

1. Next year-1960-the Union of South Africa will be celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of its establishment. The Union Government has already announced its intention to celebrate this important milestone in the history of the country in a manner befitting its significance and has invited the different sections of the population to prepare themselves to participate in the celebrations wholeheartedly.
2. There are many people in the country today who can look back to May 31, 1910 and who can recall something of the spirit in which the new Union was set upon its course in history. I still have a vivid recollection of that day. I still possess a cup which was presented as a memento of that day to each of all the school children of all races in the City of Kimberley who had gathered at the Racecourse to celebrate this happy event. I was only a youngster then but I could not help noticing that our elders entered upon ~~that~~ that event with sanguine hopes for the ~~future~~ future. The motto "Unity is Strength"- "Een Drag maak Magt" which we read on our cups ~~xxx~~ seemed to be full of meaning for them more than for us youngsters who were more interested in the school holiday and in the buns and the ginger beer which flowed so liberally on that day.
3. We know, of course, some of our African leaders of that day were not very happy about the South Africa Act of 1909 in which the South African constitution was laid down. They had sent a deputation to the United Kingdom and had tried to show the British Parliament that this constitution did not accord a proper place to the rights of the non-white sections of the population, but they had been assured that with the passage of time their fears would prove to have been groundless. The strong ~~that~~ government that would emerge from the union of the four Colonies of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange River Colony

would take care of the legitimate interests of all sections of the population and would be able to make the South African constitution more broadbased as time went by. With great reluctance the African leaders of that day accepted the decision of the British Parliament. I say that they must have been among the few people who were not so enthusiastic about ~~their~~ participation in the celebrations of 50 years ago.

4. Many years later I had the privilege of listening to Mr B.K. Long, M.P. one time Editor of the "Cape Times" and later a member of the Union Parliament, address the students of Fort Hare on the subject of the formation of Union. He referred to the events of 1910 and to the fact that many white leaders in those days regarded with disappointment the attitude of those African leaders who did not seem to appreciate the benefits that the act of Union would confer on their people as well as on the rest of the population. He went on to say that he had lived to discover that the African leaders were completely justified in their fears, while the white leaders who had urged the Africans to pin their faith on Union could not justify the optimism with which they entered into it. This judgment by an experienced man of affairs on the Union of South Africa was made long before the spectre of apartheid had appeared in our midst. ~~No one~~ one but a fool or a knave would deny that the history of Union has witnessed a diminution, at an ever increasing tempo, of the rights of non-whites, especially Africans. Every year since Union some important piece of legislation affecting non-whites has been placed on the Statute Book, and although some of these laws have got fancy names such as the Abolition of Passes, the Extension of University Education or the Promotion of Self-Government, they all add up to one thing--the exclusion of non-whites from the benefits arising

from the development of the country in which all sections have played their part. One has only to make a list of the main laws affecting Africans which have been passed since Union to appreciate the the burden of disability which has been placed on the majority of the people of this country:-

- 1.The Mines and Works Act of 1911
- 2.The Native Labour Regulation Act ,1911
- 3.The Natives Land Act of 1913
- 4.The Native Affairs Act of 1920
- 5.The Natives Urban Areas Act of 1923
- 6.The Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925,as amended
- 7.The Mines and Works Amendment Act of 1926
- 8.The Native Administration Act of 1927,as amended
- 9.The ~~Riotous~~ Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act of 1929
- 10.The Representation of Natives Act of 1936
- 11.The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936
- 12.The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937
- 13.The Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945.
- 14The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950
- 15.The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951
- 16.The Native Labour(Settlement of Disputas)Act of 1952
- 17.The Criminal Laws Amendment Act of of 1953
- 18.The Public Safety Act of 1953
- 19.The Bantu Education Act of 1953
- 20.The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957
- 21.The Extension of University Education At of 1959
- 22.The Bantu Investment Copporation Act of 1959
- 23.The Fort Hare Transfer Bill of 1959
- 24The Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill of 1959.

This is an imposing list which covers practically every aspect of African life. There are very few areas of life which remain for the Union Parliament to tackle as far as depriving Africans of their ~~rights~~ meagre rights is concerned. The existing laws may of course from time to time be amended to plug any loopholes which human ingenuity may have discovered,for as long as the urge to freedom exists in the human breast people will find ways of getting round the restrictive measures imposed upon them,and to that extent they will keep Parliament in the business which it seems to have chosen for itself,namely,what to do next in narrowing the area of African freedom.

It may of course be argued that during the last fifty years the

African people of the Union have derived certain important benefits from Union. Educational facilities for them have expanded, hospital ~~XXXX~~ and health services generally have improved; extensive housing schemes have been embarked upon; economic opportunities have been widened in some directions, etc. and that therefore one can be optimistic about the future. What I want to suggest is that ~~some~~ of the material benefits to which I have referred can ever make up for the moral and spiritual damage~~s~~ which the African people have suffered during the first half-century of the Union's existence. I mention these facts not in order to dwell unnecessarily upon the gloomy aspects of our past as far as race relations are concerned, but to draw attention to the reactions of the African people to what they have experienced during the last fifty years~~x~~ and to ask the question as to what, in the light of our past and present, is the outlook for the next fifty years of our history?

prior to and
African reactions to white rule since 1945 Union have taken the following forms:-

- (a) Armed conflict in the so-called "Kafir Wars" on which all South African school children are brought up.
- (b) The reluctant acceptance of western forms of civilisation, eg.
 - (i) The acceptance of Christianity as a result of missionary endeavour
 - (ii) The acceptance of western forms of education
 - (iii) The formation of "western style" political, social & industrial organisations
 - (iv) Hence co-operation with the government in bodies such as the local Councils, the Advisory Boards, the Native Conferences under the Native Affairs Act of 1920, the Native Representative Council and the system of separate representation set up under Act 12 of 1936
 - (v) Hence the establishment of own non-official organisations such as the A.N.C., the I.C.W., the A.A.C. etc. etc.
- (c) The methods used by the A.N.C. and other African organisations have included:-
 - (i) Deputations, petitions and resolutions presented to the Government e.g. 1914 deputation concerning the Natives Land Act of 1913
1919 deputation to the Peace Conference after World War I.
1942 deputation concerning the Pass Laws & African Trade Unions
 - (ii) The use of test cases in the law courts, e.g.
The test case against the Poll Tax in the Transvaal--Letanka's
The test case against Act 12 of 1936--Ndlwana vs Hofmeyr
 - (iii) the use of the strike weapon in industrial disputes--made illegal for Africans--by the I.C.U. and other African workers' organisation
 - (iv) the use of Passive Resistance as in the Defiance Campaign of 1952 which led to the Criminal Laws Amendment Act & the Public Safety Act.
 - (v) the decision to follow the extra-parliamentary road--
This marks the end of the period of supplication for improved conditions; this road has been forced upon the people by the failure of Parliament to give ear to the pleas.
Extra-parliamentary does not mean anti-parliamentary, but is simply a rather belated recognition of the fact that the Union Parliament has now become an exclusively white body to promote and protect white interests.

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- (c) Hence Government attacks now directed against the A.N.C. as such. The A.N.C. is blamed for every failure to secure the co-operation of the people in connection with government schemes. It is alleged to be behind every trouble in the Reserves and in the urban areas, both among Chiefs and among Commoners.

The effect of Government attacks on African leaders and organisations will be to drive them underground--

- (i) No public meetings inevitably means private meetings.
- (ii) ~~xxxxxx~~ The banning of leaders standing for a policy of non-violence and co-operation means the exchange of such leaders for ones who do not believe in non-violence and co-operation.

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- (c) Inability to get ~~xxxx~~ a hearing in their own country will compel Africans to seek for aid beyond the borders of S.A.
 - (d) The failure of Western countries to respond to their plea will lead them to turn to Eastern nations for support in their struggle.

Recent Afrikaner Reactions to Present Trends in S.A.

Even government supporters are beginning to be concerned about the trend of events in South Africa. These include

- (a) Leading supporters of the D.R.C. e.g.
 - Prof. B.B. Keet in "Whither South Africa"
 - Prof. B. Marais in "Colour"
 - Prof. Pistorius in "No Further Trek"
 - The 13 Professors in Pretoria University.
- (b) Believers in positive apartheid e.g.
 - The writers of the Tomlinson Commission Report with their suggestion of 'national homes' for the Bantu
- (c) Believers in consultation of the governed, e.g.
 - (i) Certain sections of SABRA
 - (ii) The Potchefstroom Professors with their plea for consultation with non-servants of the government.

Government reaction to recent trends

The so-called "new note" in policy of apartheid

- (i) the quiet dropping of the term apartheid in favour of separate development
- (ii) the division of the Native Affairs Department into the Departments of Bantu Administration & Development and Bantu Education, giving them a more functional appearance than the colourless term 'Native Affairs'.
- (iii) The passing of laws with euphemistic titles such as the Extension of University Education Act, the Bantu Investment Corporation, the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act with a promise of possible independence for the "Bantustans". In spite of its apparent indifference to the viewpoints of others the Government is doing its best through its Information and other Services to squeeze every bit of "positiveness" out of the policy of apartheid in order to silence criticism

Effect of Developments in other parts of Africa

Developments in other parts of Africa will affect situation in S.A. Conditions of political struggles elsewhere have varied from territory to ~~land~~ territory. Thus conditions in Ghana with its small white population have varied from those in Algeria. It means the difference between peaceful transition and violent transfer of power. South African conditions differ widely in that whites and blacks are here to stay and their interests are inextricably interwoven. The danger lies in the emergence who as a result of frustration and resentment will think they can apply methods of struggle here which may have proved successful elsewhere but which do not apply to conditions here, with resultant suffering and hardship.

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The Universities and the South African Problem.

I want to suggest that the question which university trained people should ask themselves is What role can the universities play in the solution of our race problems and in an attempt to avert what appears to be likely to lead to disaster in the next fifty years of South African history if we follow the road we have followed since 1910.

The universities are our highest educational institutions. By tradition the ideal university is a repository of all the knowledge painfully acquired by man in the course of countless generations of the upward march of mankind: it is "devoted to the pursuit of truth and is a meeting place for all those seeking knowledge for its own sake, a centre of unity for people divided by racial, religious or other differences, a place where the character of people can find a means of expression and where they can become citizens of the intellectual world". By reason of its relative independence and freedom from outside control, and of the training of those associated with it, the university is presumably in the best position to adopt a detached point of view, to undertake a scientific investigation into any problem and to present an objective evaluation of various schemes put forward for its solution.

For a country with a small population--14 million at most--South Africa is fairly well supplied with university institutions--nine primarily white universities and one primarily non-white. We are on the point of adding to the number of non-white university institutions, so that when this programme has been implemented, there will be nine primarily white universities and five primarily non-white--three for the Bantu, one for Indians and one for Coloureds. Already the number of university students in South Africa with her population of 14 million--approximately 27,000--is more than half the number of university students in the United Kingdom

with her population of 50 millions. If in the modern world the university ought to serve the community by providing it with expert guidance in the tasks which confront it, the South African universities ought to play a leading role in dealing with the peculiar problems of our multi-racial society.

It is common knowledge, however, that for many years our university institutions have not paid any special attention to studies relating to our inter-group relations. I am not unaware of the great contributions which have been made by distinguished South African scholars and research workers in this or that field directly or indirectly related to our problems, but I want to emphasize ^{what} is that so systematic attack upon our race problems has been undertaken by our universities. In recent years, of course, all our leading universities have established Departments of African or Bantu Studies in which a serious attempt is made to deal scientifically with problems of African life and custom with Native law and administration and with the study of African languages. The University of Natal has in addition some notable work in connection with Indian problems, while the problems of the Coloured population have received some attention from our Cape Western universities--Cape Town and Stellenbosch. But in my opinion even this approach does not go to the root of the matter. In my view neither the European nor the African nor the Coloured nor the Indian considered in isolation presents us with any problem. The crux of the problem lies in the relations between the groups and therefore it is not so much European or Indian or Coloured or African studies that we require, although we cannot dispense with them. What we require in our universities are Institute of Departments of Human Relations in which we can study scientifically from all points of view the problems

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that arise when human beings with different cultural backgrounds and varying historical antecedents live in close juxtaposition as members of one nation, bound together by common interests and common hopes and aspirations. Admittedly the racial factor tends to cloud the issue for many South Africans who attribute to biological differences difficulties which may be purely cultural and therefore acquired rather than innate. Already large sections of the European population have succumbed to the heresy that the solution of our common problems as a nation must be sought in apartheid, in disentangling our people into different sections or ethnic groups each to work out its own destiny in its own separate hide-out--The English in their kraal, the Afrikaners in their kraal, the Coloureds in theirs, the Indians in theirs, the Zulu in theirs, the Xhosa in theirs, the Sotho in three separate kraals, the Venda in theirs and the Shangaans in theirs. All this flies in the face of the realities of the South African situation, for as has been well said, "in spite of the cultural heterogeneity (of the different groups represented in South Africa) the anthropologist is already able to discern a common South African civilization, shared in by both Black and white, and presenting certain peculiarities based directly upon the fact of their juxtaposition. Cultural differences no longer coincide, as they did in the early period of white settlement, with racial differences. All South Africans are bound together in a single political and economic structure". Mr De Wet notwithstanding so serious student of our political future really intends to divide South Africa into separate independent States. Dr Eiselen is much more of a realist when he suggests that the so-called Bantustans will always be part of the South African state subject in the last analysis to our supreme legislature. Similarly in spite of the Bantu Investment Corporation and Dr Verwoerd's industries on the borders of

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the Reserves, the South African economy will continue to form one indivisible whole. Europeans and non-European will continue to do the same kind of work, job reservation notwithstanding, and have a similar economic status. They will seek after the same kind of education, Bantu education notwithstanding. They will belong to the same kind of churches, will strive after the same kind of trade unions, marry under the same kind of laws, live in the same type of house, buy the same kinds of things, speak the same official languages and play the same kind of games. "It is civic status, and not culture, that is now correlated with racial origins".

It is to the universities and to university trained people that we must look to rescue us from the blind worship of race that leads us to neglect the more vital aspects of our common South African civilization.

On the other hand if our universities are to discharge their proper functions in this regard in a manner in keeping with their lofty traditions, certain conditions will have to be fulfilled. One essential condition is that the universities must fight for and strive to retain their independence and freedom from outside interference in their internal affairs. Unfortunately we have already reached the position in which the rights of South African universities in this regard are gravely threatened. The legislation at present before Parliament in connection with university education may appear at the moment to be only directed against the so-called "open universities" and the proposed non-white colleges, but what is done to some institutions today will be done to others tomorrow. University freedom like all other freedom is indivisible. By ~~xxxxxxxx~~ virtually compelling all our university institutions to apply the principle of academic segregation the Government has dealt a heavy blow against the possibility of bringing to bear upon the problems

of our multi-racial society the intellectual and other resources of our universities.

I know that Professor Frankel, formerly of the University of the Witwatersrand has said:-

"It is an illusion to think that there are many governments ~~xxxx~~ prepared to listen to the independent voice of truth. It is also an illusion to believe that the people of most countries are able to judge the benefits which the universities confer upon them; in fact most people are suspicious and resentful of those who work ~~in~~ ^{within the four walls of a} the university ~~xxx~~; and we must remember that in the eyes of most of the world a university is a supreme luxury".

Nevertheless whatever the difficulties with which they may be confronted in the days that lie ahead, our universities must fight to retain what ~~xxxxxxx~~ remains of their autonomy and strive to regain both for themselves and for others what has been lost. They must pursue their ideals strengthened by the firm conviction that, whatever the odds, in the end truth will prevail. I should like to say that we at Fort Hare ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ who will probably be the chief sufferers from recent legislation affecting the universities are indebted to those in the other universities who have in recent months striven to defend, albeit to no avail, the rights of university institutions. "Say not the struggle naught availeth". A better day may yet dawn. But if that is going to happen at all ~~our~~ universities will have to bring to bear upon South African problems of ~~human~~ relations the principles of independent research and scientific method of which they are the principal exponents and which have proved so fruitful in the field of the natural sciences. South Africans like to dwell on the fact that their problems are unique.

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That may or may not be so, but I want to suggest is that we have a right to ask South Africans to set about it and to provide us with ~~xxx~~ genuine and not spurious solutions of their unique problems, so as to promote and to safeguard the legitimate interests of the whole of the South African nation. It is to that distinguished task for which they are eminently fitted that I feel our universities and our university trained sons and daughters are specially called.

Morgan.

DOOM. 1.

STR.

Africans were the one group in South Africa ~~to~~ who were fearful of the consequences of Union, and ~~today their~~ today on the eve of the Union celebrations, their prophesy of doom has come to fruition, said Professor Z.K. Matthews, of Fort Hare College.

Morgan.

DOOM. 2.

He was addressing the Convocation of the University of Natal in Durban last night.

He said that a deputation of African leaders went to ^{in 1909} Britain to protest that the ^{(South Africa Act Bill} ~~Act of Union Bill~~ did not protect the rights of non-Whites, but they were assured that their fears were groundless, ^{and that} ~~as t~~ Union of the four provinces would take care of the interests of "all sections".

Morgan.

DOOM. 3.

Professor Matthews said that none but a fool or a knave could deny that the exact opposite had happened. "Every year since Union some important piece of legislation affecting non-Whites has been placed on the Statute book - all adding up to one thing - the exclusion of non-Whites from the benefits of *Union* ~~South Africa!~~

"There are very few areas of life which remain for the Union Parliament to tackle as far as depriving Africans of their ~~few~~ *LAST* remaining freedoms".

He said that the effect of Government attacks on African leaders and organisations would be to drive them underground.

"No ~~private~~ public meetings inevitably means private meetings, and the ~~ab-~~ banning of leaders standing for a policy of non-Violence and co-operations means ^{THEIR/} ~~there~~ substitution by leaders who do not believe in non-violence and co-operation.

He said that it is to the universities and university trained people that South Africa must look to rescue it from the blind ~~worship~~ ^{worship} of ~~race~~ racial ~~superior~~ superiority.

ends.