At the outset I feel it incumbent upon me to express my appreciation of the honour which the responsible authorities have done me in inviting me to address this group which is entrusted with the responsible task of army education. This is the second occasion on which such an invitation has been extended to me. The first invitation I was reluctantly compelled to decline owing to a prior engagement to meet the Deputy-Prime Minister as a member of a deputation of the African National Congress regarding certain matters affecting Native Welfare. Your second invitation found me away from home attending an important conference convened by the Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate to discuss future educational and medical developments for Africans in that territory. I am glad that I found it possible this time to accept, because in my view the highest national importance attaches to the work in which you are engaged. To my mind it is a significant fact that in the midst of a war in which we appear committed to bring about the most rapid and most total destruction of the best fruits of human endeavour in practically every land, we /...
we have not lost sight of the necessity for the re-
creation of the human spirit and the education of the
human being. Just as it has been suggested that
prudence dictates that in a time of peace we should
prepare for war, we are surely following the path of
wisdom in endeavouring to prepare for peace during the
course of war.

By all thinking people this time is rightly
regarded as one for critical and dispassionate re-
examination of past policies in different spheres of
our social and national life. For us in South Africa
in no field is there a greater necessity for this
stock-taking and future planning; for this getting
rid of national cob-webs than in the field of Race
Relations. The conflict in which we are engaged is
perhaps in the largest sense a moral conflict in which
scales of value, especially in the matter of race
attitudes, are in the melting-pot; and the supreme
question with which we are faced is whether we shall
emerge from this testing time with a higher sense of
individual and social values, and with a greater deter-
mination to see them realised in our national scheme
of things.

Past / . . . .
Past Relations

The history of Race Relations in South Africa may be summed up as a struggle to make Southern Africa safe for what is called Western Civilisation. The victory of the white man over the black has often been described as one of civilisation over barbarism, and unless words have no meaning, this implies that the white man intended that the permanently valuable aspects of Western civilisation should become part of the heritage of every group represented in South Africa. At the same time it has always been part of South African policy, at least in theory, that no group should be denied the opportunity of contributing the permanent values of its own way of life to our national heritage. As I have said elsewhere in reference to the Voortrekker tradition which has done so much to shape our national policy "the Voortrekker creed can be said to rest on two pillars, namely, the extension of the essential values of western civilisation to all groups and the freedom of each distinct ethnic group to retain what it considers valuable in its own cultural heritage.

But we have not always worked for the fulfilment of /.....
of these principles whether in theory or in practice. We have tended to construe the supremacy of western civilisation in South Africa as implying the extension of its benefits to, or their monopoly by, Europeans, while the doctrine of the development of non-Europeans on their own lines has in practice meant letting the non-Europeans "stew in their own juice". Those few Europeans who have advocated the extension of the best elements of western civilisation to the non-European have been looked upon as traitors to their race, and the efforts of the non-Europeans to acquire what they considered the most valuable and helpful elements of European civilisation have been deplored as a craving to become "imitation Europeans", whatever that means; and curiously enough, as a threat to the racial purity of the European. The result is that our national policy has degenerated into an attempt to build up in South Africa a European civilisation resting on the insecure foundation of the poverty, ignorance and backwardness of the non-European. We have come more and more to base our policy on the principle of self-preservation for only as a section of our population instead / . . .
instead of upon individual and social security for all. Consequently our state policy on the one hand has found expression in wholesome concern for the welfare in all spheres of life of our European population. Every device has been adopted to strengthen the political, economic and social position of the white man. On the other hand, only grudgingly has any opportunity for development been accorded to the non-European sections of our population, and every device that could be thought of has been brought into play to render them completely defenceless against their European fellow-countrymen. To their honour be it said the country has not been entirely devoid of those who, drawn from all racial groups, have striven to keep alive the ideal of a really united South Africa in which the good of all sections of the community might be the concern of all. Theirs have been voices crying in the wilderness, but we owe it almost entirely to them that a gathering such as this is possible in South Africa today.

It is not my intention to paint a gloomy picture of either the past or the present in South Africa. Perhaps it was inevitable that the clash of cultures which /...
which took place when black met white in this country should have resulted in the struggle of whose bitter fruits we have not yet been able to rid ourselves. What country in the world can boast a pioneering period in its history which was without blemish? Everywhere it is only gradually, painfully slowly, that people have come to realise that no civilisation, however lofty in its principles, can be preserved in an atmosphere of repression and exploitation. A civilisation planted in such a soil carries within itself the seeds of an ignominious death. Just as the individual can only achieve immortality in this world by propagating his kind, so a civilisation can only achieve long life by the extension of its values to as many human carriers as possible. It is a matter for gratification that even in South Africa it seems to be gradually dawning upon the public mind that European self-preservation is inextricably bound up with that of all sections of the community. A healthy European population living side by side with a disease-ridden Native population; an enlightened European population living in close juxtaposition with a benighted Native population; a form of govern-
government in which we have democracy for Europeans and the reverse for non-Europeans; an economic system characterised by security for one section of the population and insecurity for the rest — all these are contradictions in our national life which are preventing us from achieving that maximum degree of stability upon which the development and the prosperity of our common country, with all its material and other resources, so largely depends.

**Future Race Relations**

Happily there is a spirit abroad in the country that the time has come for us to put our house in order. Every group which considers itself entitled to have a say in such matters is busily engaged in drawing up its blueprint for a new order in South Africa after the war. Every political party is called upon to justify its existence by placing before the country its conception of the shape of things to come. Non-political groups are also engaged in studying or drawing up social security codes which will make South Africa a better place to live in for future generations. The acid test of all these schemes lies in the kind of future which they envisage for / . . . .
for us as far as Race Relations are concerned. What is the light in which all these brightly coloured pictures of post-war South Africa are examined by the non-European sections of our population, and one must say that in their view practically all of them suffer from certain obvious defects.

In the first place there is a certain vagueness and indefiniteness in most of these schemes in regard to the place which non-Europeans are going to occupy in our body politic. In some quarters it seems to be considered sufficient to solve our problems to put in the word "all" in our statements of policy. "Democracy for all"; freedom from want for "all"; social security for "all", without indicating specifically who are included in the term "all" and how. The non-Europeans of this country have had bitter experiences regarding these generalisations. They have learnt to their cost that such terms as "public" do not include them, to say nothing of such terms as "Gentlemen" and "Ladies". They know to their cost that the majority of Europeans look upon the population of this country as consisting of only two million and not ten million people, and
that whenever Europeans use such apparently inclusive terms as "all" they instinctively "draw the line" at Natives.

Secondly, these plans for a new order, where they do make reference to the non-European, suffer from the defect of concentrating only on certain aspects of Native welfare. Thus everyone seems to be agreed that we shall have to do something about Native health and possibly Native wages and Native education. All these aspects of Native life are of course in urgent need of immediate attention. The sooner something is done about them the better. But that is far from being the whole story of African disabilities in this land. There are such matters as their share in the government of the country; their land and property rights in urban and rural areas; personal freedom of movement, of contract, of speech—in a word, the removal of the numerous artificial barriers—both statutory and conventional—which hamper the assumption by the non-European of his rightful place in our national life. We cannot dodge these issues by pretending that they do not exist or by relegating them / . . . .
them to some undefined future without indicating what practical steps we intend to take to bring about their ultimate, if gradual, solution.

An even more serious defect in our planning for the future is the lack of consultation between members of different groups. Most of the blueprints for the new order in South Africa are of exclusively European origin. It is assumed that once the European section of our population have reached agreement on principles and on general details then non-Europeans will have to fall into line. This is of course in keeping with the principle of trusteeship under which it is the exclusive privilege of the white men to initiate and direct national policy. The principle of trusteeship while it represents an advance on that of repression and exploitation is regarded by the non-Europeans as already out of date for South Africa at any rate, and they demand the adoption of a policy which recognises the necessity for sharing with the non-European both the initiation and the direction of policy. In other words the non-European demands the adoption of a policy of partnership.
ship in place of one of trusteeship. It is not sufficiently realised that in spite of the numerous handicaps from which they suffer, the non-Europeans of this country have on the whole achieved a much higher degree of general development than probably any other African community South or West of the Sahara, and that it is only the white man himself who is barring the way to their making a more vital contribution to our national welfare. To continue to deny such people a greater degree of participation in our Councils of State is to be untrue to the democracy for which we claim to be fighting. South Africa has, it must be admitted, made some progress in the direction of creating machinery for the consultation of Native opinion in matters affecting Native welfare. Our Native Local and General Councils in the Native territories, our Native Advisory Boards in the urban areas, our Native Representative Council and our system of parliamentary representation for Natives are attempts to meet this need. What we must envisage now is the critical examination of this machinery with a view to its improvement if it can be improved, or its substitution by something more effective in the light of our social policy.
social policy for the future.

**Individual and Group Needs.** At this stage it is necessary to point out that it is essential in dealing with African needs to distinguish between the needs of the individual and those of the group as a whole. There is, of course, no necessary opposition between the needs and aspirations of the individual and those of the masses, but in a community which is rapidly emerging from one stage of civilisation to another, it is not uncommon nor indeed surprising to find individuals at different levels of achievement, and to attempt to treat such a group as an undifferentiated mass or to apply the rate-of-the-dunces principle to schemes of their development is to do injustice to those who have already accepted the message of progress and are ready to take the next step in their upward march. Thus in education we may decide to concentrate on the needs of the large percentage of African children who stay at school for only a couple of years to the total neglect of the needs
of the few who do remain at school. To do that is to do injustice to the cause of the many no less than to that of the few, because we cannot carry on the education of the many without the services of the few who have been taken further along the road of education. Therefore as far as is consistent with the means at our disposal the educational needs of the few must be met simultaneously with those of the many. The same argument can be applied mutatis mutandis to other aspects of African development. In every sphere of life we find a small but steadily increasing number of Africans who have advanced beyond the common run of their fellows. To call upon such individuals to mark time indefinitely until the whole of the African population has reached their level is to stultify African development and to run the risk of turning the few who constitute the vanguard of African progress into disgruntled malcontents instead of making them responsible leaders of their people.
African Leadership; And this leads me to make another point which is worth remembering in working for harmonious race relations, and that is this. African progress can only be achieved in the main through African leadership. The view which is held in some quarters that it does not matter who leads the Africans as long as they get somewhere, and that consequently African leaders can be ignored as long as some good is being done is doomed to failure. Admittedly Europeans with their superior knowledge due to their superior training, their greater financial resources and wider experience can as a rule conduct affairs, superficially at any rate, with greater success than Africans. Hence the tendency for Europeans to succumb to the temptation to keep the direction of schemes for Native welfare in their own hands. But invariably that attitude leads to friction between Europeans and Africans, and teaches the latter nothing as people can only learn by doing.
In the African view the primary duty of any Europeans engaged in any kind of African work is to produce African who can take charge of the work themselves—in a word to produce an efficient African leadership rather than to attempt to replace it or to prevent it from arising. This is certainly one of the most difficult lessons for members of a dominating group to learn, but unless it is learnt harmonious co-operation between Europeans and Africans will become more and more difficult in this country. It is only fair to admit that latterly a certain amount of progress in this direction has been made even in South Africa. An increasing number of Africans is being admitted into responsible positions and into the inner councils of services for Native welfare. The pace, in the African view, is much too slow and our difficulties in this matter have not minimised by our past neglect to provide facilities for the training of Africans to take on a variety of types of work. Somehow we worked on the assumption that our "wards
would never grow up, and now when Africans are beginning to demand a place in the sun at least in services intended for their own benefit, they are accused of being anti-white or lacking a sense of gratitude to those who have laboured for their welfare for many generations. This complaint is about as justifiable as that of a parent who claims the right to feed his child indefinitely. Every civilised State has found it necessary to protect mature children against parents with this craze for perpetual tutelage. Unfortunately the African enjoys no such protection against Europeans who adopt this dog-in-the-manger attitude towards them.