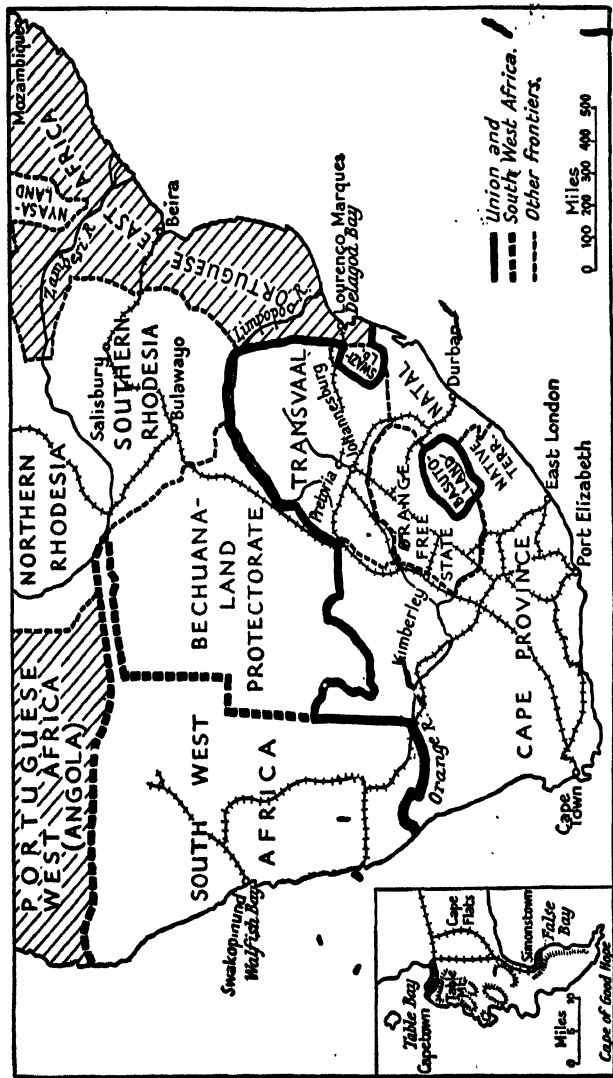


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SOUTHERN AFRICA—POLITICAL

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SOUTH AFRICA

BY
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In this Pamphlet the Vere Harmsworth Professor of Imperial and Naval History at Cambridge describes the place of the Dominion of South Africa in the world to-day. A brief sketch of the history of South Africa, as a necessary background to an understanding of the problems of to-day, is followed by a description of the country and of the different elements, white and coloured, which make up its population. Professor Walker describes the circumstances leading up to South Africa's declaration of war in September 1939, the political situation at the present time, and the part played by the Dominions in the war.

The author was Professor of History at Cape Town University from 1911-36, and has written many standard works on South African history.

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South Africa's Place in the World

THE political map of Africa shows a broad red belt of territory nearly four thousand miles long running from the southern tip of the continent to the Egyptian frontier. This belt is cut across by the rivers Zambezi and Kunene about one-third of the way up. Below this line lies Southern Africa, 1,350,000 square miles of it. More than 470,000 square miles of this solid block of land are covered by the four provinces of the Union of South Africa: the Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal, an area fully four times that of the British Isles. Pretoria, the administrative capital of the Union, is about a thousand miles distant from the legislative capital of Capetown, as far as London is from Naples or Warsaw, say five hours by aeroplane, thirty hours by train on the standard African 3 foot 6 inch gauge, or eight weeks by the plodding ox-wagon.

The Union of South Africa is a sovereign State freely associated with the other members of the British Commonwealth, and the most independent-minded of all the Dominions (except, of course, Eire,) which is not surprising, seeing that the majority of its dominant European inhabitants are not British but Afrikanders. It is one of Great Britain's best customers and a valuable source of world supply, furnishing wool, sugar, hides and skins, maize, fruits, wine and tobacco, base metals in great variety, and above all gold. The mines of the Witwatersrand centring upon Johannesburg in the southern Transvaal give the world nearly half its new gold each year.

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Strategically the Union is of great importance. The Portuguese settled on the east coast of Africa early in the sixteenth century, but the European occupation of Africa south of the Zambezi has taken place from the south. It began in 1652, when the Dutch East India Company founded Capetown on the shores of Table Bay at the northern end of the Cape Peninsula as their half-way house to India. To the Dutch, and to the British after them for a long time, the Peninsula with its commercial harbour of Capetown and the naval base at Simons-town was the most westerly outpost of an East Indian empire. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 robbed it of something of its strategic value, but shipping streamed round by the Cape during the War of 1914-18, and now that the hostility of Italy and the defection of the Vichy Government have rendered the Mediterranean route unsafe for merchantmen, the Peninsula has recovered all its pre-Suez significance. The other ports of the Union form valuable secondary links in the world chain of communications, notably Durban in Natal, a coaling centre and the terminus for many lines of shipping that ply in the Indian Ocean.

South Africa's Place in Africa

The Union is the one large-scale and successful European settlement in all Africa with the possible exception of Algeria. It is among the oldest; it is the most firmly rooted and complex, and has the highest proportion of European inhabitants. There are some 2,000,000 white folk as against nearly 8,000,000 others, whereas in the rest of the East and Central African territories within the Empire, right up to the borders of Abyssinia, there are

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perhaps 110,000 Europeans as against more than 17,000,000 others, and of these many are officials, missionaries, managers and other non-permanent residents. Some 60,000 of them live in Southern Rhodesia just beyond the Union's northern frontier.

Further, the Union is the strongest State in its own right in Africa south of the Nile cataracts and has close connexions with the British territories to the north, all of which, as far away as Kenya, include some South Africans, British and Afrikaner. Conscious of its growing influence, the South African Government has recently organized African conferences on health, posts, transport, and so on, which have been attended by official representatives from as far afield as the Belgian Congo, British Uganda, and French Madagascar. General Smuts, the Union's Prime Minister, is anxious to carry this Pan-African policy still further. He and other South African spokesmen have long held that in these days of aeroplanes the Union's northern frontier is not the Limpopo river but the Congo or the Equator. The Italian invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 confirmed them in that opinion. To-day, South African troops stand ready to help in the defence of Portuguese Delagoa Bay, the finest harbour on the south-east coast and the natural outlet for the Witwatersrand traffic, while all the world knows that the South African and Southern Rhodesian Air Forces were in action on the Kenya border within a few hours of Italy's entry into the war and are now supported by large and growing land forces. It is because South Africans, and Southern Rhodesians also, have much to do for the common cause in their own continent that so few of them have come to Great Britain or

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taken part in the Canadian scheme of imperial air training.

History and Politics

But though the Union's war effort is already considerable, South Africans are divided on the war issue, the outstanding political issue for a community whose politics turn mainly upon rival versions of the history of the country. It is necessary, therefore, to give that history, if only in barest outline.

The Dutch East India Company ruled the Cape Colony for nearly a century and a half, from 1652 till 1795, the longest period of rule by a chartered company in a continent which has known a good deal of such rule. Within fifty years of the first settlement the lines of future social and economic development were already clear. There was Capetown looking to government employment and the passing ships for a living, the one part of the country which was in even moderately close touch with the outer world; for sixty miles or so around lay corn and wine farms, self-contained and looking to Capetown as their market; behind the mountains were the sheep and cattle farmers. The relations of the Europeans with the rest had also become plain enough. The Bushmen hunters of the Stone Age were being chased out by the newcomers and the Hottentots; the Hottentot pastoralists, having lost their grazing lands and most of their cattle by barter or otherwise, were either withdrawing out of reach northwards or becoming hangers-on of white society, while, almost from the first, the Company had imported slaves from Bantu (Native) East Africa and Madagascar, the East Indies, and the Malay Peninsula. There are still some 25,000 Moslems, mostly

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in the Cape Peninsula, who often have a recognizable strain of Malay blood. Hottentots, Bushmen, and slaves had intermingled their blood, which was in some cases further crossed by that of Europeans, and so the distinctive Cape Coloured folk had emerged. And already European 'colour prejudice' was hardening.

During this first half-century the Company had drawn its settlers from many parts of Europe, but mostly from the Netherlands (including the majority of the women), western Germany, and Huguenot France. At the end of it children of this mixed body of settlers were calling themselves Afrikanders to distinguish themselves from overseas men, and to South Africans a European Dutchman is still a 'Hollander'. These formative processes worked on during the eighteenth century. Immigration was very slight, the European strains fused; the French tongue died out, and the Afrikanders developed Afrikaans as a spoken language of their own. They also acquired clear-cut ideas upon the proper relations of Church and State, rulers and ruled, burghers and uitlanders, bond and free, white and non-white, which persist in full vigour to-day. It was now that the Trek Boers emerged, ready to live in their wagons and find a living by their guns, the ancestors of those men and women who, side by side with other less loosely rooted pastoralists, went out from the frontier districts of the Cape Colony on the Great Trek a hundred years ago.

During the two generations which preceded this Great Trek three things had happened in South Africa. Firstly, the thinly peopled Cape Colony was caught up in the stream of world affairs, thanks to the growing interest of France and Great Britain

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in India and the Pacific. It changed hands more than once, till the British took it for the second time in 1806, to keep Napoleon out, and this time kept it. Secondly, whether the Government was British or Dutch, it tried to rule more resolutely and did so under the influence of Liberalism or the Evangelicalism of the time. Thirdly, from about 1775 onwards, the expansive Europeans moving eastward made full contact with the Bantu tribes which were advancing westward. So began a century of Kaffir wars on the colony's eastern frontier, and so began South Africa's modern Native problem.

The Great Trek

Held to the east, the European pastoralists swerved north-east towards the Orange river along the line that is followed by the main Union railways to-day. One of the two most widespread causes of the Great Trek was that they felt themselves crowded by the Bantu in front, by other farmers coming up from behind, and by the settlement in 1820 of a considerable body of British settlers at the southern end of the frontier, between Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown. These 1820 Settlers, be it said, have given this 'Eastern Province' a British character which endures to this day, and helps to explain its long-continued rivalry with the older and predominantly Afrikaner Western Province around Capetown. The second general cause of the Trek was the determination of the Trekkers to uphold the colour bar. The recently arrived Protestant missionaries of many nationalities taught most unwelcome doctrines of equality for all men. What was more, the British Government had set a premium on Hottentot (coloured) labour by abolishing the slave-trade

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in 1807, and then, between 1826 and 1834, had abolished the Hottentot pass laws, begun to emancipate the slaves, put all 'free persons of colour' upon a legal equality with white men (even to the extent of being able to hold land), and refused to pursue a policy towards the Kaffir tribes of which frontiersmen could approve. The Trekkers therefore set out towards the High Veld and Natal to found a republic in which they could live as they had been accustomed to live. To cut a long story short, by 1856 the British Government had recognized the independence of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal (South African Republic) beyond the Orange River, had annexed Boer Natal partly from fear of the French, and had set up a Parliament, though without full self-governing powers, in the parent Cape Colony, based upon a franchise which ignored the colour bar. Meanwhile, republics and colonies had essayed for the first time the difficult task of ruling the Bantu within their borders.

Attempts at Federation

Henceforward the political history of South Africa becomes that of a State system. It turns mainly upon attempts to federate the republics and colonies, and the determination of the Afrikaners to maintain their Afrikanerism and, in many cases, their republicanism also. The veto of the Colonial Office defeated the efforts of the Cape Governor, Sir George Grey, to federate the British colonies and the Free State in 1859. A second attempt, this time by the Gladstone Ministry, also failed. The republics were alienated by H.M. Government's reluctant annexation, at the request of the ruling chief, of all that remained of Basutoland in order to end a

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Free State-Basuto war which threatened to spread far afield (1868), and by its equally reluctant annexation, under pressure of Cape colonists and its own local officials, of Griqualand West where the Kimberley diamond fields were being opened up (1871). The Cape Colony was given self-government as part of this scheme, but it declined to give a lead in the direction of federation (1872). Its second refusal to give a lead went far to thwart the more sustained effort that was made by the Disraeli Ministry between 1875 and 1880. This federation campaign led to the annexation of the Transval in 1877. It foundered amid the confusion of Kaffir, Zulu, and Basuto wars, the growing hostility of many Cape Afrikaners who had formed the Afrikaner Bond to defend their way of life, and the successful revolt of the Transvaalers.

The British Government now tried to abstain from intervention in the interior of South Africa. It failed, for the Germans appeared in South-West Africa in 1884, and, to prevent their joining hands with the expansive Transvaalers across the road to Central Africa, H.M. Government annexed the southern part of Bechuanaland and extended a protectorate over the remainder. The various governments, British, German, Colonial, and Republican, then made haste to bring all neighbouring Native territories under their control, and, in the early nineties, Cecil Rhodes's chartered British South Africa Company occupied Southern Rhodesia up to the Zambezi river.

Gold

Meanwhile, the opening up in 1886 of the gold-bearing reefs of the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal

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had revolutionized the situation. This development stimulated the construction of rival state railways from the colonial ports which the opening of the diamond fields had already begun, and added thereto a railway from Portuguese Delagoa Bay, owned mainly by Hollanders and Germans. Amid this growing clash of interests, the economic hegemony passed away from the Cape Colony to President Kruger's Transvaal, and the political hegemony showed signs of following it. To avert these things, Rhodes, in alliance with Jan Hofmeyr, the Cape Afrikaner leader, tried to achieve an economic federation of the whole country south of the Zambezi. Rhodes's attempt to force the pace, which culminated in the Jameson Raid at the New Year of 1896, ruined him and his plans, led to his break with Hofmeyr and the revival of ardent Afrikaner feeling, and gave the Transvaalers a good excuse for arming heavily. Growing German interest in Delagoa Bay and the Transvaal added to the anxieties of the British Government. This last complication was resolved in great measure; but, in an atmosphere of suspicion, which was rendered more dangerous by the struggle for a redistribution of voting power, between the more or less British townsmen and the rural Afrikaners of the Cape Colony, Joseph Chamberlain, the then Colonial Secretary, and Sir Alfred (Lord) Milner, the High Commissioner at Capetown, tried to reassert the waning British paramountcy in Southern Africa by obliging the Transvaal to put its franchise within reach of the predominantly British Uitlanders of the Witwatersrand. At the close of the long and costly South African war which ensued, the two Republics were annexed (1899-1902).

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Union

Milner's attempt to carry federation from above under British and official auspices failed; but he did a vast deal to develop the gold-mines of the Rand and the agriculture, education, and social services of South Africa. In 1910, soon after Campbell-Bannerman's Liberal Ministry had given the ex-Republics self-government, they and the two coastal colonies joined in a fairly close legislative union under stress of growing railway and customs difficulties and, less immediately, the realization that the Native problem must be handled on a South African scale. The first Prime Minister of the new Union of South Africa was Louis Botha, and his right-hand man was J. C. Smuts, both of them Transvaal generals.

During the short interval before the outbreak of the Great War of 1914, General Hertzog of the Free State left the Union ministry and formed a Nationalist Party. The growth of this party was stimulated by the rebellion which broke out in the ex-Republics early in the war, and before long some of the Nationalists were demanding a republic. Meanwhile Union forces had conquered South-West Africa, which was presently entrusted to the Union as a mandate. Soon after Botha's death, which followed hard upon the conclusion of peace, his successor, Smuts, formed a mixed British and Afrikaner ministry. Smuts was presently obliged to suppress a revolutionary strike on the Rand which had aimed primarily at maintaining the colour bar in the mines. Labour, that is privileged European Labour whose centre is at Johannesburg, thereupon made a pact with Hertzog's Nationalists to bring

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down the Smuts government. They succeeded in 1924, and during the next nine years the Union was ruled by a farmer-labour ministry whose chief aims were to safeguard 'white South Africa' and enhance the Union's international status. Early in 1933, in face of internal strains and growing external dangers, Smuts agreed to serve under Hertzog. Two groups stood aside from the United Party which resulted from this alliance: a small British Dominion Party, and a much larger 'purified' Nationalist Party under the Cape leader, Dr. D. F. Malan. Hertzog and Smuts together carried a Status Act which secured for the Union the sovereign powers that had been offered to all the Dominions by the Imperial Statute of Westminster in 1931, and also important Native legislation. On the outbreak of the Nazi War in September 1939, the United Party ministry split. Hertzog and some of his colleagues resigned, and Smuts included in a new British and Afrikaner cabinet representatives of the Dominion and Labour Parties.

Land and People

The South African stage on which this history has been enacted is a huge unbroken land mass with few harbours and a rocky coast. Its rivers are practically useless as a means of communication since some are blocked by rapids, some by sand-bars at the mouth, and some by both, and baffling to the would-be irrigator with their deep beds or their unhappy tendency to flood in the wet season and dwindle away in the dry. All round the land rises from the coast in three terraces to the curving escarpment of the Drakensberg mountains and their extensions to the High Veld of the interior, a plateau

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at least 4,000 feet above sea-level. The 'treeless, grassy plains of the High Veld cover the north-eastern Cape Province, Basutoland, most of the Orange Free State, and the southern Transvaal. North of Pretoria the land falls away to the Bush Veld and the hot valley of the Limpopo, the northern limit of Union territory; westward it shelves down through the grass and stunted trees of Bechuana-land, a country ill supplied with surface water, into the hollow which hides the Kalahari Desert; then it rises again to the uplands of South-West Africa, and so down to sea-level on the barren Atlantic shore.

Apart from its minerals Africa is not a rich continent, and South Africa is no exception. Most of the country gets its rains on the south-east winds during the southern summer from October to March, violent rains which give a plentiful though spasmodic supply to the south-eastern areas, but less and less as they travel inland, and next to nothing to the west coast. The south-west corner around Capetown, on the other hand, gets steady rains on the winter north-westerns and enjoys a delightful 'Mediterranean' climate and country-side. Though the Union contains many good tracts of agricultural land, it is, taken as a whole, a pastoral country with wide stretches of poor and inadequately watered soil. As such it can never hope to carry a really dense population. The only large aggregates of population are at Kimberley, which is declining with the falling away of the demand for diamonds, in the towns along the gold-bearing Witwatersrand, at the ports which have grown in sympathy with the mining centres, and in the more fertile of the Native reserves.

This thinly peopled Union is notably dependent on the Rand gold-mines, which are admirably organ-

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ized and worked under a gold law that secures for the State a liberal share of the profits. It is thanks to its mines that the Transvaal dominates the Union, and that South Africa is a relatively prosperous country with a high standard of living for Europeans. From one point of view the Union is 'White man's country', for nearly the whole of it lies in the south temperate zone, while height above sea-level usually compensates for the higher temperatures of the northern parts. Europeans can bring up their children healthily almost everywhere. The white rate of natural increase is among the highest in the world, and South Africans, including, significantly enough, those of the more recently arrived Jewish stock, tend to be tall and big-boned. On the other hand, the Union can never be 'White man's country' in the fullest sense of the term, since it is part of Africa. The total population of the Union is rather less than 10,000,000, but of these only 2,000,000 or so are Europeans. The rest consist of mixed-breed Cape Coloured folk, Indians whose presence links the fortunes of South Africa with those of the East and Central African territories, and Natives, two-thirds of the Union's total population, who are kinsmen of the Bantu tribes that are scattered over Africa as far north as a line drawn straight across the continent from the Gulf of Guinea to the Indian Ocean.

The Union and its Neighbours

The Union is thus not only drawn to the north by its relations with the white men there but with the black and brown also. Its relations are, however, necessarily most close with the territories to the south of the Zambezi and Kunene rivers. Let us, therefore, consider these.

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To the east of the Union lies part of the Portuguese province of Mozambique which is ruled by a Governor-General subject to a very general control from Lisbon. The Portuguese are separated from the interior by fever-stricken flats and high mountain walls; hence their ancient settlements neither flourished nor had much influence inland till the development of the Transvaal gold-mines made it worth while to build the railways that could climb the mountains and brave the tsetse fly. The Portuguese have two great assets. First, Delagoa Bay and the less commodious harbour of Beira are the natural outlets respectively for the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia. Secondly, for many years past, though to a less extent now than formerly, the Rand gold-mines have recruited much of their labour from among the Shangaans of Mozambique. For more than sixty years Mozambique has been bound closely to the Transvaal or the Union by agreements which have given it advantageous railway and customs rates. To-day, Mozambique stands or falls with the Union.

The British colony of Southern Rhodesia lies between the Zambezi and the northern frontier of the Union. The British South Africa Company, which founded it, still exists there as a powerful business concern, but it ceased to rule in 1923. Southern Rhodesia now enjoys the powers that were usual in British self-governing colonies before the days of Dominion status. Its relations with the Union have always been intimate. It has been settled largely from the south; ties of blood and speech are strong; its fundamental law is the Roman-Dutch law of the old Cape Colony; for forty years appeals lay in the first instance to a South African

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court and some go there still; for many years, again, Southern Rhodesia was a member of the South African customs union. Latterly it has withdrawn itself from its southern neighbour. It declined to enter the Union in 1910 or to reconsider that decision at a referendum a dozen years later; it has now withdrawn from the customs union and turned its thoughts towards amalgamation of some sort with the British territories beyond the Zambezi, in spite of the fact that a recent Royal Commission has poured cold water upon that scheme because of the smallness of the European populations and the divergent Native policies of the territories concerned. It is now less willing than ever it was to contemplate union with the South, mainly because it fears centralized rule from Pretoria, the inconvenience of the English-Afrikaans bilingualism which is the law of the Union, and the probable flooding of its all too numerous 'wide open spaces' by the poorer class of Union Afrikaner. Relations between the two communities are cordial enough, but you must never call a Rhodesian a South African.

The large and generally infertile territory of South-West Africa lies upon the west coast. It is isolated from the main mass of Union territory by dreary and almost waterless tracts, but it is linked to the Union's railway system and itself possesses a serviceable network of lines. As a C mandated territory it is ruled more or less as an integral part of the Union, which controls its railways and customs; and since South Africa is its only money market it stands deeply in the Union's debt. Perhaps half its small white population are Germans; the rest are immigrants from the Union, Afrikaners in the main. Two-thirds of the members of its Legislative

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Assembly are elective, and the majority of the electorate favours the inclusion of South-West Africa as a fifth province of the Union. So far the Pretoria government has not adopted that solution; meanwhile 'South-West' has long been a source of anxiety to them because of the extension thither of Nazi activities. On the other hand, the Union's war policy has been supported strongly at a recent general election, and vigorous steps have been taken to quash any dangerous developments.

Wedged in among these various colonies and provinces are the three territories of Basutoland, Swaziland, and Bechuanaland, the last remnants of direct Imperial rule south of the Zambezi. Each of them is governed by a representative of the High Commissioner for South Africa who is responsible to the Dominions Secretary. Basutoland, technically a colony, is almost entirely a Native reserve, a small and mountainous country with a strip of good land on its western side. Europeans are much more numerous in Swaziland, but some two-fifths of this little protectorate is reasonably fertile tribal land. The huge, poor and sparsely peopled Bechuanaland Protectorate contains extensive Native reserves, much almost empty Crown land, and a few strips of European settlement mainly along the railway which runs northward towards Central Africa close by the Transvaal border.

The connexion of 'the Protectorates' with the Union is very close. All three are members of the South African customs union; such railways as they have are run by the Union; the Union is the main, and sometimes the sole, market for their principal products—cattle and labour. Provision was made in 1910 for the transfer of their governance from

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the Imperial to the South African Government at some possibly far distant date and on terms laid down in a schedule appended to the South African Act. The question of transfer has been raised from time to time by the Union authorities with the approval of many of the Protectorate Europeans; but it has always awakened influential opposition in Great Britain and South Africa, while, as far as can be judged, Native Protectorate opinion is against it. Meanwhile the heads of the Protectorate and Union Native administrations collaborate closely on matters of common concern, and the British taxpayer finds considerable sums for the improvement of conditions in the territories.

Racial Problems: The Europeans

The fortunes of the Protectorates are a reminder that racial problems are among the chief that have to be faced in all Black Africa. The views held by the majority of South Africans, British and Afrikaner, on the proper relations between whites and others must be taken into account whenever a solution is sought in other parts of the continent, for these views are shared by many of the settlers in the British territories to the north. In the Union itself the problem of adjustment is complicated by the fact that there are three groups of white folk whose mutual relations are not easy. These three groups are the Afrikanders, the British, and the Jews.

Afrikanders

It is not always possible to distinguish the British from the Afrikanders, because intermarriage proceeds apace, surnames often give no clue, and

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the rising generation of each group is to an increasing degree bilingual. It is, however, safe to say that close on 60 per cent. of the 2,000,000 Europeans are Afrikaners with a language of their own and a keen national consciousness. They are still, in the main, a rural people, and though their birth-rate is slowing down it is higher than that of the predominantly urban British. Many of their younger folk are less stalwart Calvinists than their elders, but the Afrikaners are still a Bible-reading people, as keen on book-learning as any Scots, and, as a body, supporters of one or other branch of the Dutch Reformed Church. They make good soldiers in their own fashion, patient, resolute, and self-reliant to a degree, and they have a flair for the politics which have sometimes been called South Africa's major industry. This flair for party organization, helped by sheer numerical superiority and the favour shown in the South Africa Act to rural constituencies, has ensured that the Union shall be dominated by the Afrikaners. Moreover, this small nation has produced, in Kruger, Hofmeyr, Botha, Smuts, Hertzog, and their like, notable statesmen.

British

The British number some 35 per cent. of the white population. More and more of them are going 'on the land', but, as a whole, their interests centre in the commerce of the ports and the mines of the interior. They are more divided on religious and political matters than are the Afrikaners, and, for the rest, have the qualities of their forebears. A great breach was caused between them and the Afrikaners by the South African war of 1899-1902,

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a war which formed the early memories of most of the men who now control the destinies of the Union. Time, changing circumstances, and wisdom on both sides have gone far to heal the breach. The vast majority of the British are now South African born with a thoroughly South African outlook, while an increasing number of Afrikaners have realized that the short-lived aggressive British imperialism of the eighteen-nineties has long been dead, that capitalism as embodied in the gold-mines is well under governmental control and the mainstay of the Union's finances, and that the Afrikaner way of life, in whose defence Hertzog formed the Nationalist Party in 1913, is no longer in danger now that British immigration has virtually ceased and Afrikaans has become a literary and official language in place of High Dutch. In normal times the two peoples jog along together remarkably well, all things considered, and there are some who hope that the present war will provide the great common experience that will make the Europeans of South Africa more nearly one people than ever before.

On the other hand, the fires still smoulder and can easily be fanned into flame. A dwindling number of the British are still suspicious of all things Afrikaner, a larger and fluctuating number of Afrikaners repay this suspicion in kind, while the extreme Nationalist followers of Dr. Malan are Sinn Feiners intent upon stressing that which divides rather than that which links them to their neighbours. The centenary celebrations of the Great Trek in 1938 were given a fiercely anti-British twist, while the outbreak of war has led to great strain. Malan's followers, and many of

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Hertzog's also, resent the Union's entry into what they regard as a 'British war'. They demand a republic more and more openly and lend a wishful credence to German war propaganda, while some of them, especially at the Afrikaner universities and colleges, display a taste for Nazi ideas on the proper relations of supermen to the rest of creation. But, after all, they belong to a people which naturally tends to 'think with its blood' in a mixed community, forms commandos readily, and in spite of its individual self-reliance gives wide discretionary powers to the leader of the moment. And let it be remembered that the deepest Afrikaner bitterness is directed not against the British but against fellow Afrikaners who are not of their persuasion.

Jews

During the past decade South African Jewry has fared less well than it once did. Prior to 1890 there were comparatively few Jews in South Africa, and even to-day they number little more than 5 per cent. of the European population. Most of them come from central or eastern Europe, notably from Lithuania. As a body they are strict Jews, supporting the Zionist movement generously and abstaining from marriage with Gentiles. They control a great share of the business of the larger towns, especially of Johannesburg, where they number 17 per cent. of the white population; but they are also scattered in the smaller towns and villages, or in the country-side as shopkeepers, hotel managers, and occasionally farmers. Their abler young folk flock into the legal and medical professions. It must be stated frankly that anti-Semitism is rising

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in South Africa, especially in the smaller towns, and that though it is most outspoken in Nationalist circles it is not confined to them. The wide powers which the Government has taken since 1930 to control immigration are avowedly aimed at Jews in the first instance, while a year or two ago the Malanites made further restrictive legislation one of the main planks of their election platform with considerable success. Latterly more than one anti-Semitic 'shirt' movement has arisen owing a good deal to German encouragement and example.

Racial Problems: The Non-Europeans

The problem of adjusting the relations of the three European groups in the Union is, however, as nothing compared with that of finding a *modus vivendi* between them and the non-European majority. That majority also consists of three groups. First, the 770,000 mixed Cape Coloured folk, a people civilized, however humbly, in the Western fashion, who live for the most part in the western half of the Cape Province. Secondly, the 220,000 Indians, most of whom are to be found in Natal and the towns of the Transvaal. The great majority are low caste, or no caste, Hindus. Thirdly, there are the 6,600,000 Bantu, the Natives, who range from a still tribal majority to the few who have become thoroughly westernized and even hold professional qualifications. They are to be found in all parts of the Union, though as very recent immigrants in the long-settled south-west. They are most numerous in the eastern half of the country.

This non-European problem, in the form of competition with white men for land and employment,

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was not felt seriously until about the time of Union in 1910. Then the Europeans realized that it was bound up with the growing problem of the Poor Whites, Afrikanders for the most part, who were drifting from the land to the towns and feeling non-European competition acutely. And not they alone. Skilled and semi-skilled workmen began to find that non-Europeans were ready and eager to do their work at far lower rates of pay. More and more the policy of the Government and the desire of the great majority of the European population have been to curtail the non-Europeans' political power, restrict their opportunities of acquiring land outside well-defined areas, and limit their choice of employment for the sake of saving 'white South Africa'.

The Native Franchise

This policy of segregation has been carried farthest in the case of the Bantu; but much of it applies also to Coloured folk and Indians. Consider first the matter of votes. The Republics had always withheld the franchise from non-Europeans; Natal offered it to all alike in theory but debarred Indians and Bantu in practice; the Cape Colony alone, from 1853 onwards, gave it to men of all races who could satisfy certain conditions. These provincial franchises were retained at the time of Union and the Cape franchise was specially safeguarded, though Cape non-Europeans were deprived of their hitherto unexercised right of sitting in Parliament. Some of the staunchest supporters of the Cape franchise are Western Province Afrikanders, but from 1925 onwards Hertzog pressed hard for the abolition of the Natives' right to the vote with the support of Labour and an increasing

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number of Smuts's British and Afrikaner followers. The white electorate was doubled in 1930-1 when the vote was given to all adult white men and women in the Union, and in 1936, after Hertzog and Smuts had joined hands, the Cape Bantu franchise was still further whittled away. Those Cape Bantu who can qualify for it still get the vote side by side with Coloured folk and Indians, but they are entered on a special roll and elect only three Europeans to represent them in the House of Assembly. The rest of them and the Bantu in the other three provinces, voting through their chiefs, councils, boards, and so on, return four Europeans to the somewhat ineffective Senate, while the Government continues to nominate four other Europeans mainly for their knowledge of the wants and wishes of the non-Europeans. These same large constituencies also elect twelve Bantu to sit beside Bantu nominees and European officials on a purely advisory Native Representative Council. Municipal councils are still open to non-Europeans in the Cape Province; but, since 1936, the Cape Provincial Council has been closed to them, and the Malanite Nationalists have been pressing for the political segregation of the Cape Coloured folk.

Labour

Next, employment. In the ex-Republics non-Europeans were shut out from certain kinds of work by a legal colour bar, reinforced by a customary bar which was applied in the coast colonies also. Since Union the tendency has been to confirm and extend the legal colour bar. Again, the Nationalist-Labour Pact ministry instituted a white labour policy on the state railways and other governmental

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undertakings, and brought pressure on municipalities and private firms to employ Europeans, whose labour was subsidized or rendered less immediately costly in some other way, in place of non-Europeans. Further, though much has been done for non-European education since 1910, it still lags so far behind that comparatively few who receive it can bridge the gap between the end of their schooling and the minimum requirements for apprenticeship to many trades. The Cape Coloured folk are admitted to many of the trade unions in the Cape Province, where they are also freest in other respects, but even there they are in danger of being crushed between privileged white labour and cheap Bantu labour.

The South African Indians, the vast majority of whom were born in the country, share these economic disabilities, and have others of their own. Many of their ancestors were imported under indenture to work in the sugar plantations of Natal from 1860 onwards; but it is now difficult for an Indian to enter the Union; the movement of all of them from one province to another is restricted, and the Orange Free State will not admit them on any terms. For years past the Union and Indian Governments together have encouraged them to return to India, but the number of those that have gone is less than the natural rate of increase. The two Governments have also agreed that, while Europeans are entitled to safeguard their standard of life, which Indian competition threatens, Indians who so wish must be helped to attain to that standard. The strain has been eased by the appointment of an Agent representing the Government of India; but much remains to be done by the Indians

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themselves and their rulers to achieve the desired end. Meanwhile would-be Indian traders in Natal and the Transvaal often find it difficult to obtain licences from elective local authorities.

Land

Thirdly, there is the problem of the land, with which is interwoven the question of Bantu labour. Non-Europeans were never able to hold land in their own right on individual tenure in the Republics; but elsewhere they could and did, and between 1905 and 1913 Bantu were permitted to do so even in the Transvaal. Since Union the tendency has been to confine the Bantu to specified rural areas, to exclude them from the towns except on sufferance; to maintain against them the pass laws in many parts of the country, and also to stiffen the spasmodically administered segregation laws in Transvaal urban areas against Coloured folk and Indians and to debate seriously a similar enforcement in the Cape Province.

The segregation policy has so far been applied most systematically to the Bantu two-thirds of the Union's population. Speaking broadly, 50 per cent. of these dwell in scattered reserves, the largest of which are in the Cape Native Territories, eastern Natal-Zululand, and the northern Transvaal. Perhaps 40 per cent. live in European rural areas, and some 10 per cent. in the towns or Native townships adjacent thereto. It is impossible to enter into details here. It must suffice to say that the policy pursued by successive Union Governments since 1913 is based upon principles and practices which can be traced back for a hundred years or so, chiefly to the Republics and Natal, and is intended to

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encourage the Bantu to develop a society 'along their own lines' side by side with, but apart from, the society of the white and coloured peoples. Pressure has been brought upon Native squatters, that is Natives who pay rent other than labour for the right to live upon European lands, to choose one of three courses. Either they must become short-term labourers under the protection but also under the penalties of the Masters and Servants Acts which, *inter alia*, makes a strike a criminal offence; or they must become labour-tenants paying rent in work, they and their dependents, on 'anything up to 180 days in each year as their landlord may direct; or else they must retire to the reserves. In some parts labour-tenants have also been subjected to the Masters and Servants Acts, and recently a very old policy has been revived, potentially on a Union-wide scale, of distributing them more evenly among the European farmers.

The reserves to which 'redundant Natives' must repair were admittedly inadequate in 1913. The land law of that year deprived Bantu outside the Cape Province of such rights as they had of acquiring land in European areas, and, except by executive action, no further areas were set aside for them till 1936. Additional areas were then marked out in all four Provinces by Parliament, but the Cape Natives' right of acquiring land anywhere in their own province was taken away. Much of the new and old Native land is good; but much is eroded, nearly all lacks amenities which exist in European areas, some of the new land is already in Native occupation, and additional lands must be paid for in the last resort by Natives whose low purchasing power is the main difficulty in the way of develop-

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ing the Union's home market. Moreover, the scattered blocks set aside for Native occupation would seem to be an inadequate basis on which to set up a separate Bantu society.

The quality of Native administration by devoted officials, who are assisted in the extensive Cape Native Territories and some other parts by elective Native councils, has improved greatly since the time of Union. On the other hand, the problems raised by Native administration have impelled the Government to take wide discretionary powers, which sort ill with parliamentary principles, while recent legislation has weakened the Natives' powers of bringing pressure on the European Parliament. More than ever the fate of the Bantu majority depends upon the spirit in which Parliament and electorate discharge the trusteeship which they have assumed.

Defence and Foreign Policy

The Union, which is thus attempting the task of building within the same state two social pyramids resting alike upon a shifting mass of black labour, has been called upon to face the issues of peace and war as a sovereign state.

The naval side of South Africa's defence system has always been supplied by the Royal Navy based upon Simonstown in the Cape Peninsula. In colonial days the British Government also maintained a garrison in the Cape Peninsula and on the more dangerous of the Native frontiers. In 1912, however, the new Union Government organized its own Defence Force, the last of the Imperial troops were withdrawn during the Great War, and in 1921 the British Government handed over to the

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Union its local military property including the forts at Capetown and Simonstown on the understanding that the dockyard at Simonstown should be available for the Navy under all circumstances. This anomalous arrangement has been criticized by Nationalists, and even by Hertzog in earlier days, as a threat to the Union's right of neutrality, but it has been accepted by South African ministers of whatever party colour.

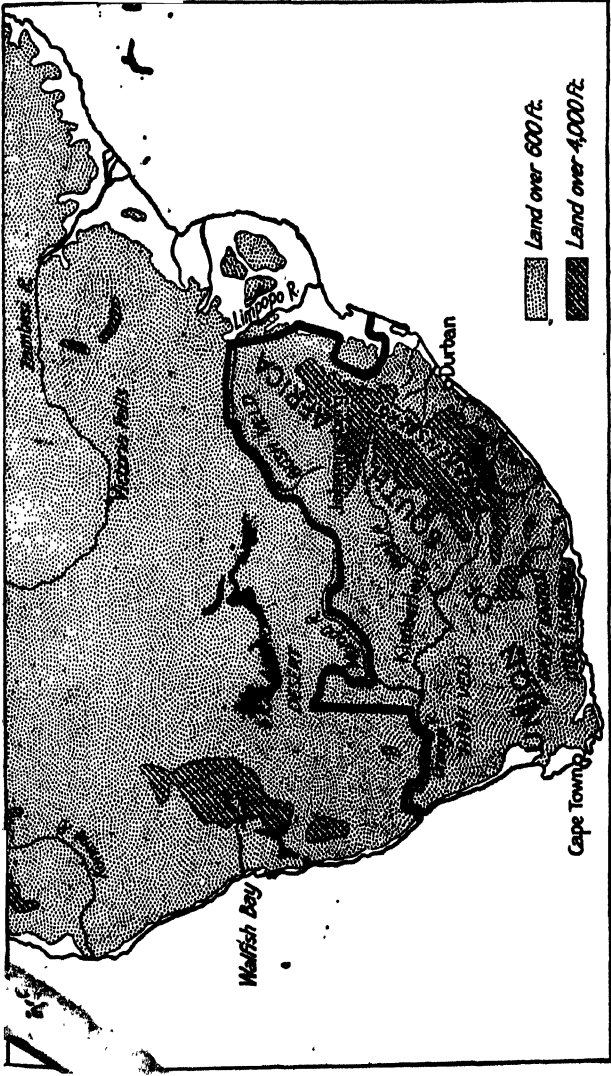
Successive ministries have always considered the problem of land defence, for which the Union has been solely responsible since 1914, in close co-operation with the Imperial authorities. From 1934 onwards till the outbreak of war the task of overhauling the Union's defences was entrusted to the energetic Mr. Pirow. He proposed to create a mobile force of infantry and mounted infantry with as much home supply as possible, and also to improve internal communications, strengthen the defences of the chief ports, develop Table Bay as a harbour capable of sheltering the largest ships and seaplanes, and equip the Air Force to assist the Royal Navy or, if need be, defend British and even non-British territories to the north.

The crisis came for South Africa in the parliamentary debate of 4 September 1939 on the issue of war or neutrality. Hertzog, the Prime Minister, had always claimed the right of neutrality, and most of his opponents now accepted it. On the other hand, he had long ago hailed the Royal Navy as the guarantor of his country's liberties and agreed that South Africa must go to war, as a loyal member of the League of Nations, if any Power made 'an aggressive and dangerous attack' on Great Britain, and at least 'occupy itself with European affairs'

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if any Power aimed at dominating free peoples and thereby threatened the liberties of South Africans. The Malanite Nationalists had demanded with increasing vigour a general declaration of neutrality, and even advocated the return to Germany of her lost colonies provided South-West Africa, with its numerous Afrikaners, was treated as 'a special case'. The Dominion Party, at the other extreme, had urged South Africa to subscribe to a definite Imperial scheme of defence. Smuts would have none of that; nevertheless, as the Nazi aims became more apparent, he insisted that South Africa must 'stand by Britain'. When it came to the point the various parties ran true to form. Hertzog, who regarded the German invasion of Poland as a distant and purely local affair, proposed a formula of modified neutrality which, in effect, ignored the general war. Smuts held that the Nazis were aiming at world supremacy and thereby endangering South Africa's liberties. He carried the day and the Union declared war upon the Reich. 'Neutrality', said Smuts presently as the Nazis forced their way down to the North Sea over the bodies of neutral states, 'is dead. It has proved itself to be a trap.'

For a time the situation was serious. Smuts's composite ministry was insecure, many of Pirow's military reforms existed only on paper, and there was always the risk of a rebellion as in 1914. Fortunately Hertzog, Malan, and Pirow also, in spite of his avowed sympathy with much of the Nazi philosophy, condemned anything savouring of violence, and by the time the Malanites had joined with Hertzog's followers in a Reunited Nationalist or People's Party under the leadership of the ex-Premier, Smuts could count on an adequate majority



Land over 600 ft.

Land over 4,000 ft.

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