

Words Words Words

A VANISHING BOOKLET, though only four years old, has come back into close focus recently. It is the ably compiled *Tembus Resist Bantu Authorities*, "issued by The Transkei Organised Bodies, Secretary, R. S. Canca" after the deportation of four Tembu leaders in 1958. The Tembus, through their Paramount Chief, Sabata Dalindyebo, are now rejecting Dr. Verwoerd's offer of Transkei "self-government," and the history of their rejection of its predecessor, Bantu Authorities, makes a valuable background to the current Transkei situation. The booklet is also in point because on 10 August 1962, Mr. Jackson Balisile Nkosiyan, one of the four banished men, was informed by South African Policemen from Matatiele that he was free to return to Tembuland from his refuge at Qacha's Nek, Basutoland.

The release of Mr. Nkosiyan will probably be used to persuade Paramount Chief Sabata to drop his opposition to its "self-government" plans by appealing to his sense of gratitude.

MRA have tried too, and as unavailingly. They were on to Chief Sabata after the meeting of the Tembus at Bumbane on 12 August, at which the "Matanzima Constitution" was again rejected. *The Tembus Resist Bantu Authorities* recalls earlier MRA activity in the Transkei, quoting a letter in a *Daily Dispatch* of September 1958 written in staggering bad taste by the then Chief Magistrate of the Transkei, Mr. T. D. Ramsay, in reply to Mr. Canca's accusations about the deportation of Mr. Nkosiyan and his three fellows:

"One of the deportees [i.e. Mr. Jackson Nkosiyan],

in a moment of religious fervour when he was temporarily converted to the principles of Moral Re-Armament, spontaneously confessed to me in the presence of witnesses that he had used his position near the Paramount Chief to further his own ends, to bring the Government officials into disrepute, that he had added fuel to the quarrel between the Paramount Chief and Chief K. D. Matanzima, and had prevented meetings between the two chiefs arranged by me for discussion of their differences, that he was deliberately keeping subordinate chiefs away from the Paramount Chief so that they would come to rely on him; and much more in the same vein. He promised reformation, and kept his promise—for a short while."

When MRA failed to silence Nkosiyan, deportation was tried. It is unlikely that the 1958 sequence will be attempted again in 1962. Chief Sabata is, of course, a very different proposition from his four followers, the 1958 victims. As leader of over half-a-million Tembus, he commands a very great following and one to which he is being bound ever more closely.

INTERESTING FACTS come to light from the *Memorandum on Salary Scales* drawn up by African staff members at the Fort Hare University College. Salaries for Professors, for instance before 1960 were R3900 x R120—R4500. Since the College was taken over by the Bantu Education Department in 1960, these have remained the same for White male professors, with an added "territorial allowance" of R450 and R200 for married and single men respectively. Salaries of Black and Indian/Coloured professors, however, are now respectively, R2800 x R100—R3200 and R3200 x R100—R3700. Senior lecturers', lecturers' and junior lecturers' salaries are as discriminatory—an African professor can earn less than both a White senior lecturer and lecturer, apart from the fact that Africans' are the lowest paid inside each grade. Thus an African professor's maximum is R260 a year less than a White female professor's *minimum* (R460 if you include her "territorial allowance"). The figures are as fantastic as some instances of discrimination in house rents, whereby, for example the occupant of House No. 25 (Black lecturer) pays R267.70 p.a. and of No. 26 (Black typist) R216.72, where the rents for, say, Nos. 3 and 4 (White senior lecturers) and 19 (White professor) are R132.30, R174.75 and R164.03 respectively.

The signatories complain of "inequality of pay for equal work and equal qualifications for Black and White, but equality of responsibility for paying for the services the College makes available to members of staff"; yet find this a generous description since the services, amenities and rents generally favour the higher paid, and therefore white, staff members.

An odd comment is made in the Memorandum. Its signatories feel that their White colleagues must be "more embarrassed" and must be suffering "pricks of conscience in a situation like this." "We know," they

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write "how it hurts to suffer discrimination in your own domain, but we do not know how we would feel if we were given the 'lion's share' let us say, at Rhodes, or Stellenbosch, or Potchefstroom." If they accept the Fort Hare locality as their "domain" they weaken their claim to equal pay, since they accept a difference between black and white staff members which is the basis of the Government's excuse for discriminating against them. They also reveal African misapprehensions about White "conscience pricks." *Contact* used to footnote many of its stories with the maxim "apartheid equals greed," and those who accept apartheid are not above profiting by its pickings, even if phrases like "territorial allowances" are used when the pickings appear unduly fat. In a society in which every White person is brought up to believe that he will always be paid and is indeed worth more than any non-white person, consciences are

not easily aroused, and no more among academicians than among people in any other walk of life. The other conclusions are sound, such as the final one, where 'domain' is rightly used:

"The salary scales have neither an educational nor an economic justification. They have only a political one. They are a manifestation of the application of the Bantu Education at Fort Hare, a system which is an aspect of the general policy of the Government. And those of us who keep politics out of education cannot but raise their voices against this unwarranted invasion of our domain. If the politicians wish to juggle with the social order let them steer clear of education, especially of University education."

Sound, yes, but no more, alas, than an unavailing cry to close the stable door two years after the horses have bolted. ●

Account Closing

JOHN LAREDO

The Colonial Reckoning by Margery Perham (Collins)

MISS MARGERY PERHAM IN HER 1961 Reith lectures brings to her task as ledger clerk for the colonial empire, especially in Africa, an imposing list of credentials. She was the friend of Lugard and is his biographer. She has had 30 years experience at Oxford as lecturer in Colonial Administration and she is by no means a stranger to Africa.

The book follows a conventional pattern. The author appraises the situation in which the European powers, notably Great Britain, obtained their colonial possessions. In Africa, except for the extreme south and the various coastal belts, effective administration began only after 1880 and in the interior not until the beginning of this century. By 1918 imperialism, though not yet in full retreat, was already being criticised.

The growth of anti-colonial feeling and the concurrent growth of African nationalism are appraised. Miss Perham shows how this nationalism was sharpened by the concept of differentiation which implied that the African, possibly to a greater degree than the Asian, was regarded as different and inferior. The wish to be free of the colonial yoke that made this differentiation explicit conditioned African thinking throughout the continent.

The period between the wars saw the extension of colonial administration and an improvement in services. The concept of indirect rule became an end and in the author's words often a "dead end", of colonial policy. With hindsight, the writing can be seen on the wall, although few appear to have seen it at the time. The end of the Second World War saw Asian nationalism come of age. The British left India and the Dutch

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Indonesia. Within a few years the imperialist retreat had spread to Africa. Today the former colonial empires remain as a few rapidly shrinking spots on the map. In this context the author attempts to balance a "colonial account". Her attempts to do so may not meet with the approval of the Africans themselves, who she feels, are too close to their colonial past to "rationalise their colonial experience". She accepts the inevitability of white penetration into Africa and the need, whether of the white imperialists or the newly independent states to assume the burdens of pacification and administration. She finds much, perhaps with her great knowledge of the continent and of administration, too much, which is not susceptible of an easy or popular answer. She has a brief look at the future prospects and appears to err somewhat "on the side of pessimism".

IT IS THIS NOTE in the book that makes it irritating. As an assessment of colonial achievement it is a lesser monument than her volumes on Lord Lugard. It is not a comfortable farewell to the departure of the old order nor a joyful welcome to the new. This neutrality is probably due to an academic detachment which is intent on seeing all sides of the problem but it is the more surprising because, on the central issue of independence for African states, Miss Perham is quite clear and explicit. She recognises that with the failure of indirect rule and the pressure to provide a political system for the new states, metropolitan powers will provide the political system with which they are most familiar, an exact copy of their own. The advisability of this is to her irrelevant.

"I want to state with all emphasis my belief that once Africans have been fully stirred into racial self-consciousness and political awareness, prematurely though this may be in their own interests, there is little more that foreign rulers can do for them" (p. 70).

Although she has faced up to the central fact that independence cannot be withheld, she regrets that more time was not spent under colonial tutelage. This book records only the closing of the account, the morning after must await another occasion. ●