher Dawson

> "The religion which was destined to conquer the Roman Empire and to become permanently identified with the life of the West was indeed of purely oriental origin and had no roots in the European past or in the traditions of classical civilisations". ##

South Africa would do well to remember, therefore, that Christianity is neither of Dutch nor of English origin, and that Africans as well as Europeans, through the blood of their martyrs, have a special claim to be regarded as beneficiaries.

Of the spirit of martyrdom which coloured the whole outlook of early Christianity, Dawson writes:-

> "In an age when the individual was becoming the passive instrument of an omnipotent and universal state, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of such an ideal which was the ultimate stronghold of spiritual freedom.
> More than any other factor it secured the ultimate triumph of the Church, for it rendered plain to all the fact that Christianity was the one remaining power in the world which could not be absorbed by the gigantic mechanism of the new servile state." ++

This, when written, had no reference to Africa, but it is distinctly relevant, nevertheless, for the upholding of the same ideal in Uganda and elsewhere illustrates the same power and the same ideal.

Although the African church to-day is unfortunately regarded too often, to our shame, with contempt or indifference, and is no longer called upon to face martyrdom, it embraces many who pass their lives in the shadow of the cross, and whose quietly but firmly held faith has a richness of meaning for South Africa which cannot be measured, least of all by those who deride it, for here as elsewhere the Kingdom of Heaven is the Kingdom

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"The Making of Europe", p. 19.

++ Ibid. pp 22-3.

of Right Relationships, and towards the improved relationships so urgently needed their steady contribution is unassumingly effective.

Neither race can afford to ignore the resources of spiritual and social vitality which can be drawn upon by both, for, of all factors, this will be the most decisive in the new social order of which we stand in such dire need.

In Somervell's abridgement of Toynbee's "Study of History", the ancient Greek saying is quoted that 'the day of enslavement deprives man of half his manhood', after which the author points out that although this saying was terribly fulfilled in the debasement of the slave-descended urban proletariat of Rome, some there were who responded to the challenge, obtained their freedom and rose to eminence. He then refers to a still greater and more significant achievement:-

> ....."the true-born Roman.....would delight to honour the serene wisdom of the lame slave Epictetus, while he could not but marvel at the enthusiasm of the nameless multitudes of slaves and freedmen whose faith was moving mountains.
>
> During the five centuries between the Hannibalic War and the conversion of Constantine, the Roman authorities saw this miracle of servile faith being performed under their eyes and repeated - in defiance of their efforts to arrest it by physical force - until eventually they themselves succumbed to it. For the slave immigrants who had lost their homes and families and property still kept their religion". ≠≠

The Negro slave immigrants of modern North America, he points out, "have been subject to the twofold penalization of racial discrimination and legal servitude", and he contends that, of these, the first weighs as heavily as ever upon the coloured freedmen of to-day. Then follow these telling sentences:-

> "the American Negro, finding the scales....to all seeming, permanently and over-whelmingly weighted against him in this world, has turned to another for consolation"...."His primitive

≠≠ Op. Cit. p. 127

> social heritage was of so frail a texture that, save for a few shreds, it was scattered to the winds on the impact of our Western civilization. Thus he came to America spiritually as well as physically naked, and he has met the emergency by covering his nakedness with his enslaver's cast-off clothes."....."with their child-like spiritual intuition and their genius for giving spontaneous aesthetic expression to emotional religious experience, they may perhaps be capable of kindling the cold grey ashes of Christianity which have been transmitted to them by us, until in their hearts the divine fire glows again". ++

There is poignant relevance here also for the South African scene, and, withal, parallel reassurance.

Within three centuries the first apostles and missionaries had carried their gospel through the Roman Empire from restricted Judaism into the wider world; they had found a response in the hearts of men of many 'races', and had reached the Goths and the Franks. And then, from the farthest outpost of Christianity in Europe - from Ireland - a new mission of Christianity returned to Europe, in which connection one may suggest that History has seen more remarkable and inconceivable things than the possibility of the faith of the Africans contributing in like manner to the restoration of the faith of the Europeans, both in Africa and Europe.

Of the primitive Church, Dawson writes:-

> "It appealed to all those who failed to find satisfaction in the existing order, the poor and oppressed, the unprivileged classes, above all those who revolted against the spiritual emptiness and corruption of the dominant material culture, and who felt the need of a new spiritual order and a religious view of live." ##

Can it be wondered at that there is a similar appeal to Africans to-day, or that they respond to it?

On this issue Jacques Maritain has much to say, but two quotations must suffice:-

> "In the realm of spiritual life the message of the Gospel has revealed to the human person that he is called to the perfect freedom of those who have become a single spirit.....but in the realm of temporal life it is the natural aspiration of the person to liberation from misery, servitude,

++ Ibid. p. 129

The Making of Europe, p. 20.

> and the exploitation of man by man, that the repercussions of the Gospel's message were to stimulate".
>
> "Under the inspiration of the Gospel at work in history, the secular conscience has understood that in the misfortunes and suffering of our existence, crushed by the iron laws of biological necessity, and by the weight of the pride, injustice, and wickedness of men, a single principle of liberation, a single principle of hope, a single principle of peace, can stir up the mass of servitude and iniquity and triumph over it, because this principle comes down to us from the creative source of the world, stronger than the world;".....[44]

It would seem clear, if this be true, that we find substantial links between welfare, freedom, justice, and Christianity, in which connection the fact that hundreds of thousands of Europeans deny the correlation in no way affects the principle involved, nor its application by many others on each side of the Colour Bar.

Earlier we spoke of those who regard Christianity as a by-product of Western civilization, and who tend to adopt the position that the African should wait until he has assimilated the rest of 'our' culture, before attempting to assimilate carefully selected elements of Christianity also. The majority of such would probably regard it as blasphemous to recite the Apostles' Creed or the Lord's Prayer, in the following terms:-

> "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth for the Europeans, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, their Lord;.....He ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge their living and dead.
> I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the forgiveness of European sins; the resurrection of their bodies, and for them life everlasting",
>
> or
>
> "Father of the Europeans who art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done among European communities on earth as it is in heaven.
> Give them this day their daily bread; and forgive them their trespasses.....and lead them not into temptation but deliver them from evil. Amen".

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[44] Op. Cit. pp 35-6.

If they could subscribe to the above, it would be easier for them to believe also that "In Him was life, and the life was the light of the Europeans, and the light shineth in the darkness".....

When referring to the institution of the first holy communion, however, they could not admit the possibility of substituting the words: "He blessed it, broke it, and gave it to His European disciples", for there were none.

It may be salutary to remember, also, that none of the canonical books composing the Holy Scriptures was written by a European; that the Magi were from the East, (a popular tradition for centuries admitted into Christian art tells us that one of the three was from Ethiopia), and that in the greatest drama the world has known the only Europeans who participated, of whom we have knowledge, were Pontius Pilate, and possibly a few of the Roman soldiers, the majority of whom, there is reason to believe, were Syrians.

Moreover at the Incarnation when the Word was made flesh, the sacred flesh was not white, and when the consummation on Calvary took place, its significance was not bequeathed to any single 'racial' group, not even to the mythical Aryan.

There are some, however, who, whilst conceding that the Christian faith has universal rather than 'racial' validity, tend to the view - without concerning themselves over-much with its application - that by the incorporation of African ceremonial into Christian worship, religious segregation approved by God and by the anthropologists, to say nothing of the politicians, would prove a satisfactory solution to all reasonable Africans and Europeans.

The Rev. T. Cullen Young, for many years a missionary in Nyasaland, and well known for his writings

on African subjects, read a paper entitled "How far can African Ceremonial be incorporated in the Christian System"?, at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, in London, in 1934. ##

From it the following extracts are taken:-

> "I feel the essential unreality of much that is written and spoken regarding experiments in the christianizing of African rite and ceremony; the attempt at incorporation of what one may call 'items of sublimated animism'."
>
> "Radically and inescapably, as we now see, Christian belief differs from Bantu belief at the very heart.
> It founds upon God in a personal relationship, and all else is incidental or consequent. Bantu belief, on the other hand, founds upon indestructible human relationship, and at no central or vital point is any idea to which we could truthfully apply the title 'God' anything more than incidental."
>
> "....we are beginning to see that we dare not apply the phrase 'Christian System' to anything that cannot meet the test of those five daunting words, 'There shall be one flock'."
>
> "No teaching of ours regarding wider moral and social responsibility in the sight of God - i.e. responsibility beyond clan-limit - can touch the African apart from a here-and-hereafter world view on a scale obviously demanding something infinitely beyond ancestral controls".
>
> "Adapted ceremonial and rite is impossible apart from revised or expanded belief, and such new belief is impossible so long as either aversion or fear in us counsels segregation for the African rather than association with him, 'parallel development along the lines of his own culture', rather than joint progress upon mutually contributing cultures."

With regard to the last quotation one would offer the comment that 'race'-attitudes on our part must prove an obstacle to faith on the part of many Non-Europeans, rather than that they erect impassable barriers against it. With regard to the quotations as a whole, they serve to illustrate the conviction of this experienced missionary-author that since there are radical differences between African indigenous beliefs and Christian beliefs, neither these nor their related rites and ceremonies are corporable. On the contrary they are mostly antithetic. When Cullen Young in the same paper makes a plea for the

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admission of the African into the wider multi-racial community now, to facilitate his belief and participation in the 'Great Village Pattern' in the future life, his verbal imagery has admittedly more than a didactic appeal, but although it is of the greatest importance to urge that "ubuntu" or common humanity should more generally characterize our 'race'-relations, this is by no means synonymous with Christianity, which is not reducible merely to goodwill among men, however insistently it proclaims the need for this.

For the purpose of this study, however, what emerges from Cullen Young's sympathetic analysis is, on the one hand, that however attractive it would be to Christianize African rites and ceremonies and to sublimate his animism, the extent to which this can be done is negligible, and on the other, that we would undoubtedly facilitate the African's acceptance of the Christian faith, (which, as we have shown, carries no European label of "All Rights Reserved") if only we could offer him "the beginnings of companionate living".

According to the teaching of the Church there is a progressive incorporation of individuals into a supernatural society of human souls, this society being the Church. It follows that the visible Church must be one body, not many, and that even though there may be a hierarchy of souls, as there are diverse functions on one body, this does not imply that the holier souls are Europeans who possess more important functions than the less holy, nor that the latter are essentially Non-European. Any 'racial' dichotomy of this kind, by sundering the body, would render meaningless this central Christian teaching with its far-reaching implications.

Dr. Sheen writes:-

> "A body is an organic whole, composed of an infinite number of cells and members, all directed by the head, and all vivified by the

> soul, and all directed to a common end, which is the conservation of the organism and its ultimate happiness". ##

This explains the analogy used by St. Paul to aid in understanding the supernatural organism of the Church, and in thus understanding how:-

> "The Church continues Christ, expresses Christ, develops all the virtualities, potentialities of Christ, makes it possible for Him to extend Himself beyong the space of Palestine and the space of thirty-three years to prolong His influence unto all times and to all men - in a word it de-temporalizes and de-localizes Christ, so that He belongs to all ages and all souls".. ....."His sacrifice was not peculiar to any race or hour". ##

La Farge explains that:-

> "The universality of the Church, as regarding all races, is not a mere statistical universalism, a mere universality of individual membership, similar to that of a political party or an economic organization which would take all the inhabitants of a given territory. It is a living union of all mankind.
>
> This living union springs from a common relationship"....."Through it man's earthly social nature is transcendently related to a Divine Society into which each human person is adopted, establishing a unique relationship between man and man, as consequence of a unique relationship between man and God". ++

Inevitably this must imply a solicitude, sense of responsibility, and a charity unlimited by colour or 'race'.

The Curé d'Ars said:-

> "On peut etre le plus malheureux des hommes, et se sentir le plus heureux des chretiens". (The most unfortunate of mortals may be the happiest of Christians).

And it is natural that many Africans should be led into the Church by the belief that after their many tribulations are over, they are going to begin the eternal years - a point of view not confined to Africans. They may feel at times that they are tied down to economic, political, and social slavery, but that nevertheless they are on an upward journey to the mountains of God. It may be salutary, too, to remember, that the oppression of those who oppose their temporal advancement may

These quotations remain unidentified.

++ Op. Cit. p. 174.

have driven some to the Christian faith and others towards communism or crime.

In his 'History of Rationalism in Europe', Lecky admitted of the Church that "in the transition from slavery to serfdom, and in the transition from serfdom to liberty, she was the most zealous, the most unwearied, and the most efficient agent".

This remains true in Africa, so far as her influence for social amelioration is concerned, and with the extension of the Church by the admission of growing numbers of Africans, there must correspondingly be an increase of the influence so exerted and, consequentially, of activities connected with social reform. Directly attributable to this inescapable fact must be the forward march of millions over "our" cultural frontiers.

Statistics concerning African Christians have not been collated in this study, although very many have been collected, for they vary so considerably in type that to quote them would be misleading. What is certain, however, is that throughout the Continent to-day there are many millions of Africans who profess the Christian faith; that they worship in buildings which range from primitive wattle and daub structures to well-designed cathedrals which accommodate several thousands in a single congregation; that they have their schools and seminaries, convents and colleges, hospitals and dispensaries, hostels and orphanages, printing presses and clinics, model villages and agricultural demonstration units, recreational and social centres, institutions for the blind, the deaf and dumb, and other physically defectives, as well as their leper settlements and a host of other social agencies.

Of necessity, the maintenance of work so varied, and of such magnitude, involves the labour of many thousands of workers, African and European, including

Bishops and clergy, ministers and catechists, members of religious congregations, doctors and nurses, teachers and social workers, technical and agricultural instructors, tradesmen and clerks, dispensers and interpreters, drivers and artisans, and a host of others.

This is mentioned because it helps towards an understanding of the extent of this, the most powerful of all dynamics of social change, an understanding not possessed by those curiously ignorant persons who seem to think that African Christians are so few that there is something rather odd about them, or by those journalists who do not consider there is anything of interest in the biggest social revolution which Africa has ever witnessed, but who devote their talents to the production of illustrated articles which mislead the public into believing that African "Christianity" consists of a pathetic mumbo-jumbo performed by strangely garbed leaders, for the edification of an emotionally-swayed and curiously-clad group of uninstructed animists. This may be a South African counterpart of Hollywood, and it may be regarded as good copy, but its social value is nil, for the distortion is great, and reflects a pathetic waste of constructive social opportunity.

Returning from the quantitative to the qualitative aspect, which is much the more important, although for our study the former represents the number of points of contact, those who are wedded to the view that in religion, as in all else, the African "must develop along his own lines", must hold that the ideal of an ultimate unity and an ultimate freedom is but the dream of an idealist.

If, therefore, we ask ourselves what was the ideal of the greatest Idealist of all time, we find that His message was an extraordinarily simple one, and yet its simplicity was so catastrophic a thing for a man even

of the calibre of Nicodemus, a teacher in Israel, that it could be described only as being born again, a new birth to a new consciousness, a new entry into a new outlook which was to change all the values of life for all time to those who had eyes to see the splendour of the vision.

To those who believe this, radical cultural change will be inevitable and eminently desirable. Moreover they will believe that for the African as for the rest of us, the essential truth is that he is not an accident that has happened somehow, and not an animal that has evolved into the image of a man, but that he too was created a child of God, in His image, and that, as there was one ultimate beginning to his being, which was a creative act, so there can be but one ultimate end of his development - the fulfilment of his sonship as God's child.

In our opinion, the basic importance of this in relation to the present study justifies the full treatment accorded to it, and the supplementary paragraphs which follow.

St. Paul, in many a passage, does away with surface distinctions "There can be neither Jew nor Greek", he says, and so abolishes 'racial' distinctions. "There can be neither bond nor free", he continues, so abolishing class distinction. "There can be no male and female", he concludes, so sweeping away sex restrictions, for, he sums up, "Ye are all one man in Christ Jesus".

The ultimate Christian unity must be real, and there are three real foundations on which it can rest. If we believe in this essential unity beneath the diversity of life, then we must believe that all souls are capable of seeing the one vision; that all lives may feed upon the one Life, and that all lives may be conformed to or transformed into the one likeness. ≠≠

≠≠ For these thoughts I am indebted to the late Fr. Andrew, S.D.C. who in S. Rhodesia in 1933 wrote me a brief memorandum on this theme.

Granted that the major assumptions of this chapter are valid, - and the fact that this study ends with this dominating issue is not fortuitous, - we are confronted here with the most convincing and decisive of all arguments that there can be no cultural segregation. We are confronted, moreover, with the challenge to solve the problems created by the religious maladjustment caused by the manner in which people in such close association in South Africa, and elsewhere, observe values which are so incompatible. Space limitations preclude us from following this up as it deserves. A single illustration of major importance must suffice, apart from the mere mention of such obvious examples as the juxtaposition of materialism or neo-paganism and Christianity, or of decadent animism and Christianity. One refers to the opposition between the viewpoint of those who believe the State should be supreme, and those who believe that the growing absolutism of the State in education is undesirable.

On the dust-cover of a book entitled "Mexico's School-Made Society", by George C. Booth, (Stanford University Press), one reads that:-

> "Mexico, land of revolution by force, has turned in recent years into a land of revolution by education. The schools are made a dynamic instrument for change. The author has here shown the entire fabric of modern Mexico's social reform, how through the philosophy of education prevailing in Mexico the schools are expected to remake the nation's society and how all activities are fitted into a consistent pattern."

The book then proceeds to show how the schools are establishing Mexican socialism. Concerning this, the author who, throughout, writes with sympathetic appreciation, explains:-

> "The term 'Socialist', as applied to the schools of Mexico and to the system as a whole, is part of the official nomenclature; it is not a descriptive adjective arbitrarily applied by the author". ##

It is not surprising, therefore, to read that:-

> "the Socialist state depends strongly on education;

Op. Cit. p. vii.

> The school is not a thing apart; it is as much at the call of the government as is the army". ##

nor to learn that Dr. Manuel Palacios, Chief of the Department of Socialist Orientation, wrote in his "Principles Underlying Mexican Education", that:-

> "The chief interest of the Mexican government in the unification of the schools is in the firm establishment of its modern ideology". ++

The famous Article 3 of the Constitution, as revised by the National Revolutionary Party in 1933, opens with these words:-

> "The education imparted by the State shall be a socialistic one, and in addition to excluding all religious doctrine, shall combat fanaticism and prejudices by organizing its instruction and activities in a way that shall permit the creation in youth of an exact and rational concept of the Universe and of social life.
> Only the State - Federation, States, Municipalities - shall impart primary, secondary, and normal education."

Later in the same Article one reads that:-

> "In view of this, religious corporations, the ministers of cults, the organizations which preferably or exclusively carry on educational activities, and the associations or societies bound directly or indirectly to the propaganda of a religious creed, shall in no way intervene in primary, secondary, or normal schools, nor shall they be permitted to assist these financially." xx

The motto epitomizing Mexico's philosophy of Socialist education is:- "educar es redimir", or "To educate is to redeem", and this constitutional definition reveals that redemption is to be achieved through the secularizing of the schools, and the political indoctrination of the nation's children.

In many African territories the same process is at work in the name of post-war 'progressive' ideologies, and from it the Union is by no means free. This development has been introduced here, not by way of digression, but because, as we have seen, the expansion of Christian education must prove both a disintegrating and a re-integrating factor in culture of immeasurable potential, whilst if

Op. Cit. p. 7 ++ Ibid. p. 4. xx Ibid. pp2-3.

this process should be obstructed by the secular state machine, the latter by the force of its indoctrination would compel cultural assimilation, but of less desirable elements, and, of course, the schools would be at the mercy of fortuitous whim of the government in power. Whether the present land-slide in this direction continues or not, convergence of culture will be accelerated.

Not irrelevant to the above, and to the subject-matter of this chapter generally, are the following lines quoted by H.G. Wood, in "Christianity and Civilisation", (p. 123) from Fairbairn's "Catholicism; Roman and Anglican". Having spoken of secularism born of legitimate but disappointed hopes, Fairbairn wrote:-

> "But the people are wrong in making their revolt against religion, rather than against the causes and conditions which have hindered its realization.
> What they need is, not its destruction, but its emancipation; to destroy it were to destroy the only foundation on which a society, which shall be a free and ordered brother-hood, can be built; to emancipate it were to set all its ideal principles free for creative and incorporative action in society and the State.
> An order that is moral must be based on religion and maintained by the principles that create and work through free men".

If Christianity is to be the decisive factor in shaping the future of Africa, there is every hope that we may break the chain of wrong with which she is shackled. If, instead, self-sufficiency is to be enthroned, an age already dark for the Africans will become shrouded in utter darkness, and for us and for them there will be a depreciation of the spiritual values we have repudiated, with resultant decadence of shared culture - for even then will culture be shared.

We can no more create a bi-'racial' division of Christianity than we can create a bi'racial' division of the sunshine, the rain, and the returning seasons, the same being true of "our" civilization as a whole. To attempt to create and perpetuate such divisions is not only to be yoked to futility, but is to pay deep homage

to the heresy of racialism, which has been termed the new barbarism.

It is not possible to lower the value of man without alienating oneself from God. In Murphy's "Basis of Ascendancy" it was said, probably fifty years ago, that:-

> "As men help other men, as race helps race, the slow rise of the weaker touches the level of the stronger with an upward pressure. The weaker group affects the stronger less and less as the dragging pulse of an insensate or declining life, and more and more as the impulsion of a slowly rising and increasingly wholesome influence".

Among the latent possibilities for a new age in Africa are the realization of that truth, the extension of a supra-'racial' Christianity, and the participation of all ethnic groups in the building of a better order, founded upon the best elements of a freely shared culture, and leading through improved relationships to ultimate unity.

Chapter XXIX.

THE CONCLUSION OF THE MATTER.

At the outset it was made clear that although it was beyond the scope of this study to attempt a synthesis, to predict any future pattern that might be produced by the blending of diverse cultural features, or to advance any integrated programme of reform, an endeavour would be made to summarise the main conclusions reached and to show their unity, actual or potential. To this attempt we must accordingly turn.

Because of our tendency in South Africa to emphasise the immediate and parochial past, we had recourse to the great corrective of history, and discovered that studies of Neolithic man revealed marked results of culture-contact of frequent occurrence and far-reaching significance, thousands of years ago. In pre-historic times Europe had no cultural unity, but was the meeting place of many different streams of culture, some of which were transmitted to the West from the ancient East by trade, colonization, and slower diffusion.

The military genius of Rome helped to put an end to the barbaric isolation of Western Europe, the common laws, development of urban life, widespread communications and economic prosperity being additional dynamics of cultural assimilation, similar agencies being largely operative in Africa to-day, where, also, "our" culture obviously derives from many sources. It seemed reasonable to hold, therefore, that since we hold no copyright, this inheritance must be shared with the Africans, in which event our civilization would grow by the accretion of talent, and, synchronously, by the stimulation of European talent.

Conversely, the devastation of Italy under Hannibal, with its rural de-population and the establishment

of an urban pauper proletariat, offered a cogent illustration of socially undesirable trends exemplified in the parallel abuse of servile man-power in South Africa, this by way of contrast being the sinister alternative to the recognition of Africans as co-beneficiaries in a joint estate.

Since it was recognized, however, that the acquisition of new culture is not merely the result of environment or determinism, but that decisive factors are intelligence and will, it was agreed to consider whether "race" attitudes, or the possible limitation of African intelligence, constitute an insuperable obstacle to cultural assimilation or to betterment programmes.

The evidence examined appeared to offer conclusive support to the finding that the term 'race', biologically considered, had little meaning, but one admitted the difficulty of convincing the majority, - where self-interest rules, economic-materialism holds sway, and a fear-complex engenders 'racial' animosities and irrational convictions, - that physically and psycho-physically mankind is a single species. Although in agreement that 'race' and culture are not congruent, it was still necessary to study 'race' attitudes to determine whether they must irrevocably perpetuate serious conflict of the type so frequently described in the Union press.

There was a case for holding that to understand 'race'-persecution one needs to investigate the causes of persecution (or of conflict) rather than 'race, but since this might appear question-begging, we turned to Professor MacCrone's 1947 Hoernle Memorial Lecture on "Group Conflicts and Race Prejudice", early in which he spoke of those who tried to avoid reality by refusing to recognise the revolutionary change that has come over the world, whilst continuing to cherish racial prejudices inherited from a world that has vanished. As an alternative

to the break-

down of our social system, he claimed that it was essential to come to terms with the demands of the real world of to-day, and hence that we must discard or modify those 'race' prejudices which survive as a cultural lag. Such were seen to belong to group phenomena, and were pathological, or a form of group neurosis. It was then suggested that, however rationalized about, if such abnormality became accepted as normality, the conflict evoked by the prejudice would not remain unilateral but would produce violent reactions. Scientific evidence gave no support to the view that 'race' prejudices are hereditarily transmissible, so that a grave responsibility rests upon all, on both sides of the colour-bar, who perpetuate racism through indoctrination by means of our legislative, economic and social systems, or by the written or spoken word.

Although as MacCrone postulated, with a sense of group-belongingness will tend to develop a sense of group-exclusiveness, we contend that the widening of group membership will increase the former and decrease the latter, and since ethnic differences are not decisive, they will have no enduring validity in determining some of the more important groupings. Thus there can be national unity in spite of ethnic differences, the growth of Christianity is appreciably reducing religious differences, and other wider groupings will emerge to produce coherence over a larger field, thus reducing present tensions. Related to this was the challenge to introduce changes in our attitudes and consequential actions in such departments as education, economics, religion, government, social and industrial relations, thus promoting such coherence.

The stratification of our colour-caste system with its legally imposed barriers was examined in relation to MacCrone's diagrams, but for the reasons given it was considered that his proposals reflected 'race'-relationships which were too static, in view of the fact

that culture cannot be 'racially' circumscribed, that it is not a matter of heredity, and that the Africans are not immune from, but are fully exposed to, the powerful impact of our civilization. Hence the removal of the arbitrarily imposed colour-bar seemed inevitable, so that those Non-Europeans who proved their competence to do so might live decently at higher levels, and be respected for it, without being humiliated for their endeavour or achievement.

Granted this, we are convinced that the opportunities for 'racial' co-operation would be multiplied beyond present imagining, and that unity would replace disunity. Inevitably this would involve the convergence of the Africans' culture towards our own.

In an atmosphere poisoned by contempt on the one hand and resentment on the other, 'racial' problems are most insoluble, because most dangerous and explosive. Hence a more wholesome climate of opinion is essential. The battle of concepts is being fiercely contested, and in that battle there is no possibility of compromise, for completely antithetic to racism and economic materialism are Christianity and basic human rights. The challenge is clear and it applies to all ethnic groups and to all political parties.

Reciprocal loyalties between the different 'racial' communities in South Africa are sorely needed, but impossible unless we respect the inviolable dignity of man. This in turn demands the opening of the doors of opportunity, the key to which is to be found in culture generously shared. For the maximum control of our material environment, there must be maximum equality of opportunity, so that, ethical considerations apart, the assimilation of "our" culture by the Non-European is imperative. But we must not overlook human environment when thinking of

natural environment, for as the races become bitterly and deeply divided inter-'racial' amity and confidence are being gravely eroded as well as soil.

Governments, political parties, industrial and commercial concerns, and individual Europeans have much to renounce and not a little to atone for if the Kingdom of Right Relationships is to be established in Africa. Unless they do this, and if instead they attempt to perpetuate domination through power, unlimited by moral restraint or creative imagination, power re-inforced by self-interest and maintained by 'race'-prejudice, they will head for disaster and will find that the prosperity, happiness and well-being they wish to monopolise will elude them.

Dr. Bieusheuvel's scholarly analysis of available data concerning African intelligence, supplemented by the conclusions of other specialists, warranted no assumptions regarding the limited educability of the African, who, throughout the Continent steadily demonstrates his competence fittingly to contribute to the economic, administrative, cultural and spiritual life of his own land, thus empirically strengthening our faith in his development. We hold, therefore, that his latent resources should be brought to maturity by the provision of opportunities for organized and active co-operation, this being largely dependent upon shared culture - culture vitalized by sharing.

Already we share climatic and other environmental factors with the African. If, to an increasing degree, as seems inevitable, we share with him common economic and social conditions through parity of opportunity, pre-determined 'race' relations with privileges determined from birth according to colour would give place to others more liberally conceived, and infinitely more productive. In this connection we saw that social approval is a powerful dynamic and social disapproval a powerful deterrent,

so that he has a claim on our guidance, understanding and encouragement, in this most difficult and critical period.

Any government in power, however reactionary in policy, must be a very active and influential agent in promoting cultural change among peoples of different ethnic stock, languages, customs, tribes, and standards of living, brought under central control. Whatever the colonial Power, this must be true, whether one thinks of the legislature, the administration, the judiciary, the treasury, the police and defence forces, or the activities of the social and other departments; whether one considers the policies promoted and integrated, publicity and welfare work, or even extra-territorial contacts, for all combine in an impact which no tribal culture can withstand. We were mindful, too, of the influence of government as a large-scale employer, of the vast sums of money thereby circulated, of the training given, of the indirect effects upon education, and in general of the many far-reaching changes in the socio-economic system produced. Such results accompany the recruitment of Africans for technical services in their own areas, or on behalf of their own people living in White areas, as well as their recruitment for wider service, so that convergence of cultures is brought about by government in either case.

Consistent with this are the effects of Government policy in admitting Africans to consultative bodies, urban and rural, with the liaison between African and European opinion thus established at different levels. Concurrently, long-range planning, unless it be a unilateral scheme drawn up by the governors for the governed, being a co-operative undertaking, must promote the assimilation of culture. The use of slogans such as "common-welfare",

may for awhile conceal the intention of upholding civilization for the white man by an increased measure of control for the black, but as soon as the plan emerges from the realm of slogans into that of action, precision is demanded, leaving little of cultural segregation.

In an African territory, therefore, whatever the nature of its alien government, it must inevitably promote radical changes in culture, leading to the replacement or modification of the indigenous or lower by the higher. A later chapter examined this hypothesis in relation to the political manifestos of political parties in South Africa.

It is held, moreover, that irresistibly the legal, judicial, and penal systems must accelerate this process, a view for which there is ample evidence in Julius Lewin's recent "Studies in African Native Law", a book which consistently affirms that Native Law, as a system separate from the common law of the land, has no future in South Africa, and that any ideal of 'pure' Native law is illusory.

The Native Affairs Commission of 1903-5 found even then that Native law was not static, since when it has been subject to radical change, and, as Lewin tersely points out, as soon as we enter the court, the influence of the anthropologist is exchanged for that of the lawyer. Already the large majority of cases heard in Native Commissioners' Courts in the Union are conducted by attorneys on both sides, and very rarely does a litigant argue his own case in the Native Appeal Court. The reason is obvious, for the background of Native law to-day is not merely tribal, but also includes our complicated socio-economic system, so that innumerable causes of action arise from transactions and forms of relationships adopted from the Europeans.

An additional influence upon culture change would be the acceptance by the State, as Lewin and others so strongly advise, of the obligation to provide legal aid for the African, aid made available in Johannesburg by a voluntary agency.

We saw that in various African dependencies wide modifications in scope, composition and procedure, now characterise the Native courts, since flexibility has been found essential, traditional law and custom having proved, naturally enough, quite inadequate. In the territories under other Colonial Powers also, European concepts and procedure are increasingly modifying legal observances, for there, as in the Union the altered needs of a changing society must be met.

Disturbing evidence was examined of the fact that by the administration of law, and the authoritarian conception behind it, we are manufacturing criminals at an appalling rate, our witnesses to this including General Smuts, the 1942 Interdepartmental Committee on the Social, Health and Economic Conditions of Urban Natives, and Dr. F.E.T. Krause, former Judge-President of the Free State. It follows relentlessly that law loses all meaning for the ordinary man, and since we are employing a less wholesome force than social conscience we are moving towards social anarchy. That this reprehensible aspect of convergence annually affects hundreds of thousands directly, and considerably more indirectly, in no way invalidates the principle that there can be desirable assimilation of culture, nor the fact that elsewhere it subserves the common good. Were it not so the chaos we have invited would be upon us.

Cognate activities such as prison and reformatory conditions the treatment of delinquents, the attitude of the police towards the non-Europeans, and the work of rehabilitation agencies, bring their multi-form influences,

desirable and undesirable, to bear upon the culture of the African who has thrown in his lot with those who need him so much, but appear to need his aspirations and legitimate demands less. It follows that his mode of life, and his attitude towards law and order is undergoing a penetrating metamorphosis. The challenge which must be faced is therefore to ensure that our legal system operates for the benefit rather than for the distress, confusion and demoralization of his community.

Although in other countries members of different ethnic groups have developed a feeling of oneness through the sharing of traditions, obligations, institutions, culture, (and often, but not necessarily, language), so that national unity arises, and although in South Africa through proximity and the force of circumstances claims to common citizenship are gradually being strengthened, the barrier to avocations/ caused by the policy of white domination/ remains a formidable barrier to citizenship. Hence for the vast majority there is neither training in local nor in national obligations, and in the absence of enlightened participation in common undertakings there can be no mutual sense of belongingness. Unless we abdicate from our responsibilities, disregard the African's claim to qualify for citizenship, and endeavour by legislative and other force to keep him in servitude, we must allow him to share more fully in our ideals, achievements and institutions.

Before considering party programmes in the Union, with their inevitable contribution towards cultural assimilation, we examined some of the roots from which policies have grown. Thus we recalled that Machiavelli enshrined expediency in the place of morality, exempting the State from moral obligations in consequence; that Hegel carried further the idealization of the State, regarding it as a self-contained authority whose might

was right, and that according to fascism power is the true end of endeavour, glorification should be given to those who labour to this end, and they, it is, who should mould the rest as raw material, - a passive majority intended to maintain the status quo. We saw that a wide gulf separated the fascist and the Christian scale of values, and that the former openly perpetuated the master-slave relationship. It is of significance in connection with these political philosophies, that in certain African territories, and notably in South Africa, we have the growing absolutism of the State over the individual, over communities, and particularly over the non-European; the conception that the Africans are raw material to be manipulated by those in power; the denial to them of equality before the law; the reluctance to concede them any opportunities which might endanger the status quo, and the indoctrination of the rising European generation with these values in the name of the pre-destined supremacy of the white 'race'.

We saw, too, how the abuses of capitalism and of political power, offer ideal conditions for the nurturing of communism with its doctrine of domination by the proletariat, which in virtue of numbers would be largely African.

Among the forces competing for total control, the most important are capitalism, racialism, communism, and white labour. Of these the first two are the most ruthless; the last assists the second by retaining the colour-bar in industry; the third is assured of progress by the attitude of the other three, and all four of necessity disrupt African culture and hasten the deterioration of 'race'-relations.

Relevant too is the emergence of African nationalism throughout the Continent, involving of necessity modifications of indigenous culture and its convergence towards our own, either with our goodwill

and co-operation or in spite of it. To guide resulting representations along constitutional lines seems sane enough, whilst to attempt to deny such 'racial' consciousness the right of expression were to intensify it.

Representative statements from the current manifestos of the different political parties were examined, not from any partisanship motive, but to ascertain whether, and in what respects, there would be convergence of African culture towards our own, no matter which party was in power. In view of the large amount of ground traversed, it may suffice to say in this review, that the conclusion is indisputable that no matter which party assumed the reins of office, although their route and rate of progress might differ from those of other parties, they too would guide the African along the road leading to European culture. The Representation of Natives Act, 1936, admittedly designed to give legal effect to representation for the Africans which should be "quite apart and distinct from the ordinary franchise rights", led to the growth of solidarity in African public opinion, until recently regarded as non-existent in view of ethnic differences and tribal parochialism. In particular, the Natives Representative Council helped to ensure that politically, as well as in other ways, the culture of the African should converge towards that of the legislators who were disenfranchising him with the right hand, whilst giving him a different franchise with the left.

The Council may be consultative only but if the letter of the law is observed, geographically the scope for consultation is co-extensive with the Union, financially with the whole range of government expenditure on Native services, and legally and administratively with

the all proposed legislation and policy relating to the indigenous population. This is devoid of meaning unless it implies the assimilation of "our" culture on a very wide front.

Apart from these constitutional implications, the measure has proved the political competence of certain councillors to be granted the franchise, for they have shown marked ability "to speak for their people in the language of democracy". Moreover the political consciousness of the people represented has been quickened and their attitudes defined. Thus under an Act passed by a Nationalist Government, and subsequently supported by other parties, tribal autocracy has to some extent been replaced, and by a number of Africans, through education and cultural assimilation, a more influential place has been taken in the life of the community.

In both Houses, too, the constructive work of the Europeans elected under the Act to represent the Natives, has had the greatest importance, not the least effective result being the informing of African as well as of European opinion.

We noted also, in connection with the recent impasse and 'permanent' recess of the Council, that even when government promulgates a measure designed to keep the 'races' apart, and then administers it in a way calculated to take the edge of its more liberal provisions, it cannot avoid establishing actions and reactions which may retard rather than promote goodwill, but which inevitably induce cultural convergence. Thus the policy adumbrated by General Hertzog, and endorsed by both Houses in 1936, has ensured that carefully selected African leaders should receive intensive training in political philosophy, in sociology and in parliamentary technique. However much a liberal section of European and of African opinion

may regret, or even strongly disapprove the boycott movement inaugurated by the councillors, through the experience they have forged and the knowledge they have gained it may well be that their growth towards maturity will, in due course, be found to have contributed to the next chapter of liberation, for the divergence of views has not prevented the convergence of culture.

Similarly fruitful has been the evolution of the General Council system in the Transkei, where, under a liberal administration, there has long been sympathetic contact between the two 'races', the growth of freedom of expression regarding African aspirations, and of critical judgment concerning current party politics, as also the training of the councillors in constitutional procedure. That this should have effectively assisted the assimilation of Western culture by the tribes of these Territories is not open to question, a process extended beyond their borders in the later, and consequential, establishment of the Native Representative Council. In the later perspective of history it may well be held that the General Council's chief contribution to 'race'-relations and constitutional development, was the preparation of the African for fuller participation in the wider political system.

We regarded as significant concurrent developments in other African territories, noting, however, that by many Europeans this was ignored, the emphasis being placed upon their need to promote unity among themselves in order to counteract world opinion regarding their attitude to the non-European. On the other hand, beyond the borders of the Union, all British dependencies participate in large regional groupings, not to promote the solidarity of the Europeans in order to withstand the menace of sharing 'their' culture with the Africans, but to consider matters of common interest and to co-ordinate related policy. In consequence this inter-territorial agency ensures the expansion of social

services, the improvement in the African's standard of living, and the convergence of culture considered desirable. Recent constitutional developments in British and French Africa clearly reveal that they too depend for their effectiveness upon the assimilation by the African of the culture of the ruling 'race'.

To take but a single example from the Gold Coast - we discovered that above the personal signature of His Majesty it has been categorically laid down that no legislation involving 'racial' discrimination may be promulgated without royal assent. Moreover there is an authoritative mandate that the most dynamic of all agents of cultural change, namely Christianity and education, should not be merely tolerated or unobtrusively assisted, but should be promoted by the Governor to the utmost of his power.

Africans have been admitted moreover to the legislatures of several territories, and since the frontiers of many British dependencies march with those of French West and French Equatorial Africa, as well as with those of Belgian and Portuguese colonies, there must be a constant inter-change of experience regarding the interpretation of trusteeship, and these and similar influences must make a deep impression upon the emergent Africans of the Union and of Southern Rhodesia which it were folly to ignore. Clearly we are unable to compel other territories to alter their policy to conform to ours, and in the meantime the cultures converge, and, for good or ill, the process cannot be reversed.

That the judgments and commentary of others will increasingly affect inter-cultural relations, may be seen from the repercussions which have already taken place in consequence of the publicity given to debates at UNO on racism in South Africa and elsewhere. Dr. Malan is not far from the truth when he attributes to many non-

Europeans the following interpretation of the message which, they consider, expresses the majority-attitude at Lake Success:-

> "To you an injustice is being done. You must make demands to remove these injustices. Behind you stands the United Nations Organization - the majority of the nations of the world".

Articles from African journalists have been incisive enough and leave us in no doubt concerning the dynamic influence which world opinion to-day is pouring into receptive minds. For a considerable time Africans have been conscious that the foundations of national policy on inter-'racial' matters are deteriorating through the attacks of those who share the herrenvolk mentality. To this they have long ascribed their disabilities and suffering and now discover that world opinion confirms their verdict in the parliament of nations, where common humanity is incomparably more important than colour, common justice has universal validity, and common culture is promoted through the outlawing of political, economic and social segregation.

To revert to the African journalists in this connection, they illustrate the fact that if the non-European has, as yet, no voice in government, he is using his voice with fluency and power outside government, and by employing his English, his journalism and his freedom of speech in this democratic way, he supplies further evidence of cultural assimilation.

Evidence of a different type was associated with the Royal Visit when, in spite of the occasion, the African dancers were unable to revive, even for the King himself, a culture that our impact has destroyed, and when one reporter accordingly said that Hollywood would have done it better, when another wrote that what should have been a stirring spectacle turned out to be a deplorable debacle, and when a third described it as a pitiful parody - the references being to the royal dance

at Eshowe. Nevertheless to the Africans there were many compensations, and certain visible effects remain to influence 'race' attitudes. There was nothing incongruous in mass expressions of loyalty on the part of thousands of African pupils who are marching towards a common culture through schools we have provided for the purpose, nor was it unfitting that Their Majesties should wish to meet Africans who had been disabled, prisoners of war, or mentioned in despatches in our common cause. It was natural too that at Pietersburg, in a polyglot community, English should be the medium of the loyal address; that it should have been delivered by an African professional man who had graduated in Edinburgh, and that there and elsewhere the sentiment of common nationhood was evoked by the presence of "The Great Chief of all Chiefs", a sentiment strengthened by the King's reply. Many hundreds of thousands of Africans, representing different languages and tribes and all cultural levels throughout a sub-continent, saw the King and heard him speak; some spoke to him and some were decorated by him; they stood with him as they sang the National Anthem, and he stood with them as they sang their own.

In general the Africans were given cause to hope that the feeling of goodwill and of high and common purpose which marked the Royal Visit, would be productive of lasting good for their people everywhere. They felt that change was in the air, and that change for them also would be regarded as natural and right.

It was appropriate that we should then consider education as an integrating agency in a changing society, for even in the most rudimentary bush or kraal school there is the meeting of cultures with resultant modifications of the indigenous.

To compensate for the waning power of the chiefs, we agreed that leaders should be equipped through education to promote integration, in which connection it seemed clear that had it not been for the products of the schools very few of the consultative bodies recently established could have been formed. In addition, it was obvious that schools help to form public opinion in such matters as the checking of erosion, the centralising of arable lands, pre and post-natal care, personal and community hygiene, co-operative buying and selling and countless other issues which help the rural African to build a better world out of the fragments of the old. In urban areas, too, the same principle holds good.

Granted this, apart from such questions as basic human rights and the importance of literacy, it was encouraging to think of the millions enrolled in African schools, of still larger numbers affected by them, and of the inference that before long the whole African population will come within their orbit.

That Government expenditure on African education in the Union is estimated to reach £4,500,000 in the financial year 1947-48, an increase of 900% since 1925, is rich in significance concerning the convergence of African culture towards our own thereby promoted. It would seem clear that by voting this money the government of the day, with the assistance of members of other parties, has, in effect, declared its 'racial' policy outmoded, for as Hailey has tersely pointed out, "In Africa, Education is, and is intended to be, an instrument of change". Moreover as emphasized by Senator Brookes it has come to be regarded as the duty of the community as a whole, for the benefit of the whole.

We therefore claimed that the way to citizenship through education must inevitably be maintained by the State;

that whatever the difficulties ahead, it must enable some to travel from the village school to the House of Assembly, and all to journey to the fuller dignity of common culture.

It is little realised that since Fort Hare was established over 300 Africans have graduated there, apart from those who have taken diploma courses; that 72 African students were enrolled in 1947 in degree courses at the University of the Witwatersrand and 61 in degree courses in Natal; that others were enrolled at Roma in Basutoland or were being prepared as external students through correspondence courses, and that in 1946 there were 200 African scholarship holders at British universities, in addition to between 300 and 400 private students. Western culture has been assimilated also by Africans at the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, London, Glasgow and Edinburgh, Columbia, Yale and Tuskegee, Minnesota, Budapest and at many others.

If, synchronously with the development of juvenile education, the needs of adult education as defined in the South African Commission's Report or in the Colonial Office White Paper were met, all communities would benefit to an unpredictable extent, and cultural assimilation at all educable age levels would be accelerated, for the progress made by adults would react favourably upon the educational welfare of their children. As it is, existing agencies are already providing increasing numbers of Africans with the means to interpret the new culture which would otherwise overwhelm them particularly in urban centres.

Attention has frequently been drawn to that unholy trinity - poverty, disease and illiteracy, against which Professor Hancock said that governments should be aflame with a passion to wage total and unremitting war. The 1947 Conference on Adult Education for Non-Europeans, under the aegis of the South African Institute of Race

Relations, considered an attack on illiteracy a matter of national urgency, and urged that it should be faced in that spirit both in regard to action and to financial provision.

Comprehensive proposals have been made in South Africa and elsewhere to ensure that within a reasonable time universal literacy among all communities may be attained. It is not open to doubt that this would prove an influence of incalculable force and range, not only in connection with post-war development programmes, but in connection with the ascendancy of Western culture also. It would certainly foster a desire for higher standards of living, increase the demand for commodities, add to the African's economic value to the community, ensure success in the battle against disease, and through more informed co-operation assist social advances all along the line. In the meantime, in their own interests, countless employers require literacy, and there is a growing demand for it on the part of government. It was richly significant, also, that at a time of national emergency the greatest importance was attached by General Officers Commanding and by others to the work of the Army Education Corps, and to its dramatic success in promoting literacy among the African troops.

In Southern Africa we saw that papers written for Africans have a combined circulation of nearly 108,000, which may well mean that a million are directly affected, and a much greater constituency indirectly. The Bantu Press alone must have invested hundreds of thousands of pounds in an enterprise which depends entirely for its success upon the continuing increase of the literacy rate. Concurrently it encourages better 'race'-relations, disseminates local and world news, helps to raise the standard of living, counteracts subversive propaganda, offers a medium for the free expression of African opinion,

and in general assists enlightenment. Associated agencies of influence in acculturation are the libraries and, of course, the publishing firms.

Although problems arising from land alienation and control vary from territory to territory, it is true in general that government land policy has brought about radical changes, in African culture, some devastating, changes which range from the modification of agricultural techniques to the reduction in the authority of chiefs, and to the creation of a landless proletariat. It seems irrebuttable that, as claimed by Mrs. Ballinger, "the failure to adapt the concepts governing Native policy, particularly regarding land tenure, to changing conditions" has resulted in "congestion of human and stock population, increasing absenteeism due to increasing poverty, and rising discontent and suspicion of the White man's good faith". That by 1939, 70,000 titles had been registered in the Chief Magistrate's office, Umtata, supplies further concrete evidence regarding cultural convergence in what has previously been regarded as an inviolable tribal issue. In Buganda there are 50,000 registered land-owners, but it is estimated that they number but one in five of the total number of owners, - in a country where 50 years ago no land was privately owned. It is of interest that in this land astride the equator 100 African surveyors are to be trained to cope with the problem.

From land-tenure one turns to the use of land, in which connection there is significance in the fact that in the last available Report of the Native Affairs Department of South Africa, (U.G. 44 of 1946), 100 pages out of 124 are devoted to agriculture which is clearly regarded as the major social responsibility of the Department. In the face of contrary evidence, the viewpoint, once so familiar, has receded, namely that which held that out of his hard-won battle with a hostile environment the African had developed

sound techniques, because of which we could teach him little or nothing. Sir Philip Mitchell disposed of this for us when in his despatch No. 44 of 1946 (curiously bearing the same number as that of the document just referred to), he said that

> "An ignorant man and his wife with a hoe are a totally inadequate foundation for an enlightened state of society, a high standard of living and elaborate social services".....

The Governor of Kenya added trenchantly:-

> "So far from this state of agricultural slum existence being due to white settlement, at the present day the only known palliative is white settlement, industry or mining - that is to say immigrant enterprise of one kind or another".

In other words, according to this view, a radical change in the basic Native economy is urgently needed if disaster is to be avoided and such a change must derive from European influence.

It would be redundant to gather together examples of the need to mitigate these evils, or to plead further the desirability of the assimilation by African rural communities of our agricultural knowledge and skills, and, concurrently, the assimilation by the rapidly growing urban communities of sufficient of 'our' culture to lead to the amelioration of conditions which all recognise as of desperate urgency.

So far as the position in the Ciskei is concerned, we have seen that everyone of the suggestions for reform made by the Assistant Director of Native Agriculture for the Union, depends for fulfilment upon revolutionary changes in, or departure from, tribal culture. In Southern Rhodesia, the dramatically successful work of the Director of Native Agriculture and his staff during the last 20 years, in many admirable and varied projects gradually becoming co-extensive with the territory, has similarly depended upon the assimilation of Western culture for its achievement. Of this, but one illustration

must suffice - just that, with the aid of a few theodolites and the ready co-operation which attends successful demonstration nine and a half million acres of African land have been centralised, grazing and arable lands having been demarcated, villages marked out, and much consequential development vigorously stimulated.

In agriculture, as in so many other basic activities, we decided that the best service one can render to the African in this rapidly changing scene is to help him to change his culture to conform to it. Essential too are a clear vision of objectives, unswerving government support regarding them, inter-departmental and other co-operation in pursuing them, African partnership in the enterprise, competence in co-ordination, and - reasonable speed.

To complete our study of betterment techniques, which we decided cannot derive from tribal folkways, we examined too, some of the implications of the enormous East African Groundnuts Scheme, with its incalculable significance for the indigenous population, for the revolution which it will effect will by no means be limited to agriculture.

No-one would seriously advocate that in medicine the African should "develop along his own lines", nor that encouragement should much longer be given to illiterate and entirely unaccredited izinyanga or medicine-men in preference to the establishment of a comprehensive national health service for all 'racial' groups, nor that within the Native wards of our hospitals crudely performed tribal surgery should be introduced as more suited to the African. Instead, all would agree that to ensure the health reforms so alarmingly needed, it is imperative that whether we think of the growing scourge of tuberculosis, of infant mortality, of venereal disease, of trachoma, or of any other menace to the health of all communities,

the African very definitely must develop along 'our' lines - a principle fully recognised by governments, employers of labour, and social agencies such as the National War Memorial Health Foundation, as well as in the training of African doctors and nurses. Moreover the health of the African offers a sound investment for the European, who, in consequence, is not noticeably attracted by an alternative investment in a larger establishment of licensed witch-doctors.

In certain areas in Africa according to the anthropologists, African art techniques were very rudimentary, the craft work had a restricted circulation, hardly any survived from an earlier day, and there as elsewhere the invasion of European culture is now well established. In other areas there was a much richer tradition and a more advanced technique, but there too one sees the inevitability of change and the corresponding urgency of the need to collect, classify and preserve, before it is too late, for in general it seems clear futility to attempt to keep African art uncontaminated by European tradition and conventions.

In French territories, as in others, the indigenous is being affected by alien culture, but the influence operates not infrequently in the interests of the African. In all, there is a blending of the old and the new, of African and European culture, and of the changing utilitarian aspects with the artistic. We saw how The West African Institute of Industries, Arts and Social Sciences, was founded "to investigate and develop local crafts and industries, and examine sociological and economic problems arising out of contact with Western civilization". These terms of reference are most significant of the inevitable manner in which the meeting of cultures creates problems which look to the higher culture for their solution.

Examples were considered of the way in which the pendulum had swung from indigenous craft to conventionalized Christian art of centuries-old European tradition. Although deplored by the purist, they depicted not only the transfer of culture, but the fact that the African's artistic genius may be inspired by new religious beliefs which have animated art in country after country throughout the centuries.

Reference was made also to African artists like Gerard Sekoto who is widely recognised as a South African painter of talent, and who has just gone to Paris to pursue his studies, to the Native artists and sculptors at Leopoldville, and to the emergence of African film actors, so that we are strengthened in our belief that in these activities also cultural affinity has been demonstrated. between one human group and another. Because of it we must resist segregation in art and allow the African to share more freely in our cultural heritage, and this, of course, must apply to music also, as Professor Kirby so convincingly claimed in his article on "The Effect of Western Civilization on Bantu Music".

To recapitulate the many illustrations of the modifying influences brought to bear upon African music would seem unnecessary, for they range from contact with the earliest colonists to the recent programmes of classical music specially arranged for Natives by the Johannesburg City Orchestra. It seems clear that in his desire to assimilate Western music, the African's burning enthusiasm will be decisive, and that we shall be unsuccessful in any attempts to damp it down.

Similarly in connection with recreation one must concede that the need would not be adequately met by fostering tribal pastimes within confined urban areas, but that under European guidance Africans will undoubtedly continue to be trained in outdoor and indoor recreation

along lines which have proved successful in five continents, one of which is Africa. Hence a great disservice would be done to the urban Native population if we were to ignore this universal experience, to disregard the insistent demands of the Africans, and to discourage the voluntary agencies and the liberally disposed Europeans who are willing to secure land for recreation and to subsidize services, pending the results of research into indigenous and presumably static culture. Relevant to this point of view is the notable skill achieved in one territory after another in football and athletics, cycling and tennis, boxing and hockey, netball and golf. To hold that this is basically wrong, together with scouting and guiding, since indigenous recreation should be retained unchanged, is on a par with saying that at Stellenbosch no more rugby should be played, for by a cultural oversight this famous game did not make its first appearance in the Western Province.

We agreed, therefore, that to protest against the perversion of pure African culture in recreation and welfare, is to suffer from astigmatism every whit as acute as any possessed by the repressionists.

African soldiers have taken a distinguished part in many campaigns, in witness of which their Colours bear many battle honours, and decorations have been earned for conspicuous gallantry and outstanding leadership. To record fittingly the experiences and achievements of the Askari in the Second World War, Africans from Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Nyasaland and the Rhodesias would require volumes. In the first monsoon operation ever attempted, they opened the way to final victory in Burma, and in many theatres of war, from Ethiopia to Tobruk and to the Chindwin, they showed enterprise, determination and endurance, qualities displayed by their non-combatant units also. The latter earned high praise for their work on guard duties, stretcher

bearing, unloading stores for the Eighth Army, making and mending air fields and roads, laying railways and water pipes, building bridges, despatch riding, and clearing mine-fields.

Other examples of dynamic culture contact included the highly efficient work of the Directorates of Education and Welfare, the wholesome 'race'-relations which permeated the training, the establishment of African clubs in the Middle East, the conducted tours arranged to the Holy Land, the Nile Barrage and other places of interest, the periodical visits paid by chiefs to the Units in the field, and the inauguration of a family affairs bureau to keep men in touch with their villages.

Then came the rehabilitation and reabserption services, after preliminary work by means of pamphlets, broadcasts and personal talks, and the inauguration of a wide range of vocational training courses to equip men for professional, technical, social and administrative fields. It was thus hoped that many African ex-soldiers who had experienced the violent impact of other cultures during the war, by assimilating some of the gentler elements of 'European' culture, would pass on its benefits to the communities concerned.

The proposed development of a new defence base in Kenya will, it is stated, require initially at least 20,000 African labourers, and must obviously lead to many and incalculable changes, direct and indirect, in the lives of many more, for there will be the migration of Africans to and from the base-area, the training and employment of others in military and civil duties, the development of communications and trade, as well as of educational, religious, and welfare work, the increase of revenue with enhanced government services in consequence and, because of the successful record of African troops in two World Wars, the recruitment of large numbers in peace or war.

Although it may be a cardinal principle in South Africa not to arm the Native, the rest of the Continent does not subscribe to it, and the indications are that if the unfortunate necessity should again arise, the process will be repeated and the culture of still greater numbers will be affected by military training and service. Because of this we are driven to the conclusion that tribal culture had little hope of developing on its own lines when introduced to high explosives, and that no amount of money voted by military and civil authorities for rehabilitation can subsequently restore it.

From the earliest days, the opening up of communications in Africa led to its material development and ensured far-reaching changes in the socio-economic system of its peoples, changes which mostly derived from the impact of culture upon culture. Examples of this range from the use of head-porterage and the bicycle, to the employment of Catalina flying boats and motor transport, and the development of roads, railways and harbours, - each resulting in modifications of indigenous culture, many of which have been revolutionary.

By force majeure, to take one example, the South African Railway Administration has extended and improved its passenger accommodation for Africans so that in respect of their third class conveyance alone the annual revenue earned is now five and a half million pounds, a figure eloquent of acculturation.

This process is similarly assisted by war-time conveys, improved services on the water-ways of Africa, the opening up of arterial highways to foster tourist traffic, and the training and employment of Africans in connection with transport services which their unskilled labour helped to build and which their participation in industry helps to maintain. Accordingly the day has gone for all time in which African villages were isolated from

the outside world, for the development of communications has brought about a mobility of population hardly dreamt of a generation ago. It follows relentlessly that cultural assimilation has proceeded apace. As a further potential agency of cultural change of great importance we were convinced that broadcasting must win increasing recognition, for contributing to its development - and great strides have been made in the last decade - are government, commercial and welfare agencies, and, last but not least, is the growing demand of the people concerned.

Before turning to the economic aspect of our study, we noted a close correlation between philanthropy and culture contact, since benefactions are intended to effect reform rather than to maintain the status quo, to ensure the betterment rather than the perpetuation of undesirable conditions. In no case are the beneficiaries expected to retrace their steps towards indigenous origins, but rather to follow converging paths towards more abundant life, through the sharing of our values, knowledge and skills.

Although it has not yet been accorded nation-wide acceptance in terms of policy, the conviction steadily grows that our large African population must be converted from potential to actual consumers, that they must be trained in industrial skills, their earning capacity increased and their standard of living raised. Consistent with this is the recently expressed opinion of the British Minister of Economic Affairs that it is essential to speed up the tempo of African economic development out of all recognition at this hour of national crisis, so that the wish to preserve the indigenous has given place to the need to preserve Western civilization through the radical transformation of the African economy. But this matter of such great urgency will remain but another blue-print unless and until the European and African economies become one.

As we have seen, moreover, it is fallacious to think of the economic self-sufficiency of the Native reserves, and it would be equally fallacious to believe in the self-sufficiency of the European in industry in Africa, but no effective nor just synthesis can be achieved by transferring the spectre of want from the sub-economic small-holding in the Ciskei or elsewhere, to sub-economic wage-earning from a hessian shelter in shanty-town.

One illustration of the fact that the African has left the cowry standard is that to-day his deposits in the Union Savings Bank exceed seven million pounds, apart from £365,000 invested in Union Loan Certificates. This has little affinity with a subsistence economy.

More and more will it be realised that 'racial' discrimination in economic matters reacts adversely upon those who erect the barriers as well as upon those whose advance they are intended to impede. Already there are many African cultivators who produce export crops and so depend upon the world markets, and the wage-earners include in addition to migrant labour for the mines, the farms, and the towns a growing number of clerks, nurses, traders, craftsmen, artisans, government servants, teachers and other professional men, and, as we have already seen, government is now taking a far more active part in economic development with results of no little magnitude for the indigenous peoples.

One thinks, too, of the development of Native markets, of the emergence of their co-operatives, of their larger trading concerns, of their commercial transport, of their mass admission into the ranks of modern industry, and, in general, of the high powered economic drive represented by large scale free-enterprise, directed with such ingenuity and skill against any population group likely to respond in terms of dividends.

It is clear that tribal institutions cannot meet

the demands created by such impacts, and equally clear that a single economic structure must evolve.

The machine is here to stay, but the machine must be subordinated to man, even though he be an African. Only is his manhood be respected, therefore, can there be a positive conquest of our industrial milieu. Obviously we need to learn social techniques as well as economic and industrial techniques. Economic wealth should be the means to attain human well-being and not to diminish it. Economic facts re-inforce Christian doctrine, leading us to the discovery that we are partners in a common endeavour, rather than potential enemies in relentless competition.

It has been stated that the Union's dependence on the mines should be in the fore-front of every discussion, but we hold that with equal relevance it could be claimed that the Union's dependence upon Native labour should be in the fore-front of every discussion, particularly in connection with this, its major industry. None could dispute that in South Africa gold-mining is a cultural high explosive whose force is intensified by its associated migrant labour system. The familiar evidence for this need not be reviewed, for it has been amply drawn upon to illustrate that deep-level mining has been accompanied by deep-level undermining, and that, accordingly, one cannot accept the specious contention of the Chamber of Mines that this industry safeguards tribalism, since it so blatantly does exactly the reverse, sometimes with dire consequences, but always with the effect of promoting the assimilation of Western culture. That a liberal welfare policy on the mines is in the interests of the European shareholders is but an illustration of the universal principle that in a multi-'racial' society the well-being of one ethnic group contributes to that of another. To struggle against the acceptance of this principle is to fight against the inevitable. In this connection it is encouraging to think that there are liberally

minded European labour leaders, even though a small minority, who think of industry as a co-operative enterprise for the common good of employers and employees, and of white and black, rather than as an inevitable contest for restricted material gains. Such leaders assist progress towards the recognition that the organization of African labour is not, per se, undesirable, but is a step to be welcomed on the way to more responsibility and higher standards. Of interest therefore is the enrolment in 148 South African trade unions of approximately 170,000 African members, who constitute the advance guard of hundreds of thousands of others who will demand freedom of association at a later date, one of the rights of citizens in a democratic state.

We have seen that the 1947 South African Trades and Labour Congress divided into two camps, - those who wanted racial separation in industry as in other departments of life, and those who wanted to organize workers irrespective of colour or 'race'. Their debate, the action which resulted from it, and the press publicity which followed, undoubtedly contributed to the further education of African labour in trade unionism as well as in 'racial'-attitudes, as would also the Draft Bill published in May 1947, which made provision for the registration and control of Native trade unions. The Bill revealed the advance made and the limitations imposed, and the responsible Press advocated immediate legislative action, thus giving emphasis to acculturation considered desirable and long overdue in this important field.

It has been said that the economic transition now taking place in Africa is comparable with the Industrial Revolution of Europe in its scale and violence. Professor Guido Gonella has pointed out that:-

> "One of the worst threats to the peace of the world comes from the assumption that economic supremacy is synonymous with political supremacy. This assumption derives historically from....materialism, that economic factors account for all the values of civilized life, spiritual values included".

If the spectre were laid which is caused by the use of political and economic force to compel men to work for a sub-economic wage and to live with their families under perpetual peonage, the promotion of higher standards for the non-Europeans through cultural assimilation would be regarded as a natural process and would be welcomed accordingly.

In studying the unlovely and intolerable features of urban slum conditions in Johannesburg shanty-towns, and the grave problems of health and morals and degradation with which we are now confronted, we noted that all the proposals made for the amelioration of conditions, - mostly moderate and sane proposals which would yield immediate dividends in terms of shared citizenship - depend naturally enough upon shared culture. They included provision for housing, recreation and education, as inalienable rights, together with the granting to the African residents of some voice in central and local government, the abolition of humiliating pass laws, and the establishment of rights to property ownership in Native towns and villages.

We agreed also that there is close correlation between State action and Local Authority co-operation in promoting the convergence of culture, on the one hand, and the reduction of crime and disease on the other. Urban plague spots can be converted into urban betterment areas only by assisting Africans to develop "on European lines", illustrative of which is the fact that no civic or important industrial authority has yet attempted to meet the acute housing need of the masses of urban Africans by establishing kraals of indigeneus pattern alongside mine dumps or blast furnaces. On the contrary we noted with appreciation the planned cultural development projected for the Zwelitsha township near Kingwilliamstown, and the many wholesome welfare activities of the Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg Municipality, which, in spite of the criticisms levelled against it for the Moroka slum

conditions, is proving a most dynamic agency in the fight against urban evils by promoting "European" culture among Africans.

Sociologically the compound system and the shanty-town slum both stand condemned, together with the standards they reflect and the manifold social ills which result. Since it is admittedly impossible to seek indigenous remedies, the solution must be sought in the realm of Western culture, of which these manifestations are such undesirable by-products.

The same principles apply to rural areas where the choice lies between destruction and re-construction, that is between desolation, erosion and depressed standards of living on the one hand, and on the other soil and water conservation, veld reclamation, rotational grazing, the centralizing of arable and grazing lands, the planning of model villages and the concurrent development of social services. The goal of policy, in addition to the reform of land use, must therefore include the stabilizing of rural as well as of urban population, the development of rural industries, and the promotion of the standard of living, all dependent upon the speedy assimilation by the African of European knowledge, attitudes and techniques.

Certain it is that irrigation and other reclamation schemes inaugurated by European specialists are materially helping a number of African cultivators who, a few years ago, were subsistence peasants vainly trying to eke out a bare living from their sub-economic holdings.

It is not open to question that rural change will not be confined to the agrarian system but will penetrate the whole mode of life of the African people, whose outmoded traditions must give way to revolutionary readjustments, as in the case of European 'Native' policy, on a territory-wide scale. Briefly this means the convergence of culture in the national interest, the speeding up of the process, and, as always, another moral challenge.

The clash of purposes which has created a deep insecurity for the African is not confined to the Union, but causes grave confusion wherever a dominant 'race' imposes a way of life upon another. On the contrary, if we believe in the moral unity of the human 'race', and, in consequence, in the larger destiny in which the African is called to participate, we shall disregard his supposed limitations, cease to honour expediency as a really important consideration, or our own material profit as the decisive consideration and abandon any assumption that basic human rights are conferred by the State through the political party in power. Instead we shall act upon the conviction that as enlargement of rights for the Non-European is conceded, his duties will increase to his own benefit and to that of society; that as he contributes more to the progress of the common good he should correspondingly share in its benefits, and that among these would naturally be access to full educational opportunity. By implication, wherever faith in moral obligation gains ascendancy, and, wherever, in consequence, human rights for all communities are respected, there will undoubtedly be the sharing of a common culture, the culture of the more advanced.

Because of its nature, indigenous religion has no survival value and calls for replacement unless disaster is to overtake the African community. Christianity is without doubt the most dynamic of all forces, disintegrating and re-integrating, which operate upon tribal culture on the one hand and upon the new social groupings on the other. Neither 'race' can afford to ignore these resources of spiritual and social vitality, for, of all, they are most decisive and have universal relevance.

The Christian faith is supra-'racial' and admits of no differentiation according to the ethnic group to which the faithful belong. Attempts to incorporate from African rites and ceremonies 'items of sublimated animism' are deemed

to fail, for that which is antithetic is not corporable. According to the teaching of the Church, however, there is a progressive incorporation of individuals of all 'races' into a supernatural society, which must lay upon us a solicitude, a sense of responsibility and a degree of charity towards the African Christian, unlimited by colour. Directly attributable to Christianity must be the immeasurable influence of the Church for social amelioration, and the forward march of millions over "our" cultural frontiers. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that through Christianity the ideal is unswervingly upheld of an ultimate unity and an ultimate freedom, however formidable may appear the barriers of to-day. To those of both 'races' who believe this, radical cultural change will appear inevitable and eminently desirable, for the essential unity beneath the diversity of live will promote changes demanded by basic human rights, thus removing hindrances to the African's fulfilment of his common sonship, and, consequentially to his larger spiritual as well as to his fuller material destiny.

In this dominating issue, therefore, there can be no cultural segregation. It is our conviction that the urgent needs of South Africa's multi-'racial' society and the provision of generous opportunities for the sharing of a common culture would fit each other as do lock and key. It is our further conviction that if Christianity be accepted as the unifying centre of that culture, and the solvent of all 'race'-conflict, the Union would achieve its own larger destiny in consonance with eternal planning rather than with planning based upon the self-interest of the dominant 'race'.

The spirit of conquering faith and unconquerable hope is essential. This can quietly permeate our corporate life through the individuals composing it, African as well as European. Naturally this would not exclude, but would

rather assist the adoption of social methods, political agencies, national and civic legislation and carefully considered organization, to ensure just laws and the furtherance of what must be a social revolution. To achieve this there must be fidelity to hard won and slowly achieved moral values. Only then will the Africans win citizen rights in their own country and generation.

Either we are the lamp bearers of culture or the guards of a cultural concentration camp, and one could wish that this were realised more clearly by the young Afrikaners who have just left Pretoria University to carry the lighted torch to Blood River. In their young manhood they are rightly proud of the contribution made by their Voortrekker forbears to the establishment of civilization in this Continent, and are rightly determined that the flame of culture should not be quenched. Some of them may not appreciate that the flame would burn even more brightly if the Africans were allowed to share in tending it.

In this study the evidence has accumulated from many sources and in connection with many departments of life, that so far as our thesis is concerned there is coherence over a very wide field, which one would expect since truth is indivisible.

What is lacking is not knowledge but the will to achieve agreement based upon the knowledge we possess. The code of cultural assimilation has not yet been adopted, one possible reason being that it is conformable to the Christian ethic. In the meantime the torrent sweeps on.

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