

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. ●

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## 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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JOHN LAREDO is a lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Natal, Durban.

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. ●

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# The Intellectual Colonisers

A. K. BROOKS

*The Tribe and its Successors* by William Rayner  
(Farber and Faber)

*Racial Themes in Southern Rhodesia* by C. A. Rogers  
and C. Frantz (Yale)

HERE ARE TWO MORE BOOKS on Southern Rhodesia to add to the spate of tomes by Mason, Gray, Clegg, Leys, Dunn, old Uncle Tom Creighton and all. The sheer volume of literature that has resulted from the West's belated academic interest in Africa forces one to be highly selective. There are good reasons for selecting both the books under consideration, and some equally good reasons for ignoring them.

Mr. Rayner is clearly writing for the general reader in Europe. He is not afraid to generalise broadly, and he chooses his material arbitrarily. Although he describes his purpose as being 'to show the collision of two cultures', he achieves something rather different—a description of the origins and beliefs of the Mashona people and their interaction with the Matabele, followed by an account of the European conquest and settlement of the areas inhabited by these tribes.

The book winds up with a personal view based on the author's five years' experience as a civil servant in Southern Rhodesia. This section is informed with the same enlightened liberality of attitude as that which characterises the rest of the work.

*The Tribe and its Successors* is intelligent and fair, and can be recommended as a complement to Creighton's *Anatomy of Partnership*. Between them, these two unoriginal but well-written works provide a reliable introduction to the history and politics of Southern Rhodesia.

MUCH MORE AMBITIOUS is the aim of Messrs. Rogers and Frantz. With the impressive backing of the Federal University College and various American institutions they have attempted a scientific measurement of white attitudes towards Africans in Southern Rhodesia. Leaving aside the question whether attitudes can be measured scientifically, one must ask whether the whole undertaking was justifiable in the first place.

The co-authors, dozens of students and graduates, and a horde of assistants, clerks and computers devoted considerable amounts of time and money to produce 'scientific' verification of the predictions that any intelligent observer could make of white Rhodesian prejudices. Why bother? Don't we all know that the most deep-seated race prejudices are those associated with sex and physical contact, that the longer a settler

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A. K. BROOKS, a Rhodesian, is a student at the University of Cape Town.

stays the more conservative he becomes, that the Afrikaans people and their churches are less tolerant of change and the black man than the Catholics?

*Racial Themes* well illustrates the too-seldom recognised tendency of intellectual 'settlers' in colonial situations to confine their attention to their own culture. Nor should we expect it to be otherwise—professors are as subject to social pressures as anybody else. It is nevertheless depressing to see how slow the egg-heads are to adjust. Even the historians have only recently awoken to the fact of pre-settler African history.

But we do not need to speculate about the sort of political attitudes that underlie the mammoth efforts of Rogers and Frantz. Very occasionally, they give the game away with statements such as these:

"At the moment, the question of introducing universal adult franchise in Southern Rhodesia is analogous to whether or not the control of Oxford University should or could be transferred to the groundskeepers and typists!" and on p. 159

'Southern Rhodesia's economic history began with the arrival of European hunters, traders and prospectors.'

'With the passage of time, Africans may change their aspirations and self-conceptions and come to accept Federation more fully.'

It would be unfair to end this review without mentioning the merits of this work. Amidst much jargon and pretentious formulations of truisms the careful reader will find a substantial body of carefully sifted statistical data. The historical and descriptive material is presented with scrupulous attention to accuracy, and the comprehensive nature of the book will make it useful as a work of reference. ●

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