

**METRO** PHONES: 20577-8.  
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**The Natal Mercury**

MONDAY, AUGUST 30, 1948.

**Give Them Hope**

There is no easier way than frustration to make an individual, whether his skin be Black or White, a thoroughly disgruntled member of a community. This is a lesson that South Africans should have long since learned. Yet the fact remains that it is a truism of which they appear to be sublimely ignorant. Because of the nation's reactionary policy of suppression and subjection towards the non-European we are today living on the brink of a volcano. Those few who have seen the peril are openly scoffed at. Their warnings for years past have fallen on the stony ground of prejudice. Meanwhile the army of non-European malcontents grows in numbers and in strength of purpose. It is time that ordinary men and women awakened to their peril. It would be a good thing if they endeavoured, if only for a few minutes each day, to look at the country they love through the eyes of the Black man. If they did so the scales of prejudice would quickly fall from their eyes. They would be rudely jolted out of their present dangerous complacency. And, most important if they were honest with themselves, they would be compelled to admit the imperative need to scrap the traditional White South African attitude of "let things develop" and to begin immediately a policy of practical planning for the future.

**The Fear Complex**

The gravity and urgency of the non-European problem in a land where the Native is arbitrarily denied all means of advancement were briefly touched upon in two important utterances in Durban recently. The one speaker was a Native educationist, Mr. D. G. S. M'Timkulu, the principal of the Ohlange Institute, who in a restrained and dignified talk to Durban Rotarians urged the need for the creation of more avenues of employment for the educated African. The other speaker was Mr. Kenneth Kirkwood, lecturer in Native administration at the Natal University College. In a discussion on the vital recommendations of the Fagan report he drew attention to the failure of our schools to equip the White child with an adequate knowledge of Native life in the Union. Can it be doubted that is largely because of this latter failure that almost every effort to assist in the emancipation of the Black man has been thwarted by an emotional fear complex? Many attempts have been made by the more prudent of our legislators and statesmen to tackle the Native question dispassionately and away from the restrictive influence of party politics. All have failed simply because most European South Africans persist in thinking with their blood rather than their brains on all issues affecting the relationship between Black and White.

**The Task Ahead**

For some years now, instead of adopting a forward policy in the provision of trade and professional openings for Africans the Colour Bar has been enforced more and more rigorously. As a result, as Mr. M'Timkulu pointed out, we have the topsy turvy arrangement that whereas we are increasing the educational amenities for Natives, the opportunities of employment for trained Natives are not nearly sufficient to keep pace with the supply. When qualified men are denied all prospects of useful and beneficial employment it is hardly surprising that they should become "discontented trouble-makers for lack of an outlet for their energies." The selfish and shortsighted attitude of the trade unions towards the whole question of Native labour is one of the first obstacles which must be overcome. But the State, local authorities and commerce must also be prevailed upon to alter drastically their exclusive White labour policies. Far more Natives, for instance, should be employed in the Native Affairs Department which could annually absorb hundreds of educated Africans. Natives should also be employed on non-European transport services operated by Municipalities, while tens of thousands could find useful work in the building industry erecting homes and places of entertainment for their own people. These are but a few of the reforms which should be speedily introduced if the existing harmonious relationship between Black and White is to be maintained.

# Fear Marks Action On Native Problem

—KIRKWOOD

MR. KENNETH KIRKWOOD, lecturer in Native administration at the Natal University College, in conducting a discussion on the Fagan Native Laws Commission in Durban last night, said that the Union's most urgent need was that every citizen should fully appreciate the lot of the Native.

He stated: "From a knowledge of the facts, South Africans will be able to determine democratically a Native policy that will ensure the survival and growth of civilisation in South Africa.

## No Flags For Film Star

When Donald O'Connor, the American actor, visits Maritzburg Friday the city's streets will be festooned with gay bunting on the occasion.

Play at the express order of the Council the flagging has been hung along Comrades in front of the removed by work-

Commission was  
Council

"It is unfortunate that emotion, notably fear, coupled with ignorance, have marked most South African action and expression on the 'Native Problem.'

"Children in our schools receive little or no instruction on the Native peoples of South Africa as they are today. Seldom, if ever, do European children have occasion to think about the position of the 7,800,000 souls who comprise nearly 70 per cent. of our population.

"Many university graduates have no knowledge of Native Affairs.

### ALARMING

"In these fundamental respects our educational system has failed to educate citizens.

Mr. Kirkwood deprecated the policy of "Forever Hamba," stating that the lack of reality in South African thinking was responsible for statements such as: 'Send them all back to the Reserves, the towns are too full,' 'Native crime is becoming alarming, we must tighten up the Pass Laws and chuck out the loafers and thieves,' 'The old Zulu was a good chap, these educated, or rather half-educated youngsters are a menace.'

### COMMENT

"Seldom does one hear a statement showing real knowledge of Native Affairs and very seldom a constructive comment."

Mr. Kirkwood said that many of the findings of the Fagan Commission were disquieting. The members of the Commission had brought cold reason to bear on the facts.

"There would seem to be no prospect of a reasonably secure and prosperous future for South Africa until the citizens decide that it is imperative to make full use of all our available human material in developing a sound national economy.

"The widespread disinclination to think of Natives other than in terms of one's domestic servant or riksha boy, are dangerous characteristics of European thinking on the 'Native Question'."

**MICHAEL SCOTT,  
HAS DEPUTY  
IN PARIS**

PARIS, November 17.

**T**HE Rev. G. R. Norton, a former director of a Natal mission, is in Paris to deputise for the Rev. Michael Scott, who cancelled his air passage when the South African authorities asked him to hand in his passport for endorsement. Mr. Norton told S.A.P.A. that he had seen the U.N.O. delegations to give them a "factual account of conditions in South-West Africa."

He said Mr. Scott was duly elected by the tribes of S.W.A. to represent them at U.N.O., but had not been allowed to do so. The tribes still had great faith in the leadership and integrity of the nations of Europe which placed them under the old League of Nations mandate. Mr. Norton left Durban in August and travelled via the East Coast to England.—(S.A.P.A.)

ECONOMY

— Natal Mercury

**Dr. Jansen's Absence** 24-1-49

Sir,—We note that the Ministers of Defence and Justice have recently visited Durban. Would it not have been a good gesture on the part of the Government if the Minister of Native Affairs had also paid Durban a visit? Perhaps he is no more interested in happenings in Natal than he was in putting in an appearance to dissolve the Native Representative Council.

D. R. HUNT.

Blackridge,

P.O. Swartkopskloof.

Re Durban Riots

# A COLLEGE BOY'S NATIVE POLICY

## Winning Essay

THE following is the prize-winning essay in the senior boys' section of "The Natal Mercury" school essay competition, the result of which was announced yesterday. The author is Marius Reynolds, a 17-year-old pupil of Maritzburg College.

The subject of the essay is: "What Do You Think South Africa's policy — economic, political and social — should be for the Native peoples?"

In planning a Native policy, it is essential to look far ahead. It is also necessary to consider the plans of those now controlling South Africa's Native policy and the plans of those who may do so in the future.

The plan should, as far as possible, be concrete, as abstract theories are of no great value. I propose to show where the policies of the two main political Parties are impracticable, or need revision, and then to consider groups of Natives, and how they can be fitted into our social, economic and political life.

There are a number of difficulties that appear when one is dealing with this problem. It is hard to study certain aspects without being carried away by the emotions. Another point is that the Native peoples are at different stages of development.

On the one hand, we have the Native who has obtained a university degree, and on the other hand there is the "blanket Native" living on the Reserves. This complicates the whole question considerably.

There is also need for constant change and modification, to deal with new angles of the problem as they arise, and to keep up with the development of the Native peoples.

### APARTHEID

The Nationalist and United Parties have both announced policies dealing with this serious question. It seems that they are more concerned with their positions in Parliament than with the welfare of the Native peoples. The Nationalist shibboleth, Apartheid, is based on the Voortrekker fear of the Native hordes they fought.

Today, the Party exploits the fear of a recurrence of this to gain political power. Their real fear of the Natives is in the economic sphere. It is clear to them, now, that their original idea of herding all the Native peoples into overstocked, overpopulated Reserves, rapidly becoming "deathscapes," as Mr. H. V. Morton describes them, is impossible.

So now, a part of the Natives will be kept near at hand for labour in the industrial areas, where shanty towns like Moroka and Jabanu in Johannesburg, Windermere in the Cape, and Cato Manor near Durban, will spring up like mushrooms. Those Natives not needed will stagnate on the Reserves.

The United Party, on the other hand, base their policy on the Fagan Report—surely the most significant document of the year.

This is a liberal policy in some respects, but it is sadly incomplete in others. High sounding phrases like "Christian Trusteeship" fail to impress, and it is evident that the late Mr. Hofmeyr was asked to keep his views to himself.

The United Party policy is vague, and the most noticeable blanks are to be seen in the part where they discuss the political status of the Native in the future.

### THE RESERVES

Not all the Natives can be absorbed in our industrial life, so it must be accepted that some Natives will have to stay on the Reserves. But there is much that could be done for them. The Reserves should be enlarged and soil erosion should be combated. In many cases, Europeans living next to Reserves have been willing to sell land.

Native families should be given enough land to meet their own requirements, and to enable them to raise their standard of living. Neat houses should be built.

To enable them to have some share in government, they could see to local affairs. Village centres could provide recreation, and a place where they could be taught better farming methods, and handicraft. This would all lead to contentment. When the need comes, their education could be extended.

There will always be a need for farm labour. It is therefore, necessary to make conditions such that they are attractive. Again, workers should be given small homes where they could live with their families, with a small area to cultivate, as something of their own. Wages should be raised to enable them to live better than they can at present.

And if their employers gave them a small percentage of the farm profits, more would be accomplished, and the Natives would be far happier.

### SOCIAL SERVICES

Social services could be provided for the farm workers and Reserve Natives, so that they might be cared for when ill, and so that law and order could be kept. This could all be done by the Natives themselves.

Two facts that must be faced are that migratory labour is not desirable, and that, in spite of it, there is today a permanent Native urban population. Something must be done for these people who supply the labour for the growing industries.

Most Europeans want social segregation, so, for the time being, it would be better to keep the two races apart. Neither Europeans nor Natives are in favour of race inter-mixture. Separate townships should be established. These should not be called locations, and they should not resemble the present day untidy areas.

The new townships should be well planned, with small, neat houses, to be owned by the Natives if they desire to do so. Hygienic conditions would not only keep the occupants in good health, but would also protect the Europeans in the nearby cities.

These houses would enable families to live together, and would bring to an end their forced separation which leads to moral dislocation and crime. Control of local affairs could be entrusted to the Natives themselves. They could function as separate suburbs, collecting rates, and using the money to improve education facilities for their children to provide hospitalisation, doctors, and recreation and transport.

Sports grounds and social centres could be built. They could keep control, and provide protection for themselves and their possessions. If necessary, there could be co-operation between these communities and the nearby cities or towns, to carry out more elaborate schemes which would affect both communities.

### EDUCATED NATIVES

Such local government would serve useful purposes. Apart from servicing the Native communities, they would provide training for political power of a more important nature. When they are ready for it, the Native peoples will have to be given a greater share in the government of South Africa.

The other purpose is the absorption of the services of those Natives who have university degrees, and have developed to such an extent that they can develop no further at this stage. They are the Natives who cause the greatest difficulty, because they ask for more than the Europeans are willing to give them. They are the ones who will be able to look after the interests of their people as lawyers, teachers and doctors.

This usefulness will rid them of the feeling of frustration which hangs over them today.

### POLITICAL RIGHTS

The most controversial part of this question is whether the Native peoples should be given more representation in Parliament, and whether they should be represented by their own people. One thing that is clear is that the little political rights they have should not be removed as the Nationalists wish to do.

At present, they should be represented by Europeans, who would work for the benefit of the Native peoples, advised by a Council of Natives elected by the Natives. As the Native peoples develop, and when the time is ripe, direct Native representation should be introduced.

By doing this in stages and not by revolution, the Native peoples would gain more political rights, and they would not swamp the European civilisation in South Africa, a thing which so many Europeans fear.

There is no case for economic Apartheid. How can there be a case for political Apartheid?

Today, South Africa is experiencing something that many other countries have gone through. During the Industrial Revolution in England, and in the years that followed, masses of people that had no political power were exploited by rich capitalists. They lived in unhealthy homes, and such shocking conditions arose that they demanded political power so that they could gain a better standard of living.

### S.A.'s. REVOLUTION

South Africa's Industrial Revolution is now in progress. Both Europeans and Natives are taking part in the movement from country to town.

If we do nothing for them, the Natives will more and more cry out for political power. Why should we not meet them half way? If we see to their economic advancement, they will be more content, and a good deal of ill-feeling will be prevented. The development of the country will be trouble free, through the lessening of a problem that becomes more serious as time passes.

We must live side by side, for the country to prosper. Why not do so peacefully? A Dutch Reformed Minister, giving evidence before the Fagan Commission, said: "They need us, and we need them."

The whole question will be made easier if there is toleration and understanding on both sides. We must bear that in mind when we are planning a policy for the Native peoples.

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**The Natal Mercury**

FRIDAY, AUGUST 27, 1948

**Migratory Labour**

It is proving to be extraordinarily difficult to obtain from the Government a comprehensive and sensible enunciation of their apartheid policy. Discursive and strangely ill-considered statements on the subject have been made by Dr. Jansen, Minister of Native Affairs, and Dr. Stals, Minister of Health, but so far from shedding new light on the matter they have merely served to confuse public opinion. Now Mr. Eric Louw, Minister of Mines and Economic Affairs, has felt it incumbent upon himself to help elucidate the great apartheid mystery. But let us be fair to Mr. Louw. He at least has told us something definite. Speaking in Parliament on Wednesday night he declared that the crux of the Government's apartheid policy was that there should be migratory labour. "That policy," he added, "would be followed not only in regard to the mines but also in regard to secondary industry." The cat is certainly out of the bag. If this statement means anything, it means that the Nationalists completely hoaxed the nation — or at least the reactionary element of the population—by the wild and extravagant segregation promises they made during the election. Black and White are to continue living and working together in the towns. Apartheid, as preached by the Nationalists, is, in fact, a lie.

**A Few Questions**

Now that we know that the present unsatisfactory system of migratory labour is to be persevered with and intensified to the benefit of the White man and to the disadvantage of the Native, perhaps the Government will answer these pertinent questions: Do they agree that if the Natives are to be brought to the towns to assist the European to produce his manufactures, to perform his manual requirements and to work in his home that they must be provided with homes in which to live? Do they agree that Natives who possess a job should be allowed to remain in that town for as many years as they wish? Do they agree that a Native is entitled to periodic holidays? If so, do they agree that such a Native is to be allowed to return to his former occupation when he so desires? Are Natives living in the cities to be denied any form of family life? If so, will this not simply lead to an alarming increase in the number of detribalised and homeless illegitimate Native children who will become a burden upon the community? There are other questions which require answering, but these will suffice to disclose the injustices and dangers of apartheid. Admittedly the wasteful system of migratory labour, which has become part and parcel of Native life, cannot be arbitrarily abolished. This does not mean, however, that strenuous efforts should not be made to counteract its evil effects and to encourage the growth of a stable labour force. The whole emphasis of State policy should be towards reducing migratory labour so as to improve the nation's economic efficiency and to make the Native a contented citizen.

**Cause Of Crime**

We cannot do better than quote the opinion of the Social and Economic Planning Council embodied in the Fagan Report. "The migratory system is resulting in the breakdown of Native family life. Widespread prostitution and marital instability, adult crime and juvenile delinquency, venereal disease and sexual perversions, are among its effects, which are aggravated by the abnormal sex ratios in urban and rural areas. No real progress towards the rehabilitation of the Native reserves is possible so long as the migratory system of peasant labour is encouraged. If the migratory system prevents the Native from becoming a good farmer, it also makes him a poor industrial worker. Industrial development will be retarded and productivity and the national income will remain low unless our labour resources are used more effectively. At the same time the immediate abolition of the migratory system, especially in the case of the gold mines, is not feasible. Economically the effect of a sudden change of this nature would be catastrophic." Because of these considerations, the Fagan Commission came to the conclusion that any legal attempt to prevent the stabilisation of Native labour would be wrong and would have a detrimental effect.

N.R.C. Decides It Cannot Carry On

# JANSEN CHALLENGED BY NATIVE LEADER

PRETORIA, Wednesday.

ONCE more the Native Representative Council stands adjourned, following a dispute on high policy. On Tuesday it was told by Dr. W. J. G. Mears, Secretary for Native Affairs, that the Government had decided to abolish it. Today Professor Z. K. Matthews replied for the Native peoples and, in effect, laid down a challenge to Dr. E. G. Jansen, the Minister for Native Affairs.

At the end of his speech he moved the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted—

"That this Council, having considered the address delivered by the Secretary for Native Affairs, deprecates what, in its opinion, amounts to a dereliction of duty on the part of the Minister of Native Affairs, viz. his failure to place before the newly elected council the new Government's policy of Apartheid;

"In the circumstances, this council finds itself unable to proceed with the agenda of this session until the Government has, through a Minister of the Crown, laid before the Council for its consideration and report the full details of its Native policy, and its relevant legislative programme and especially its own proposals to provide the so-called 'more effective connecting link' between it (the Government) and the Native peoples."

The chairman, Dr. Mears, then declared the Council adjourned.

Before moving the resolution, Professor Matthews said that he felt that important points had been omitted from Dr. Mears's summary. When the Council was formed (in 1937) the African people had done their best to co-operate with the Government.

"At the time when this Council was established the African people indicated that this Council was not the proper solution for their problems," he said. "But they decided to give it a try—a trial which lasted until 1946."

## TO POLITICS

The chairman's statement had suggested that the Council had turned "its mind to politics." That was a surprising statement, because this Council was established as a political body.

"It is surprising to us that there seems to be a suggestion of blame for this political body becoming political," he added.

The Council was not established to deal with local problems, but with national problems.

"We, therefore, make no apology for this Council having concerned itself with matters political. Our complaint is that we have been charged with the statutory duty of advising the Government on matters political, and have found our advice ignored again and again."

"The African people have believed all along that the only policy in a country like South Africa was one of co-operation between the various racial groups. Therefore, we called upon the (Smuts) Government in 1946 to revise its Native policy. We did feel by 1947, however, that we had made some impression on the Government.

## NEW GOVERNMENT

"In May, 1948, a change of Government took place. We saw in the Press that this Government was coming along with a new Native policy, and that it would place its policy before the leaders of the African people. The African people are not in the habit of getting information of Government policies from non-official sources.

"Although individual Africans have expressed their views about this new policy, I feel sure the whole African people felt that, at this meeting, the Government would take the opportunity of laying before them its policy of Apartheid. We expected that.

"So far, all the African people have experienced of this policy has been restriction and deprivation. The African people felt sure that the Government would put before the Council the positive aspects of this policy, and that it would be done by the Minister (Dr. Jansen).

## BAD PSYCHOLOGY

"Instead we are told that the Minister felt that 'no useful purpose' would be served by his attending. We feel we would be failing in our duty if we didn't state here that we consider this an extraordinary attitude.

"Whatever happens in future, as the law now stands this is the body before which the policy of Apartheid should be expounded. Instead, we have been called together merely to be told that the Government intends to abolish this body.

"This mentality—under which we are always abolishing, and never creating, always eliminating and never substituting—has a very bad psychological effect on the people."

Whatever it was intended this time to substitute, unless it was the result of co-operation between Europeans and African people, would not succeed. Europeans could not solve the problems of the country by unilateral action. Professor Matthews then moved his resolution.

## BROTHERS—OR BEASTS

Mr. P. R. Mosaka said that it was difficult to decide whether the statement made by Dr. Mears was a statement by the Minister or merely the views of the Secretary himself.

Whatever the feelings of Dr. Jansen were, he should have had the decency and courtesy to address the first meeting of the new Council. Courtesy to the lowliest of the people would not detract from the prestige of a Minister.

"You have the chance of making us brothers or beasts, and take the consequences," he told Dr. Mears.

Mr. S. M. Mabude (Transkei)

saw "signs of dark clouds on the horizon." Complete democracy—the removal of all Colour bars and equality of rights—was the only basis for harmonious relations," he said.

Mr. G. A. W. Champion said that the Councillors enjoyed the confidence of the Native population. Europeans were allowed to disseminate "poisonous propaganda" against the African people, whereas Natives were charged with sedition when they made propaganda against Europeans.—(S.A.P.A.)

# Always Opposed By Malan

By Our Political Correspondent

THE Natives Representative Council, which the Government have decided to abolish, was established under the Hertzog-Smuts Representation of Natives Act of 1936.

This Act, which also provided for indirect representation of Natives in Parliament, was passed by a two-thirds majority at a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament.

The Council consists of 22 members, of whom six are official members, four are nominated, and 12 are elected. The official members are the Secretary for Native Affairs and five Chief Native Commissioners. The nominated members are Natives appointed by the Governor-General—one for each electoral area.

The elected members are Natives elected by electoral colleges or Native Advisory Boards. The Transkeian Territories' electoral college elects three members. In each other electoral area the college elects two members and the Native Advisory Board one member.

The Secretary for Native Affairs presides at meetings of the Native Representative Council, and has a casting vote only. The other official members have no vote.

## THE FUNCTIONS

General functions of the Council are:

(1) It shall consider and report on (a) proposed legislation in so far as it may affect the Native population; (b) any matter referred to it by the Minister of Native Affairs; (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 in the interests of Natives;

(3) Bills and draft Ordinances affecting the interests of Natives must be referred to the Council for consideration and report before being proceeded with.

## FIRST MEETING

The first meeting of the Natives Representative Council was held in Pretoria in December, 1937, but nine years later the Council adjourned its 1946 meeting as a protest against the Government's Native policy.

The Council did not meet again until Tuesday this week when the Secretary for Native Affairs, Dr. W. J. G. Mears, told the members that the Government intended abolishing the Council.

The present Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, opposed the establishment of a Natives Representative Council from the outset, when the Bill was before Parliament in 1936.

In one of his speeches during the joint session, Dr. Malan said that the establishment of the Council would destroy the main objects of the Bill—protection of the European and good relations between European and non-European.

## KAFIR NATION

He considered the Council would lead to the creation of a "Native or Kafir nation"—something which had never existed but which would grow more and more united with the passage of time. That would destroy the objects aimed at in the Bill.

Dr. Malan also argued that the Council would be a body that would have no responsibility, and would therefore tend to ask for more and more to make itself popular with its electors.

He thought the Council would be not so much a body to represent the Natives but an instrument for Native agitation.

# IGNORING THE AFRICANS

JOHANNESBURG, Wednesday.

The Native Representative Council was meeting under a new Government, which claimed to have a new Native policy. It was provided by the Representation of Natives Act of 1936 that a change in Native policy should be explained to the Council, said Dr. A. B. Xuma, President of the African National Congress, in a statement in Johannesburg today.

Not only had that not been done, said Dr. Xuma, but the Minister of Native Affairs had declined to attend the Council's meeting. This showed the new Government's total disregard of the aspirations of the African people.

"Parliamentary institutions are in danger if Ministers can act without coming into contact with the bodies that are concerned."

By doing away with the Council they are doing away with the expression of African opinion on a national scale.—(S.A.P.A.)

January 22<sup>nd</sup> 1942

# SMUTS ON NATIVE TRUSTEESHIP

## IDEA WITH FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS

## HOPEFUL AUGURY IN RECENT EVENTS



This photograph illustrates the transport in Russia un

**G**ENERAL SMUTS spoke of a hopeful line of approach to the native question when he addressed an audience of about 1,000 in the Cape Town City Hall last night. His subject was "The Basis of Trusteeship." This was, he said, "a principle on which we might build the pattern of a new South Africa."

*Trusteeship, in fact, was probably the only basis on which a happy relationship between European and African could be obtained. It had far-reaching implications in regard to the education, health and housing of the natives, which called for much greater efforts than hitherto.*

The good relations between the South African troops and the natives of various parts of the continent with whom war had brought them into contact were a happy augury.

### "A SACRED TRUST"

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, and Professor R. F. A. Hoernle, president of the Executive Committee of the Institute, presided.

The audience included Lord Harlech, the United Kingdom High Commissioner; Sir Shafa'at Ahmed Khan, High Commissioner for the Government of India; Dr. da Fonseca, the Portuguese Minister; many Cabinet Ministers, M.P.s and prominent citizens representing all sections of the community.

Professor Hoernle welcomed General Smuts in his capacity as one who had been a leader towards greater unity all his life.

#### AS A STUDENT

General Smuts, who was warmly applauded, said he was not going to speak as a politician but as a student of race relations trying to explore one of the greatest problems facing the people of this continent. He was not there to make declarations or to lay down the law, but to exchange ideas on a matter which he considered of all matters the most important to South Africa and to this continent.

He was there for another reason also—to show his appreciation of the good work being done by the Institute of Race Relations. Most of the members, although busy people, could find time to devote to this great subject, to which they were giving their dispassionate attention. In this matter of race relations they were out to discover facts in a scientific and calm way. For the last 10 years they had been busy on this work—work of the highest value, which few people were willing to undertake.

#### THE WAY OUT

"But it is work that must be undertaken," he said. "We shall have to take this subject of the relations between Europeans and Africans out of the heated atmosphere of politics and controversy.

"We shall have to get down to the basis of facts before we shall ever find a way out of the tangles in which we are."

Years ago, when he was Rhodes Memorial lecturer at Oxford, and

The problem of the relations which existed, or should exist, between Europeans and Africans was indeed a great problem, if we were to have peace, harmony and progress on this continent.

For the past century and more it had been a problem, and different answers had been given from time to time. "It has been the great battlefield of public life in South Africa."

One school advocated equality as the only proper relation. The other school—based more on what might be called "African realism"—held that there was a superior race. They based their views not on equality but on superiority of one section over the other.

For more than 100 years this controversy had continued: whether it should be equality or superiority, whether one or the other principle should be followed.

#### ORIGIN OF THE IDEA

For years the whole thing had been fought out, but with little result and little good for the country.

More recently another viewpoint—that of trusteeship—had come to the fore. He was not sure where this originated, but in his youth he remembered that Rhodes used to say that the relations between white and black was the relation as between guardian and ward.

Much later, however, this view of trusteeship was put into the Covenant of the League of Nations. There the word "trust" as far as he was aware, was for the first time put into a formal legal document. That was in 1919; since then the word trusteeship had become usual both in Europe and in Africa.

#### ONE SERVICE

In this country people talked of our "trusteeship" as the proper relation as between European and African.

"It certainly does one service," said General Smuts. "It gets out of the barren controversy of who is higher and who is lower—the controversy between equality and superiority which, after 100 years, produced nothing but ill-feeling and bitterness."

The word "trusteeship" brought in a new element; and the language used by the Covenant made it ethical when it talked of the "sacred trust" imposed on the more advanced people to look after the more backward.

But although it was an advance, he did not think people realised what a notable advance it was to have reached this idea of trusteeship. Although it was an advance, however, it still remained a very difficult subject.

#### RACIAL FEELING

##### Complicating Factors

Race relations were the most difficult and most contentious field in the whole range of human activity, and it had always been that since the dawn of history.

Here in South Africa this old, primordial race-feeling was complicated by another great factor—that of fear. Europeans in this country were in a small minority—having regard to the dimensions of this continent an insignificant minority—who were actuated by motives of fear.

A further complicating factor was that we were not equals in the matter of cultural advance. So, although the beautiful word "trusteeship" had been found to describe their relationship, the problems arising out of the situation still had to be solved.

#### A NEW DIFFICULTY

As illustrating how intricate the problem was, General Smuts mentioned another difficulty which would also be difficult to surmount.

"In the 20th century the question of race has very suddenly and very unexpectedly come to the fore in human thought and human relations.

"During the 19th century we travelled the straight road in another direction. Something like international good feeling was growing up then between the peoples of the world. This trend was arrested when something very ugly reared its head in Central Europe, adding to the problems of race relationship which we are considering.

#### THE "HERRENVOLK" IDEA

"Race feeling became intensified, and, in fact, National Socialism, or Nazism, was held to be the deification, the apotheosis, of race. Race in Central Europe has become not merely an idea; it has become a creed.

"In the Nazi ideology race has become something divine—that race is your God. The preaching of that doctrine has made our problem of race relations more difficult still, and the effect of this ideology in Germany has spread all over the world. We, in South Africa, feel the effects of it too.

"The immediate effect of this intensified, mediating form of race leads to the idea of a 'master people,' the

(Continued on next page, col. 5.)

## Soviet Counter-Offensive

### "That Braggart Hitler is Beaten"

MOSCOW, Wednesday.—Soviet counter-offensive the officers and men on Russian Scherbakov, Director of the speaking at a special meeting anniversary of Lenin's death.

M. Scherbakov's speech was frequently interrupted by tumultuous applause, the audience shouting "Long live Stalin!"

M. Scherbakov said that in the same period the Red Army captured 4,801 guns, 3,071 trench mortars, 8,000 machine-guns, 15,000 automatic rifles, 90,000 rifles, 2,753 tanks, over 2,000,000 shells, 30,000,000 rounds of ammunition, 200,000 mines, 33,000 lorries, and much other transport and equipment.

In addition, more than 1,100 German planes were destroyed.

"That braggart Hitler," he said, "who in October talked of the last phase of the battle against the Soviet Union, achieved only the moral and physical exhaustion of his army. The enemy is beaten and will never be able to gather strength again."—(Sapa-Reuter.)

## GREAT BATTLE FOR KHARKOV

### RUSSIANS ALLOW NAZIS NO RESPITE

#### OSSIAN GOULDING, Cape Times Special Correspondent.

STOCKHOLM, Wednesday. — Marshal Timoshenko has brought up considerable reserve forces before Kharkov and Berlin states that the decisive phase of the battle for the great Ukrainian city appears to be beginning, with the Soviet's heavy guns hammering at the city's southern defences.

On the Moscow front, planes of the Red Air Force are fiercely attacking German columns falling back from Mojaisk in the direction of Vyazma. (The recapture of Mojaisk has been officially announced by the Russians.)

Allied circles in Stockholm, while maintaining reserve about the German claim to have re-occupied Feodosia, in the Crimea, suggest that the German coup may have been carried out by two or three German regiments isolated in the southern coastal districts between Yalta and Feodosia, who learned through air reconnaissance that the main body of the Russian Army had left Feodosia and advanced north and west, leaving the town defended by a relatively small force. It is emphasised, however, that this is merely supposition.

#### LAST THREAT REMOVED

According to authoritative circles in London, quoted by Sapa-Reuter, the Soviet recapture of Mojaisk, vitally important town west of Moscow, has deprived the Germans of the last place they held which could be said to constitute a threat to Moscow.

So far the Germans have been silent about the fall of Mojaisk.

A further 250 inhabited localities on the Moscow front have been cleared of the enemy, says the Red Star correspondent to-day.

The enemy is being simultaneously dislodged from the Tula region, south of Moscow, and from a considerable portion of the Smolensk and other regions.

Fighting continues day and night in a number of sectors of the front, says the correspondent. The retreating enemy continues to burn villages, shoot prisoners of war and forcibly remove all the male population.

#### FLEEING IN DISORDER

Moscow radio states that the remnants of the German forces defeated at Kodrovka, a town in the Smolensk region whose recapture was announced in Monday night's communiqué, are fleeing in disorder with the Soviet forces hotly in pursuit.

One German infantry division and one S.S. battalion were "mercilessly destroyed" and "by the end of the day the Soviet troops had liberated more than 12 inhabited points."

The radio added that Soviet troops in this sector following up the enemy's retreat were giving them no opportunity to establish new defence lines.

Repeated Soviet attacks in the Valdai hills district (north-west of Moscow) were mentioned by the German radio to-day. It was claimed that the attacks were repulsed.

A heavy attack by Soviet forces south-east of Kursk on Monday was announced by the German radio to-night. It was stated that the attack was supported by tanks of the latest type and was aimed at taking a locality held by the Germans, but failed.

#### ENORMOUS LOSSES

Describing the battle of Mojaisk, the Moscow radio states that as the approaches to the town the Germans suffered enormous losses in men and equipment.

"In occupying Mojaisk our units captured a large quantity of booty. The streets are littered with lorries,

## Cape Times Suspending Contents Bills

FROM next Monday the Cape Times will suspend publication of contents bills. This step has been taken as an immediate result of the shortage of newsprint.

In present circumstances it is not nearly possible for the Cape Times to supply the demand there is for the newspaper. The most urgent anxiety of the Cape Times is to ensure that subscribers and regular readers receive a copy of the paper. As the display of posters undoubtedly tends to encourage the purchase of the newspaper by casual readers, it has reluctantly been decided to abolish posters for the time being.

In view of the unavoidable necessity to restrict drastically the number of copies of the Cape Times printed each day, our task will be much lightened if readers would place a regular order with their newsagents or with the Circulation Manager, P.O. Box 11, Cape Town, for the regular delivery of the paper.

dealt with the native question of South Africa, he had pointed out that one of our main troubles was that we knew so little of the facts of this continent.

It was truly "the dark continent." He then made the suggestion that there should be a continent-wide survey of the position, and that they should try to find out through calm and dispassionate inquiry what were the facts, so that there would be a sound scientific basis for judgment.

#### THE HAILEY REPORT

That was followed up. Funds were found, and Lord Hailey was sent out with the mandate over the whole continent to find the facts about race relations. That survey had resulted in one of the most valuable documents on the subject now available.

The same thing on a larger scale now had to be done in South Africa, and the only body doing it was the Institute of Race Relations. They were making inquiries in all directions where there was conflict over the rights and economic conditions of the under-dog. It was a necessary and essential work that they were doing, and it would certainly bear good fruit. "And my presence here to-night is largely a tribute to that work."

THAT

# Natal

WAS NATIVE'S  
ASSURANCE IRONY?

## 'Symbol Of Jansen's Goodwill'

### Swept Away

(Sunday Tribune Correspondent)

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN,

Saturday,

LOCAL people are wondering whether Native Councillor E. Mahonga, from Glen Grey, was being ironical when, in thanking the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Jansen, after he had opened the session of the Ciskei Bunga here this week, he assured the Natives of the Government's concern for their welfare.

Mahonga referred to the Jansen Weir on a river in the Glen Grey district, near Queenstown, which was named when the Minister held the same portfolio many years ago.

He described the weir as a "symbol of Dr. Jansen's goodwill and desire to see the Natives prosper."

The weir was washed away 18 months ago.



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