

lack of initiative or maybe even a sheer crazed honesty not made financial capital out of his advantages. He is on the whole perpetually poor, uncomplaining about his poverty and no trouble at all. On top of all that, he is that infuriating character—the uncommitted man. He has given his loyalty to *no one*. How can he when he cannot even agree with himself about what he is thinking?

The negative aspects of Cape Coloured leadership tend to stress the fact that the fate of the Cape Coloured people is the fate of the White in South Africa. If that were really true then the Coloured man is doomed. But it is not. The Coloured man knows he is oppressed, and he knows his oppressor. He of all oppressed groups in South Africa fears his oppressor most because he is closer to him and really understand the ruthless nature of his power. So, he complies. He is obsequious, just so long as everybody leaves him in peace. Instead he would rather expend his hidden rage and frustration in drink and acts of violence on his own people or else try to outwit and make fun of you with his shrewd sense of humour. Coloured men, like Dr. Van Der Ross, appear to be unaware of the tragedy that is the day to day life of the Coloured people. He, and a few others like him would give the impression that the Coloured man is working hand in glove with the oppressor. The real trouble with the Van Der Rosses and a number of others like them is that they have created a conservative middle class of their own which is but a pallid and watery reflection of White privilege. It is a treacherous, dangerous and deceiving reflection.

THE RACIALISTS IN THE SOUTH of the United States of America are making their last stand. The pro-tribalists are or will be making their last stand. We are told that the hard core of Afrikanerdom in South Africa will also make its last stand. A decisive factor for a man in all these strifes and last stands is for him for the sake of his self-respect to find out where his loyalty lies. A man who sees a country merely as a place where he can earn money is not loyal to that country; his loyalty lies some other place, and, as soon as he has collected enough will be a-

getting back to that place. Neither is a man loyal who values a country only for the privileged position he holds there. Colonialists dominated in Africa for so long only because there was no other force to counter their power. When they had to contend with the uncompromising force of African nationalism, they gave way; sometimes gracefully; sometimes with a fierce and bitter struggle.

There is often the cry of Non-White leaders in this country, and among Coloured leaders in particular, about the lack of unity among the oppressed people. Leaders, especially some sinister and unscrupulous ones which we have here, wish to use the people for their own ends; for ends that may have either a perpetuation of White domination or the introduction of something like Moscow rule. Africa and the awakened forces of African nationalism are against them and against all exploiters who do not admit a loyalty to a continent that has had its fill of exploitation. Future generations of young people in South Africa and Africa will be against them too.

WE ALL LOVE OUR COMFORTABLE grooves and somehow feel safe in patterns of living that have been imposed upon us; even though these patterns are unjust. A time of change is a time of upheaval that disrupts the status quo. It is also a time when violent passions rampage and terrifying acts of repression are perpetrated by those who wish to resist this change. The sane man will resist being swept into this cauldron of hatred. He learns to accept change as one of the inevitable consequences of life and prepares to adjust himself to something new, well knowing that the past was not good for him and looking forward with hope to the future.

Who knows what is ahead? But life has need of a people such as the Coloured people of the Cape. While they too are suffering at the hand of the exploiter and do not as yet know whether they are this or that or here or there, they are warmly human, generous with a word of greeting and a smile. For my part, they evoke the words of Stephen Foster, later used in a popular song—"dear hearts and gentle people." ●

REVIEWS

Reticent Keepers

Leonard Bloom

Langa: A study of social groups in an African township by Monica Wilson and Archie Mafeje (O.U.P., Cape Town R2.55)

PERHAPS UNFORTUNATELY, *Langa* is likely to be read widely both by those professionally interested in Africa and by the interested layman. Many readers will feel warm and satisfied that now they *know* how, and what, Africans suffer from apartheid. Some readers will, I fear, feel vaguely and comfortingly that those quaint creatures in the Langa zoo are, it seems, becoming not too different from the keepers outside. It is, of course, the keepers who read the book.

Frankly, I was disappointed, irritated and baffled: both as a social psychologist, much concerned with the problems of urbanisation in Africa, and as a layman.

I was disappointed and irritated that in this "study of social groups", so much was treated so muzzily, and so much of significance was left out. It is quite astonishing that in 1960 in South Africa, a scientific study can omit an analysis of political and economic organisation, even on the most general level. Not one serious reader should be satisfied with the apology that "a very large number of the people of Langa take a lively interest in politics, and readers must make allowance for this fact". Later in the book we read that "the general leaders in Langa are the political leaders", but we search in vain for any account of *how* political leaders lead, and in what situations. Nor are we told what kind of social groups arise from this "lively interest in politics". This striking omission is in no way balanced by lists of names of dance bands, sports clubs and churches, and tedious descriptions of which clergyman quarrelled with which other.

THE BOOK CONCLUDES that "something new is growing in the towns: its mark is the intense vitality, the aliveness, that appears in dance and song, in the jiving of the *ikhaba* and the Merry-Macs band, in the

irrepressible humour of the townees, and in a flexible changing language". It is irritating that throughout a serious work (which is not, we presume, intended to be a lengthy version of the "Our friends the Bantu and their smiles in the face of adversity" type of journalism), the emphasis is upon trivial description. Is Langa no more than Merry-Macs and jiving?

To be sure the authors criticise the mischiefs of *specific* apartheid policies, but I was left with the impression that they are more interested in "the intense vitality . . . dance and song", than in the revolution in social structure and behaviours that urbanisation brings about. I constantly felt that the reader was diverted from any considered discussion of harsh political and economic realities, by the interruption of the trivia of soccer clubs and churches.

As a social psychologist I was baffled: I have no idea how accurate and reliable the book is. Nowhere are we told *who* was interviewed. Nowhere are we shown the plan of the interviews. No information is given about *how* the interviews were carried out. For all that we can tell from the book, the entire material might have been collected from a handful of informal chats with youngsters, a couple of aged tame members of government-appointed "Advisory Boards", and an underground organiser of Pan African Congress. For all we know the interviewers might have been more concerned to present a picture of happy, singing Langa in the teeth of political and economic distress, than an accurate account—and what is worse, be quite unaware that they were doing so. We do know (from careful reading) that much information was picked-up on the 'bus, and from overheard conversations—scraps of chatter that no self-respecting firm would dream of accepting from its investigating psychologist, in a report on if and why housewives liked their new detergent. For we always hear on the 'bus what we want to hear.

LANGA IS STRONGER on a superficial, descriptive level, where it sketches vividly and warmly what it means to be an African in Langa: to grapple with completely arbitrary authority, exploitation wages, a high cost of living, geographical and cultural isolation, and the corruption that inevitably accompanies threading one's way through the labyrinth of bureaucratic fascism. *Langa* describes well the doubts, confusions and upheavals felt by a countryman on first arriving in town and having to learn the ways of the city, and I was moved by the sympathetic account of how migrants tend to look after one another (until used to town ways) and how there are many informal means to settle disputes. I was impressed by the complex cultural, social, sporting and educational activity that has developed in Langa, despite financial hardship and (often official hindrance or sabotage—such

as that which closed the voluntary night school with its enrolment of 300 to 400). Despite the official policy of sealing-off Langa (as all African townships are sealed off), "a community has emerged with characteristics very similar to those of urban communities in other countries". "Very similar"? No! Identical—Africans are not a *special* kind of human being.

About broad social issues the authors are coyly reticent. I have already criticised the authors' shunning any extended account of economic and political organisation, throughout the book there are scrappy references to the impact of the political and economic system upon life in Langa. This reticence makes the nine pages of "Conclusion" read curiously like a kindly, welfare report.

THE AUTHORS MAKE the sociologically unsophisticated statement that "what drives men to town is poverty". Certainly, the poverty-stricken "reserves" are an incentive to move to the towns. But are there no such spurs as ambition, the wish to escape a stultifying tribalism (where it lingers), the desire to find more opportunities in work and education for oneself and one's children? The authors nowhere comment that it is the *deliberate policy* of a quasi-colonial country to create the poverty that drives men to seek work in the towns, to become members of a new urban, landless, rightless proletariat. The authors' bare assertion leads to the ridiculous implication that migrants to Langa (and other townships) are no more than hungry tribesmen. De Wet Nel would love this: it comes comfortingly close to the government view that Africans are only "temporary sojourners" in the town, and are really rooted in the country.

The authors fail to trace systematically, or even to suggest, what is implied by urbanisation *as a universal social change*. Is all that occurs the creation of a handful of churches, clubs and fluctuating groups of "Home Boys" (from the same area)? What are the changing attitudes to education, work, leisure, money? What are the conflicts between rural and urban ways of life and thought? How are social groups formed to provide substitute activities for frustrated political interests and energies? How does the African, whose status is depressed by law and administration, find outlets to make him feel that he has *some* control over his environment? What social, economic and political pressures encourage, and which discourage the formation, maintenance and normal functioning of social groups? Which pressures foster, and which inhibit, the transition from rural to urban life?

Briefly, I missed any suggestion that the authors had a framework to make their material more than an untidy—if often interesting—jumble of "facts". *Langa* fails to place the basic existence and pattern of life in Langa squarely into the economic, political and social system that demands that the most substantial building in Langa is the police-station, and that the town is isolated, and can be insulated, some eight miles from Cape Town. If we wish to take seriously the urban revolution that is now gathering speed in Africa (and which is, perhaps, most advanced in South Africa) attention must be paid to a *systematic* study of the developing African working-class, which may well be Africa's decisive force for the future. The Merry-Macs and the Spiritual Zionist Church contribute little to our understanding, and ultimately, little to our sympathy. ●

Exciting Evidence

Leslie Rubin

Africa Unbound. Reflections of an African Statesman by Alex Quaison-Sackey. (André Deutsch, London)

DURING THE FOUR YEARS that Alex Quaison-Sackey has represented Ghana at United Nations, he has made his mark as an eloquent spokesman for the new Africa. Still a student when his own country achieved

her independence in 1957, he was one of the first of a growing number of young African patriots, called upon to assume the burden of world statemanship at short notice and with very little diplomatic training and experience. His career at United Nations is exciting evidence of the capacity of Africa to throw up men well able to hold their own—and more—with the most seasoned products of British, American or Russian foreign service. The record of his participation—described in this book—in the decisions taken by United Nations in regard to Hungary, Cuba and the Congo, disclose skilful negotiation within an admirable framework of dedication to the cause of international peace. But his specific activities—the lobbying, arousing interest, urging action, seeking compromise when there is conflict between the Western nations and Soviet Russia—are grouped around a central aim. His main purpose is

to interpret Africa to the rest of the world.

It is this interpretation of Africa which constitutes the theme of *Africa Unbound*. A chapter on the African Independence Movement discusses the colonial background to the process of emancipation from British and French rule, and goes on to present an illuminating comparison of the early approach of Houphouët-Boigny, on the one hand, and Nkrumah, on the other, to independence. An impressive feature of the treatment of this topic, is its objectivity. While—as one would expect—there is an

unequivocal assertion of Nkrumah's pioneering and determinant place in the whole process of African independence, the author does not fail to give full recognition to the part played by Houphouët-Boigny in bringing about the independence of the French territories. Other chapters provide balanced explanations of such concepts as the African Personality, Negritude, Positive Neutralism, which add, to much that has already been written on these subjects, both a sympathetic grasp of the non-African's difficulties in understanding them, and a re-

freshing readiness to question the views of African leaders.

This is a book I recommend, unhesitatingly, to student and layman alike. Perhaps the fact that Mr. Quasion-Sackey is opposed to the expulsion of South Africa from United Nations (another example of his admirable objectivity) may persuade some Afrikaner nationalists to read it. If they did they would learn much about the Africa of today and tomorrow that they ought to know. ●

On the Chessboard

Shula Marks

The Diaries of Lord Lugard Volume Four.
Edited by Margery Perham and Mary Bull (Faber 50s)

WITH THE PUBLICATION of the fourth and last volume of Lord Lugard's diaries, Miss Margery Perham and Mrs. Mary Bull have once again earned the gratitude of the student of African history. Both for the specialist in Nigeria and the general reader interested in Africa, the two diaries in this volume contain much fascinating material. While following on the three previous volumes which recorded Lugard's experiences in East Africa, and especially in present-day Uganda, the present volume has been so edited as to be intelligible on its own, although the reader will be much rewarded by turning to Miss Perham's full biography of Lord Lugard for further background material—and indeed will be greatly tempted to do so while reading the diaries. The admirably lucid and scholarly introductions to the two diaries however fully enable the reader to relate the entries in the diaries to the wider context of the time: both late nineteenth-century Imperialism and the 'Scramble for Africa' and Nigerian internal history; the introductory pages to each chapter relate to the more detailed records which follow.

As Miss Perham has pointed out in her preface, these diaries were essentially private records of Lugard's day-to-day activities, what he had achieved, what still lay ahead of him, written very often under the most difficult of circumstances. They were *paroles d'action* not meant for publication;

and herein lies much of their value in revealing the personality and temperament of the man who has been called 'Britain's greatest administrator in Africa', and whose philosophy and assumptions, for better or worse, not only influenced British policy in the whole of Africa before World War Two, but still play their part in the shape of politics in Uganda and Northern Nigeria. From this point of view the impressions and comments of the man who was later to become first High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria, on his first treaty-making trek through the country are of considerable importance. On the other hand, precisely because the diaries, and especially the first, were written as an account of daily events, there is little to remind one in the picture that emerges of Lugard the explorer and the brilliant organiser, of his later role as one of the chief proponents of 'indirect rule'—with all the contradictions that those words imply—and his ideas of the 'Dual Mandate'.

THE FIRST AND LONGER OF the two diaries covers the period from July 1894 to April 1895 when Lugard, as agent of Sir George Goldie's Royal Niger Company undertook the arduous and dangerous mission of treaty-making in that part of North-Western Nigeria rather vaguely described as 'Borgu'. From the plethora of detail in the diaries such as how many miles were marched on a particular day, how much Lugard paid his men, how generous a gift he gave to a particular ruler or how a particular treaty was negotiated, a really dramatic story emerges; however much one might deplore the underlying motivations of participants in the European scramble of which this trip was a part, and detest many of its repercussions, one cannot but admire the courage and intrepidity, to say nothing of the really extraordinary powers of organisation, of the man who led a virtually unarmed caravan of 293 Africans and two other Europeans through difficult, hostile and uncharted territory. Always taking into consideration the limitations imposed by

late nineteenth-century assumptions about Africa, Lugard's observations also give much important information on the internal state of the towns and principalities—if that is the correct term—through which he passed: their economic and social situation, their relationship with each other.

THE SECOND DIARY DEALS with the period October 1897 to June 1898, when Lugard, now in the employ of the British Government is placed in command of the West Africa Field Force and sets about its organisation. Perhaps the most interesting sections of this diary are those dealing with the supplanting in Northern Nigeria of the Royal Niger Company by a British Government with Chamberlain in its ranks very aware of its Imperial mission, and Lugard's clashes with Chamberlain over the so-called 'Chessboard' policy advocated by the British Government, whereby British troops would occupy towns in Nigeria immediately neighbouring those already occupied by the French and so try to edge them out of the region. Nothing could illustrate better the essential idiocy in terms of Africa itself of the 'game of Empire-building' as Lugard himself calls it. ●

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