

C O N T E N T S.

- . Labour Imperialism in East Africa. By G. Padmore, 1931. 331-8  
pp. 1-17.  
X: 9163-61
- . The Future Political Programme of the Indian Community in Kenya. By U.K. Oza. 962.6  
pp. 18-30.  
V687:45 (Y73 P15)
- . Public Opinion on the Assisted Emigration Scheme under Indo-South African Agreement. Report by Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi. 968  
1931. pp. 31-146.  
Y73(P15):5825-63042
- . The Zanzibar Crisis. By C.F. Andrews, 1934. 967.8  
pp. 147-174.  
V698:95 (Y73 P15)
- . Racial Problems in South Africa. By Josephine Ransom. 968  
1932. pp. 175-186.  
Y63:46 (Y7)
- . Race and Economics in South Africa. By W.G. Ballinger, 1934. 968  
pp. 187-220.  
Y63:7 (Y7)
- . The Race Problem in Africa. By Charles Roden Buxton, 1931. 960  
pp. 221-250.

8. The East African Problem. By J.H. Driberg. 967.1  
1930. V61:4(87) pp.251-29

9. Britain in Southern Africa: (No.2) Bechuanaland Protectorate. 968.1  
By Margaret L. Hodgson and W.G. Ballinger. pp.295-33

10. Indirect Rule in Southern Africa: 968.1  
(No.1) Basutoland. V637: N2  
By Margaret L. Hodgson and W.G. Ballinger. pp.337-35

V636- N2

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LABOUR IMPERIALISM

IN

EAST AFRICA



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## THE PERIOD OF ANNEXATION.

The partitioning of East Africa was begun about 1884; and completed within ten years. The pioneering work of plundering the natives in this section of the Continent was carried out largely by missionaries and merchant adventurers. Among the leaders were the German, Dr. Paul Peters, and the Britishers, Sir Frederick Jackson and Captain Frederick Lugard, now Lord Lugard, who were supported by their respective governments, as well as associations of merchant capitalists (Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft and the Imperial British East-Africa Company)—which were interested in colonial expansion during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

By 1890, the territories now known as Uganda, Kenya and Nyasaland came under British domination, while Tanganyika fell into the hands of the Germans. Because of the territorial position of this once German colony, which lies between Kenya and Uganda on the North, and Northern

Rhodesia on the South, the proposed Cape to Cairo railroad which has been the dream of British imperialists ever since the days of Cecil Rhodes and Joseph Chamberlain, met with setbacks.

The German imperialists at that time were the greatest rivals of the British. They vigorously opposed the idea of such a valuable commercial and military railroad passing through their territory. Thanks, however, to the last imperialist war, Tanganyika has passed into the hands of Great Britain under a mandate of the League of Nations. This now gives Britain a solid continuous expanse of territory extending from Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the North, to the Cape of Good Hope in the South, and provides her with the possibility of effecting the railroad scheme, as well as the establishing of air routes.

The total area of the territories now comprising British East Africa (Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika), is about 688,000 square miles or seven times the size of England, with native population estimated at about 10,957,634. There is also a European population of about 19,325 most of whom are landlords, government officials and missionaries,—as well as 67,978 Asiatics, chiefly East Indian and Arab traders.

The climate of East Africa, unlike that of the West Coast, enables Europeans to become per-

manent settlers in these colonies. This factor has greatly influenced the land policy that has been pursued by British imperialism in these territories. From the very beginning the plantation system became the predominant form of agricultural exploitation, in contradistinction to, peasant production which is still widespread throughout British West Africa.

### **THE PLANTATION SYSTEM.**

Thanks to German imperialism, extensive plantations have been developed in Tanganyika by white capital and black labour. On the basis of this pre-war agrarian policy, the British settlers who have taken up residence in that colony have been able to continue the same plantation system, but the greatest difficulty which confronts them is the question of guaranteeing an adequate supply of labour. The same situation exists in Kenya, where the British colonial government, in order to enable the European settlers to develop plantations and to solve the problem of labour, adopted the policy of expropriating all of the fertile land in the high-land regions from the natives who have been driven into the barren lowlands.

It has been estimated that more than 10,000 square miles of table lands have been given to

some 12,000 British settlers. For examples, Lord Delamere, secured over 10,000 acres of the highland in Kenya at the cost of one cent per acre. While 5,000 square miles of unfertile territories have been set aside as *Reserves* for over 2,000,000 natives. In Kenya this high-handed method of land robbery has not solved the labour problem. So in order to find a way out, the government has imposed special taxes known as the *Head and Poll* tax on all adult and female natives along the same line adopted by the bourgeoisie of South Africa. It is only through taxation that the natives can be forced to leave their *Reserves* and work on the plantations of the Europeans. This is the only way in which they can find the money to pay their oppressors, for they are not permitted to grow certain crops, such as coffee, which would enable them to be economically independent. Furthermore, whenever there is a great shortage of labour, the Government increases the taxes until the situation is relieved. Natives who voluntarily go and offer their services to the whites, are however exempted from paying the increased rates.

Every male over the age of 16, as well as widow, is liable to the *Head and Poll* tax which ranges from 10 to 16 shillings per annum in Kenya. In 1924 the natives produced certain secondary agricultural crops to the value of



546,000 pounds sterling. Yet they had to pay taxes to the amount of 876,000 pounds, of which sum, 516,000 pounds were derived directly from *Hut and Poll Tax*, and 250,000 from customs. Thus the natives had to collectively go and earn the balance from European employment in order to pay the Government. After securing their tax money they had to prolong their terms of "contract" so as to get an extra amount of money to buy food and clothing.

According to Sir Percy Dirourd, a former Governor of Kenya, "*taxation is the only method of compelling the natives to leave their Reserves for the purpose of seeking work* Only in this way can the cost of living be increased for the natives. It is on this that the supply of labour and the price of labour depends". This same point of view was expressed by most of the European landlords who gave evidence before the *Native Labour Commission* in 1912 and as a result, the Commission, which was composed of a British judge, three employees, of the Government, two Christian missionaries and four representatives of European commercial interests, recommended that the natives be taxed on the one hand, their reserves cut down on the other, and in this way more and more of them be forced to go into the labour market.

As to be expected, these recommendations were put into effect.

### METHODS OF RECRUITING LABOUR.

In order to get the labourers for the plantations and public works in the East African colonies, two methods of recruiting have been resorted to: 1) official, and 2) private recruitment.

Through the former method pressure is brought to bear by the Government officials on the chiefs who are expected to supply a certain number of able-bodied men to work for the Government as well as private individuals from time to time. With respect to the other system the private recruiters are known as labour agents—quite a respectable term for slave dealers! After obtaining a licence from the Government for which they pay a small fee, they are at liberty to go into any province and comb for workers. These slave raiders are generally assisted by the natives "touts" who act as guides.

Labour bureaus have also been established in various parts of East Africa in order to facilitate recruiting. The largest of these agencies are the *Fort Hall Recruiting Association* and the *Kisumu Labour Bureau*, both of which are located in Kenya. Most of the large estates in

East Africa are situated in districts far removed from the densely-populated native areas, so that they are unable to obtain from local sources all the labour they require. The labour recruiter is therefore the link between the employer who needs labour and the natives on the Reserves...

All male natives between 15 and 50 are liable for registration. All such registered natives are fingerprinted and made to carry a badge called the "Kipandi". The percentage of those employed in Kenya in 1927 was 33.8. Next to the Belgian Congo which is notorious for its brutality to the Negro workers, Kenya has more natives under European control than any other country in Africa. While in Tanganyika territory alone some 27 thousand labourers were recruited in 1930 for plantations and other big employers of native labour. About 30 licenced recruiters were employed in order to secure these labourers.

The system of forced labour is legalised by the Legislative Councils of the East African colonies. Violation of these slave laws amounts to a criminal offense punishable by imprisonment and even flogging.

The first application of the official policy of forced labour for private purpose was in 1919. Prior to this time, native labour was exclusively used for Government purposes; as for example,

the building of roads, railroads, bridges and other forms of public undertakings. However, shortly after the appointment of General Northly as Governor of Kenya in 1919, the question of forcing the natives to work for private enterprises was openly raised in the Legislative Council in that colony.

Speaking on behalf of the Government, Northly said: "I believe that our duty is to encourage the energies of all communities to produce from these rich lands the raw products and food stuffs that the world at large, and the British Empire, in particular, require. *This can only be done by encouraging the thousands of able-bodied natives to work with the European settlers for the cultivation of the land...*" (emphasis mine—G.P.).

Shortly after this declaration had been published, the then Chief Native Commissioner, John Ainsworth, in the name of the Government of Kenya, issued an infamous document known as the "*Northly Land Circular*", stating that "*it is in the interests of the natives themselves for the young men to become wage-earners and not to remain idle on the Reserves for the large part of the year. The native authorities (Chiefs and Headmen) are therefore to exercise all lawful and proper influence (?) to induce young men to go into the labour market. It is*

also their duty to encourage all unemployed under their protection to seek labour on the plantations". The Circular further stated that "where farms are situated in the vicinity of a native area, women and children should be encouraged to go out for such labour as they can perform." (Emphasis mine—G.P.).

Within a few months after these instructions had been issued to the native chiefs, 70,000 women and 150,000 children were assigned to European farms in Kenya. A campaign of recruitment spread like wild-fire. Throughout Kenya, Government officials organised labour armies of children and shipped them off to plantations. In Kyambu District, the European Commissioner issued a special circular appealing to the European planters in which he announced that "I shall be glad if any coffee grower who may like to employ these children will write his name thereon, stating the number required, and the time for which they may be most needed." (Bull. — "Native Problem in Africa" — Vol. 1, p. 334). (Emphasis mine—G. P.)

In summarising the native problem in Kenya we see that the blacks are under obligation by law to perform two duties: 1) pay taxes and 2) render compulsory labour for public and private purposes.

Similar conditions as those in Kenya also prevail in certain sections of Uganda, where the

principal enterprise is cotton growing. This is cultivated on extensive plantations controlled by British finance-capital through the British Empire Cotton Growers' Association. In some provinces as for example Buganda, peasants are also engaged in cotton growing. However, they are made to pay a special tax of 35 shillings annually for exemption from forced labour.

Thousands of natives in Uganda are being recruited through the activities of the Uganda Planters' Association. This organisation pays white agents 6 shillings for each Negro recruited. After a few thousand blacks have been collected they are then shipped off to the plantations where they are forced to sign "contracts" to work for a certain number of months, during which period they are held as virtual slaves under the supervision of European overseers who ill-treat these labourers in the most shameful manner.

Forced labour is still utilised for the construction of railroads and roads in most of the provinces of Uganda as well as private and missionary purposes. The Anglican Cathedral of Uganda was built by forced labour. The average wage for a labourer employed by the Government is between 12 and 18 shillings a month. This is much higher than in Kenya where wages range from 6 to 10 shillings. All male natives

Uganda must also pay a poll tax of 12 shillings from the age of 18. In addition, the natives are made to work one month without pay for communal purposes. There are over 20,000 such labourers at present employed in Uganda.

The same situation exists throughout Tanganyika where forced labour has reached a very high state of development thanks to German imperialism, which laid the basis for it in pre-war days. For according to German law only those natives born after 1905 were considered "free"; all others were serfs. In Nyasaland, unless a native can prove that he has worked for a white man for a certain number of months every year, he is made to pay a double tax.

In the few skilled occupations in which natives are employed in Tanganyika, wages are seldom higher than 20 shillings per month. But as a general rule the scale of pay depends upon the character of the work and the supply of labour at the time of the undertaking.

As the workers in East Africa are recruited to a very considerable extent through native chiefs, it has become the policy of British political officials, such as District Commissioners, Superintendents of police, etc., to keep records of the chiefs and headmen so as to check up whether they are helpful or not. On the basis of this system, chiefs who failed to supply

the allotted quota of men when called upon are either deprived of their chieftainship or otherwise a portion of their revenue is taken away from them until they comply with the demands of their imperialist masters.

The entire policy of British imperialism in East Africa has been cynically summed up in the words of *Sir Charles Eliot*, the first Governor of Kenya as follows: "*The interior of the Protectorate of Kenya is a white man's country, and it were hypocrisy to deny that white interests must be paramount and that the main object of our policy and legislation is to found a white colony*" (East Africa and Protectorate, pp. 105 and 310). (Emphasis mine — G. P.).

Land expropriation, taxation and forced labour represent the traditional policy that has been consistently carried out by all of the parties of British imperialism, whether Conservative, Liberal or "Labour" from the time European planters and agricultural companies began to exploit Kenya and the other East African colonies.

### **A CONFLICT OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS.**

However, since the war, the political situation has become somewhat complicated, due to the conflict of economic interests between the



European landlords and the imperial bourgeoisie. This has been aggravated by the economic crisis in England on the one hand and the agrarian crisis in East Africa on the other. These factors are influencing present day politics in East Africa in general and Kenya in particular. The contradictions in the economic interests and politics between these two sections of imperialist exploiters have reached a stage of explosion since the publication of the two White Papers by the "Labour" Government in which are embodied the proposed scheme for federating the East African colonies; and native policy respectively. This project if carried out by the home government will deprive the Europeans in East Africa of their political aspiration for self-government; and at the same time put a check on their economic development which depends upon their unlimited exploitation of native labour.

What are the economic reasons for this new imperialist project of closer union of the colonies? First of all, as a result of the dilemma which British capitalism is in, thanks to the world crisis, the imperialists are making a desperate effort to consolidate their position by turning more and more to the African colonies which represent the last stronghold of British imperialism, in order to throw the burden of the

crisis on the backs of their colonial slaves. That is the reason why the British bourgeoisie on the basis of the recommendations of the *Hilton Young Commission* intends to amalgamate the colonies of Kenya and Uganda and the mandate territory of Tanganyika into a new federation under a centralised administration vested in a sort of Viceroy who will be officially called the *High Commissioner*. As the senior representative of the Colonial Office in East Africa, the High Commissioner will have wide powers of control over: 1) the principal economic resources (customs railroads), of the amalgamated colonies, and 2) "dictator" of native affairs.

In order to facilitate the carrying out of these plans, the British bourgeoisie despatched the Prince of Wales, their most valuable showman and business agent to East Africa in 1929, so as to create popular sentiment among the native chiefs and certain sections of the European community (commercial) and Indians in favour of the proposed changes.

This move of British imperialism, however, has called forth opposition from two quarters: 1) The European landlords are in open revolt against the terms of the proposed amalgamation, and 2) the German imperialists are demanding the return of Tanganyika to the Reich.

Let us first of all examine the reasons for this opposition on the part of the settlers.

### **. OPPOSITION OF THE COLONISTS.**

The political dissatisfaction of the British colonists in East Africa is merely a reflection of their economic interests, which has its basis in the fact that the major industry of these whites is big-scale agriculture, the development of which depends upon cheap native labour.

As has already been pointed out, the Colonial Governments in this section of the Continent have always given direct assistance to the Europeans in procuring Negro labour for their farms and plantations through the enactment of some of the most repressive anti-labour legislation to be found in any part of the world. Nevertheless, these colonists have come to realise that the safest way to safeguard their economic interests which is coming more and more into conflict with that of British finance-capital on the one hand, and the agrarian interests in other sections of the world (Canada, Australia, Brazil) on the other, is to get complete control over the political affairs of the amalgamated colonies or at least to secure a majority of unofficial members on each of the local legislative councils. If this could be achieved,

the colonists will be in a position to control political power and thereby wield a dominant role over questions affecting native policy, such as the administration of the Reserves, the framing of legislation and ordinances affecting labour "contracts", native taxation, the disbursement of finances for native education, public health, etc., etc.

With such power in their hands, the Africans would be even more brutally exploited than they are to-day under more definite slave conditions without having to brook any interference on the part of the local representatives (Governors and Commissioners) of the imperial government.

The entire political outlook of these European landlords was glaringly expressed some years ago by one of their representatives in the Legislative Council of Kenya who told his constituents during a campaign speech that *"you will never solve the labour problem until you have control of the country, when you have that, you will immediately solve the problem"* (East African Standard — 27.11.26). (Emphasis mine — G. P.).

These are additional reasons which give rise to the present agitation on the part of the colonists, as for example, indirect taxation and the Indian problem, which is a demand on the part

of the Asiatics for the establishment of a common electoral roll with the Europeans, two phases of East Africa politics which space prevents us from discussing.

However, the Colonial Office because of the economic interest of the Imperial bourgeoisie will not be in the position to grant self-government to the settlers, and has openly indicated this by the terms laid down in the White Paper which deals with the methods to be adopted in bringing about closer union of the colonies. Notwithstanding the hypocritical phrases of Lord Passfield, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the reason why the "Labour" Government will not grant political control to the settlers is because paramountcy of native interest must be maintained; the real economic and political reasons are obvious.

Furthermore, to make a concession of self-government to the colonists at this time would mean the further disintegration of the Empire as it would weaken Britain's stronghold over Africa. The present position in which British finance-capital finds itself, propels the imperialists more and more in the direction of greater political dominion over the African colonies. They are compelled to adjust their imperialistic policies according to their economic needs.

It is in this light that we must view the present situation in East Africa and not to be misled by any pseudo-humanitarian phrases of the Social-fascist minister, Lord Passfield and his ilk, who talk glibly about His Majesty's Government trusteeship of the natives, while at the same time they adopt the most terroristic methods of suppressing every manifestation of native-political awakening. For instance, *the Kikuyu Central Association* has not only been suppressed, but the "Labour" Government through the enactment of recent legislation has made it a criminal offense for natives to collect money for purposes other than religious, in order to prohibit the formation of any native political and trade union organisations. This is how MacDonald, the hangman of the Second International aids in crushing the revolutionary struggles of the colonial toilers.

The whole scheme of amalgamation therefore is being put into effect by the "Labour" Government in the interests of their capitalist masters, who finding themselves more and more within the throes of the world capitalist crisis reserved the right to exploit East Africa more intensely than they have done in the past. They will do this by investing millions of pounds sterling for developing the mining resources (there are no mines at present) and railroad

transportation, as well as building electric plants, docks, warehouses, etc., etc., by which means the British bankers and industrialists who control the basic industries of England will be able to find an outlet for their surplus finance-capital and a market for heavy commodities (steel, locomotives, cement and other building materials). A loan of £ 3 million has recently been floated in the London money market for railroad construction in Kenya.

Such a scheme of capitalist exploitation necessitates the creation of a "free" labour market in which the African natives will be able to sell their labour power to the capitalists. Here is just where the conflict over native policy arises, for in contradistinction to "free" labour, the landlords of Kenya would like to develop a native system along the same lines which have already been instituted by the Anglo-Boers of South Africa. That is why there is such a close ideological kinship between these East African landlords and the South African Nationalist Party (which represents the agrarian class). This arises out of their common economic interests that can be fittingly summed up in the simple words "*free land and black labour*". Because of this identity of interests, Hertzog, the leader of the South African Nationalists supports the East African landlords against British finance-capital.

## GERMAN IMPERIALISTS PROTEST.

The other direction from which protest come against the proposed federation, is from the German imperialists and their social fascist mercenaries. The new German imperialists and their social fascist hirelings have always entertained the hope of regaining "their" colonies, especially Tanganyika, the largest and most important of Germany's pre-war colonial possessions. During the 1930 elections, the fascists held Congress at *Wartburg*, where plans were discussed for recovering the African colonies. The following resolution was adopted and despatched to Bruening, the German Chancellor. Dr. Curtis, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and to the German Delegate to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations "German-East Africa, is of all the German colonies, the most valuable. It is completely indispensable to the economic future of Germany. Former German Africans (white capitalists—G. P.), united at *Wartburg*, ardently desire one day to return there. They look to the Government of the Reich to display the greatest energy in preventing the fusion of East Africa with the neighbouring British colonies, in guarding its character as a Mandated Territory and in bringing about its return to Germany".



Since then, the German Association, an affiliated body of over a thousand fascist and social fascist organisations, presided over by Dr. Heinrich Schnee, who was the last Governor of German East Africa and now a member of the Reichstag, issued the following manifesto under the title of "*Threatened Violation of German Rights*", in which they appeal to their followers to continue the struggle against Great Britain. The document reads: "By the Treaty of Versailles, Germany was robbed of her overseas possessions. The German colonies were placed under administration by Mandate which by the covenant of the League was to be carried out as a trusteeship by the Powers entrusted therewith. They must exercise this trusteeship as Mandatories of the League of Nations and in the name of the League. The Mandate system is now most seriously threatened by the intention of the British Government to incorporate German East Africa in the British Empire. This, the largest and most valuable of the German Colonies was handed over to England as a Mandated Territory. Recently the English Government in a "*White Paper*" put forward proposals which amount to the fusion of the East African Mandated Territory with the adjoining English colonies of Kenya and Uganda. A Committee of the English Parliament is to consider the matter.

Furthermore, the White Paper has been communicated to the Permanent Mandates Commission in Geneva, so that that body may have an opportunity to consider and express an opinion upon it. The projected fusion of German East Africa with the neighbouring British Colonies is incompatible with the Covenant of the League. It would mean the first step in the illegal incorporation in the British Empire of German East Africa — a land twice as large as Germany and offering extraordinarily favourable possibilities of development. The sharpest protest against this British action must be made by the German people, protests against the violation of Germany according to the Treaty of Versailles and of its rights as a member of the League of Nations, against the destruction of the Mandates system in regard to the largest Mandated Territory in Africa, against the illegal annexation in fact of German East Africa, by England. The German people must combine in a general defence of their rights and the ideal of justice”.

Even Rothermere in order to gain the alliance of Hitler in drawing German fascism into an Anglo-German bloc against the Soviet Union and bolshevism proposed that the clamourings of the new German imperialists be granted and Tanganyika returned to the Reich.

After his return to England from Germany in 1930, Rothermere wrote the following article which was syndicated throughout his chain of news-papers: "Twelve months ago I strongly urged upon the British Government to return to Germany all those African colonies... I again emphasise the desirability of such a restitution... to hand back to Germany some of her former African colonies would be a gesture of friendship which would cost Britain nothing..."

However advantageous this gesture might appear to certain sections of the British bourgeoisie, we can rest assured that Germany's protest will fall upon deaf ears.

The resentment of the white settlers has been editorially expressed in the columns of "East Africa", the official organ of the European planters in East Africa as follows: "What can be said of so sweeping and indefensible a suggestion (Rothermere's) as that 'to hand back Tanganyika Territory would be a gesture of friendship which would cost Britain nothing'. It would cost us dear in every sense. *It would provide Germany with a submarine and air base in the Indian Ocean. It would cut the heart out of the British Eastern African Dominion now under the building. It would break the all-air route between Cairo and the Cape which a few months hence is to be traversed weekly in*

each direction by an Imperial air mail service *It would preclude the rational development of the British territories to the north and south by increasing the difficulties of administration and communication.* It would be a breach of faith with the British and foreign settlers, traders and investors who have established themselves in Tanganyika under the assurance that the territory shall remain under British administration. *It would anger, and not without reason, our Belgian allies, the development of whose vast resources in the Eastern Congo and Ruanda-Urundi is mainly dependent upon Tanganyika's central railway. It would force British and Belgian Africa to bear increased expenditure on defence against possible German aggression*" (Emphasis mine—G. P.).

The British imperialists, knowing the critical conditions in which they are, are not in a position to grant this demand of the German nationalists. For, as we have already pointed out, the present imperialist policy of Great Britain is to consolidate her present economic position by means of tariff, rationalisation on the workers in England through wage cuts, abolition of social insurance, and unemployment relief and at the same time intensifying the exploitation of the colonial masses.

The imperialist struggle over the East African colonies, however, affords us another glaring example of the sharp contradictions among the capitalist States; all of which are influencing international politics making for new imperialist wars and an attack upon the USSR.

### **Hypocrisy of the "Labour" Government.**

The "Labour" Government bombarded from all quarters—inside and outside Parliament, by the colonial and certain sections of the English press, by the German imperialists, the colonists, the Indians and the natives—has attempted to find a temporary solution for the conflicting problems in East Africa by appointing a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament for the purpose of hearing evidence and discussing the White papers. In this way the "socialists" hope to shift the responsibility for final settlement of the controversy to the Committee. This action shows the hypocritical character of the Macdonald Government. At the time when the White papers were first published, the Colonial Office stated that the Memorandum on Native Policy was the final statement of attitude of the "Labour" Government in respect to the natives; therefore, the document would not be laid before the Joint Committee, whose only function would

be to consider and recommend the methods to be adopted in bringing about constitutional changes, if any, in Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. But under pressure of the certain representatives of British imperialism with agrarian interests in East Africa (the Earl of Plymouth Lord Passfield has since decided to open the White Paper on Native Policy for discussion before the Joint Committee. This shows up the whole fraud of "Labour" Government which merely attempts to use the natives as political pawns.

*"The African World" of December 13, 1930 commenting on this volte face of the social fascists says "Lord Passfield has been forced to bow before the storm. His statement that his memorandum on native policy will automatically come before the Committee is received with relief in Kenya, in view of Lord Passfield's frequent refusals to consider the course".*

This will enable the "Labour" Government to manoeuvre and arrive at a compromise by making certain minor concessions to the colonists especially on questions affecting native interests such as guaranteeing an adequate supply of labour for the plantations. Such a concession would guarantee security for the planters and their children, about which Sir Edward Grigg

he recently retired Governor of Kenya, in his evidence before the Joint Committee emphasized as the crux of Kenya politics.

*"The African World"* goes on to remark that *it is now felt that there is a strong probability that the Joint Committee will be able to record the principle of "paramouncy of native interests" on which the memorandum was founded in such a way that it will be generally acceptable*" (Emphasis mine—G. P.).

Now what does this mean? It means that the Joint Committee will be afforded the opportunity of relieving the tension and saving the face of the "Labour" Government by doing the following:

- 1) Withdrawing all the safeguards which the White Paper on Native Policy originally purported to give the natives; 2) abolishing the statement "paramouncy for native interests", originally used in the Duke of Devonshire's Memorandum issued in 1923 and repeated in the White Paper of the "Labour" Government, and 3) denying the Indians the institutions of a common electoral roll with the Europeans.

Assured of these concessions, the delegation of East African landlords under the leadership of Lord Delamere, which journeyed to London in 1930 to protest against the proposed amalgamation scheme and the "radical" native

policy of the "Labour" Government agreed to abstain from carrying on agitation and pressing their demands for the time being so as not to embarrass the Government which requires breathing space at that time in order to enable all of the parties of British Imperialism to concentrate on the Round Table Conference and at the same time give the "Labour" fakers an opportunity of side-tracking the question of the common roll for Indians in Kenya, a demand which might have evoked a certain amount of support from among the Indians delegated at the Conference.

Furthermore, such a manoeuvre afforded the colonists an opportunity of taking the initiative of presenting a compromise platform to the Colonial Office as the basis for discussion when they return to London to give evidence before the Joint Committee in 1931.

As a result of this agreement, the delegates went back to East Africa in November, 1930, and after reporting to their respective constituencies issued the following statement which appeared in the "Times" of December 6, 1930.

"Lord Delamere with the agreement of his colleagues has proposed that Kenya should seek an agreement with the Imperial Government on the following basis: 1) *The Memorandum on Native Policy to be withdrawn by the Imperial*



overnment; 2) consideration of the constitutional issues of closer union to be indefinitely postponed; 3) the Kenya settlers to agree not to press for any immediate step forward in the constitution of the colony, that is the temporary withdrawal of the claim for an unofficial majority of the Legislature (Emphasis mine—G. P.). We can rest assured, that whatever is the outcome of this controversy, the millions of brutally enslaved Negroes of East Africa will continue to be the victims of British imperialism on the one hand, and of local capitalists and plantation owners on the other.

### **What Must Be Done.**

Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for the revolutionary movement, especially in England, to carry on a systematic campaign exposing the villany of the social imperialists as well as the so-called "lefts" — Maxton, Brown, Leys, Morrobin, Brockway etc., etc., who while pretending to criticise the "Labour" Government's policy in East Africa with "left" phrases objectively aid Macdonald and Passfield in tightening the yoke of British imperialism over the natives. Every opportunity must be utilised to mobilise the British workers in support of the following demands of the African toilers:

1) The absolute independence of the East African colonies from the yoke of British imperialism.

2) The confiscation of the lands owned by the European landlords, to be divided up among the native agricultural labourers.

3) The abolition of all forms of forced labour and the policy of expropriating peasants and communal lands.

4) Immediate abolition of all forms of taxation—Head, Poll, Hut—as well as the system of fingerprinting and the carrying of the kipandi (pass). The abolition of all forms of repressive labour and racial legislation.

5) The immediate removal of the ban against the *Kikuyu Central Association* and all other native political and labour organisations.

6) The guaranteeing of civil rights—the right to organise, freedom of assembly, of press, and of speech. The right of natives to enter into collective bargaining and to strike.

7) The introduction of the 8-hour day.

8) The immediate enactment of labour legislation—insurance for the unemployed, sickness accident, old-age and death benefits, the protection of women and youth.

9) The establishment of free, universal primary and secondary education for native children and special courses for adult workers.

10) The abolition of the Policy of militarising  
atives by means of service in the King's  
rican Rifles and Labour Battalions, all of which  
ms part of the preparation for new imperialist  
r and the attack by British and other capti-  
ist countries on the Soviet Union.

In order to carry out the above programme  
great responsibility falls upon the shoulders  
the Communist Party, the Minority Movement  
d the League Against Imperialism (English  
ction). The Party as the revolutionary van-  
ard of the British workers must systematically  
plain the situation in East Africa to the broad  
isses, pointing out to them how the natives  
e being robbed and exploited by all capitalist  
ements in Africa. The Party must point out  
the British working class that the Africans  
e the victims not only of British imperialist  
ourgeoisie but that the white plantation owners  
well as the Indians who in their role of  
tly bourgeois traders fleece the natives  
rough exorbitant prices of commodities and  
ury. The British workers must be made to  
nderstand that the struggle of these colonial  
llers for freedom is an inseparable part of the  
mmon struggle against the British imperialists  
o by means of their ruthless policy of colonial  
ploitation are able to extort super-profits and  
lbe the social-fascists and trade union bureau-

crats, who in turn aid them in trying to find an escape from the crisis by pumping new life into a decaying capitalist system through the active participation of the "Labour" Party the lackeys of British Imperialism.

## CONTENTS

	Page
The Period of Annexation . . . . .	3
The Plantation System . . . . .	5
Methods of Recruiting Labour . . . . .	8
A Conflict of Economic Interests . . . . .	14
Opposition of the Colonists . . . . .	17
German Imperialists Protests . . . . .	22
Hypocrisy of the "Labour" Government . . . . .	27
What Must Be Done . . . . .	31

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BRIHAD GUJARAT SERIES.

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THE  
Future Political Programme  
OF THE  
Indian Community in Kenya,  
By  
U. K. OZA, B.A.

---

*"A Programme that maintains our defensive  
capacity and launches a driving offensive".*

PRINTED BY THE COLONIAL PRINTING WORKS, NAIROBI.

### **Brothers and Sisters,**

There is still time for the nominations and the polling for the Indian Seats on the Legislature of Kenya, but it is time that you should begin to think of the programme of work for your representatives during the next three years. It is never too early to ask your members what their views on our political future may be.

As I have definitely decided that I should stand for the Legislature, I con-

sider it my duty to place before you as early as I can my own views and programme so that you may study them, criticise them, digest them and ultimately make them your own.

I therefore venture to state that I differ and I have always differed from the political programme of the community as it has been worked out in the past. I want that our programme should have initiative and take the offensive. I want that as the most numerous civilised community in the Colony as well as the most experienced in modern dependency politics, we should lead in the political and economic life of Kenya.

It has not been so up till now. As a community we have had assigned to us



only a secondary position in the Colony's political and economic life. Our industry, enterprise and intelligence have been exploited for using us as middlemen in trade and as instruments of an Imperial policy of clearing this land for European settlement and for African progress. We are debarred from exercising any direct social influence and we are treated as if we were here on suffrance.

This needs no proof . Five seats only have been allotted to us on the Legislative Council of the country and only one on the Executive. A seat or two hardly fall to our share on public bodies of a specialised nature. Even our moderate demand for the Common Roll has to be accompanied with the limitations of an

obsolete agreement. On the other hand this, the Wood Winterton Agreement as it is called, so far as the share of the unofficial community and the Government of Kenya is concerned is treated as dead letter. When suggestions come up for a change in our position, they are introduced to the European settler community here with talks of guarantees that we shall be prevented from dominating or swamp- ing them.

Though we built the railway and the roads, though we cleared the forests and the jungles, the main economic resource of the country has been kept away from us. The main arteries of commerce are not in our hands. Taxation and tariff have been so manoeuvred that Indian enterprise cannot generally succeed.

Our general economic position has been so crippled that no publicity organisation for attracting Indian capital and manpower exists. We are unable to encounter attacks but feebly. We have been so benumbed by the helplessness of our position that no advice from the many experts in the fatherland has ever been sought and we have been so constantly kept on the defensive that it has not been possible to evolve a conscious policy of consolidation, development and progress.

Nor has a place for our great culture and civilization been permitted here. The Indian Schools in Kenya are not Indian, but English schools. The scholarship of India has no voice in the study of the past, present and future of these lands.

The only tendency encouraged in social life has been the adoption of lower middle class European standards and manners.

I have not gloried in the effort that secured the above. I have looked upon the state of our affairs for the last three years with despair and dismay. It has been with a feeling of shame that I have watched endeavours in the direction of splitting our community into sectional divisions. I have deplored the growth of a spirit of mendicancy and sycophantism in our midst both in the economic and political sphere.

We have agreed on working the constitution of the country. But if we have to work it, let us do it for our advantage and development. It is with this end in

view that I sound a call to-day for rising above the complex of inferiority and helplessness so long fostered by the combination of all the forces at work in Kenya.

Within the last ten years the composition of the Indian community settled here has changed to a large extent. Formerly, we were called in here to fill a gap existing on account of the primitiveness and incapacity of the African for small trade, unskilled labour, crude artisanship and subordinate work of the administrative machine.

With the growth of Indian settlement and the advent of an independent element from India during recent times, with the self-preservative, steady, progressive

enterprise of Indian individuals we have entirely outgrown the gap originally intended by European Colonists to be filled with us.

We are to-day as much settlers of the Colony as the European. We belong to-day as much to East Africa as the African themselves. Our need to-day equally with that of others is a **STATE** that represents us as much as it does the European and the African.

It is not enough--it can at no time have been enough, that our "Interests" are represented, or our needs considered.

The permanent, ineliminable nature of our settlement here has to be realised and to be pressed Home. By the laborious work of more than

a generation we have created for ourselves a place in the Colony. That place is now the birthright of the present generation. That place has got to be secured to us and no encroachment on that place is to be permitted.

Where, pressure from downwards, that is to say, from the African due to their progress and development of capability to share in the industrial, political and economical life of the territory has begun to be exerted, resulting in the displacement of settled communities, space has to be created for us equally with others, so that while the progress of the African does not stop, our own progress and development is also maintained.

We want a State that should respond

to the pressure that we exercise in common with others, not a state that holds us in leash, narrowing down the circle of our usefulness and the sphere of our activities.

To-day, however the State in Kenya is not responsive to our needs and pressure. Its policy is to eliminate us by a double process of squeezing us out—by permitting pressure to be exercised from below or from the African whom it is pledged not to restrain and by filling up all the space at the top with the European whom it mainly represents and by whom it is mainly controlled.

Our present political programme, whatever that may be, has failed to give us the necessary protection against encroach



ment and suppression. That programme must therefore be dropped and a programme that, while maintaining its defensive capacity, can launch a driving offensive, be adopted—a just programme but also a programme of determined fighters.

I claim that the programme delineated below is such, and I ask the Indian electorate to make it its own.

### **THE NEW PROGRAMME**

The Wood Winterton Agreement and Limitations must be formally scrapped and repudiated. The only guarantees that can be offered to the settler European community can be those arising from an interchange of good will and

co-operation. Nobody has a right to sacrifice the privileges and interests of the unborn generations of Indians whose parents have made their home in Kenya.

With this end in view the scheme of representation outlined in the agreement based on a common roll, but guaranteeing that only ten per cent of the Indian population would be placed on the roll, subsequently advocated as an alternative scheme in the representation to the Hilton Young Commission should be repudiated.

While confirming the Congress repudiation of the present basis of representation on a communal roll a further repudiation should include all demands or offers of increased seats or reservation

of seats for members of the Indian race in unequivocal terms.

The unofficial side of the Legislature should be elected on a common basis of franchise and registration for all races in the Colony.

The Official side of the Legislature should continue to be in a substantial numerical majority, but should include nominated African, European and Indian officials in equal proportions. Where Indian or African officials of the same status as European are not available non-official Indians and Africans may be nominated for inclusion in the Official bench.

The composition of the present Executive Council of the Governor should be

so amended as to eliminate discrimination amongst the non-official communities on the basis of race.

Similarly the race factor in the composition of other public bodies should be immediately abolished.

The Indian members of the Legislative Council should introduce a resolution in the Legislature of the Colony on the lines indicated at the earliest possible opportunity and obstructionist tactics should be adopted against any party that opposes these demands. A policy of what has been called in India "Responsive Co-operation" should be adopted both in regard to the unofficial Europeans and the Government of Kenya.

## ADMINISTRATION

The policy of the Indian community in Kenya must not in any way be restrictive of African progress or expansion.

Our proper place in the administration is by the side of the European, both on account of our experience, efficiency, training and educational attainments.

Space must be made for members of our race at the top for every displacement taking place below and no room at the bottom should be made by the displacement of Indian civil servants before corresponding room is made at the top or at the middle wrungs.

Our due share should be allotted to us in all sections of administrative services

whether they are civil, technical, pertaining to defence or to law and order.

Co-operation should be accorded to Government in their efforts for the betterment of African social conditions and for creating special machinery for the consideration of African interests but the condition of such co-operation should be that where African interests require the sacrifice of Indian interests, Government should be prepared to give corresponding compensation to us in other directions.

With a view to make it possible for Government to draft immediately an African element in the subordinate services, a resolution asking the Government for the appointment of Indians already in the civil service for a prolonged period.

of time to posts in the higher grades should be introduced and obstruction initiated against any party that opposes it.

### **ECONOMIC SPHERE**

An intensive agitation for the abolition of the Governor's veto on transfer of land in the Highlands of Kenya should be undertaken immediately.

A strong publicity organisation should be created with a view to

- 1...seeking liaison with the commercial community in India.
- 2...consolidate and increase Indian opportunities in the Colonial trade and commerce and develop Indian exploration of the country's economic resources.

3...make available to the local community the advice and services of Indian economic, industrial, and financial experts and technicians.

All monopolies for handling the raw or manufactured products of the country should be strenuously opposed and their abolition sought for.

Measures should be further initiated to enable Indian commercial persons or organisations to handle the raw products of Kenya independently by themselves

Room should be made in an increasing degree for the African in commerce by associating him with ourselves in our marketing and purchasing organisations.

A scheme of Indian agricultural settlement for our unemployed and our



farmers from overseas should be formed and pushed forward with energy.

As the African becomes ready for undertaking unskilled work, immigration of skilled labour, experts, technicians, professional men and capitalists from India should be promoted by organised effort.

Large scale farming should be undertaken by Indians with a view to provide avenues of training and economic betterment for the Africans.

The industrial and mineral resources of the country together with the avenues of European retail and wholesale trade with foreign commerce should be increasingly brought within the influence

and control of Indian organisations and individuals.

As far as possible, and provided that suitable persons are available Africans should be employed in industries and firms under the control of Indians so as to facilitate their training and development.

A drastic reform of the whole scheme of taxation in the Colony should be advocated including the levy of an income tax and a tax on all undeveloped agricultural land in the possession of non-Africans.

All social distinctions based on race either resulting in segregation or assessment of different standards of life or in an arithmetical difference in calculating

emoluments and economic needs should be immediately abolished.

Indian hospitals and libraries, cultural and religious missions and educational centres should be specially encouraged if founded for the purpose of extending their benefits to African and other races.

Indian schools should be managed not as European schools but as Indian schools.

We should participate increasingly in the social life of the Colony on the basis of reciprocity on the part of the European. At the same time the initiative should be taken by us by means of inviting Indian princes, tourists, research workers, missionaries, scholars, savants and Government of India Officials to the Colony.

**THE ABOVE** in general outlines the programme of work on which I wish to go to the Legislative Council and to be fully associated with the life of the Colony. I invite all those who subscribe to the above to join with me in taking steps to make it a living reality. I invite those who are not standing for the Council to vote for me and for those who give their unstinted support to the measures outlined above. I am convinced on my part that nothing weaker can secure or consolidate the large interests we have created here.

**Brothers and Sisters,**

You have to decide whether your mandate to your representatives is going to be a weak appeal for being allowed to remain

here on sufferance or a strong and powerful claim put forward ably, powerfully and convincingly.

Be on a look-out for more details of the programme from me.

Yours Ever,

U. K. OZA.



**The Colonial Printing Works,  
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**U. K. OZA,**

Post Box 512,

NAIROBI.

**PUBLIC OPINION**  
**On**  
**The Assisted Emigration Scheme**  
**Under**  
**Indo-South African Agreement.**

**PUBLISHED BY**  
**PRAVASI BHAWAN, P. O. KHARGARH,**  
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### PRINTER'S APOLOGY.

We regret on account of pressure of work and the shortness of time many errors have been inadvertently crept in for which we trust and hope readers will leniently look over these commissions and commissions. Although this work is the result of continuous labour yet we feel that we owe an apology for the mistakes which have crept in.

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at KARTIK PRESS,  
Patna, Bihar,  
INDIA.

# *Free Press of India.*

Calcutta, May 13, 1931.

“Free Press” is authorised to announce that the report on emigrants repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration scheme from South Africa and on the problem of returned emigrants from all colonies, containing conclusions of elaborate enquiries made by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsi Das Chaturvedi will be released for publication on May 15. The report is expected to throw a flood of light on this very important subject. The authors are well-known figures in the public life of India.

( 2 )

Swami Bhawani Dayal who has consecrated his life to the service of Indian emigrants was Vice-President of the Natal Indian Congress, President, All India Emigrants Conference and member, South African Indian Deputation which visited India in 1925. He is the author of special books relating to Indians overseas and was the editor of several colonial Indian news-papers. During the last Civil Disobedience movement he was sentenced to 2½ years' imprisonment and released in pursuance of truce.

Pandit Benaresi Das Chaturvedi is engaged in the work for Indians overseas for the last 15 years and has been entrusted with the work of returned emigrants by Mahatma Gandhi. He has written several books on the subject and is the editor of "Bishal Bharat."

# *Young India*

Ahmedabad, June 4, 1931

( **By Mahatma Gandhi** )

Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhavani Dayal Sannyasi have prepared a well reasoned report of an independent enquiry they held into the condition of emigrants repatriated to India under the assisted emigration scheme from South Africa. This report and the Swami's telegram dated 16th ultimo, asking me to comment on it, telling me, 'Condition worst, many starving, women half naked, children begging,' have lain with me ever since. I am sorry that I have not been able to deal with the report earlier. The telegram from which I have quoted is an epitome of the report. The condition of our people, who find themselves strangers in their own land, is a disgrace alike to us and to the Government, but more to us than to the Government. No Government in the world can cope fully with such cases. Government can only support to a limited extent voluntary public effort in such cases. It is really up to the merchant princes and other employers of labour in Calcutta to take a real interest in the welfare of such people, and find suitable employment for them.

But the condition of these people is a small consideration, compared with the cause that has reduced those repatriates to the condition in which they find themselves. There should have been no agreed repatriation at all, and if there was to be any, there should have been ample provision previously made to ensure proper occupation for them, and in any case there should never have been any consent to the repatriation of colonial-born Indians, of whom there are fully thirty-three per cent.

But it is no use crying over spilt milk. The labours of the framers of the report will not have been vain, if at the time of the revision of the Cape Agreement, the rights of the poor labouring Indian population are not bartered away for doubtful concessions to the other Indian settlers. The position taken up by the latter is unassailable, and should depend on its own merits. The settlers themselves should therefore refuse to be party to any bargain, which would compromise the rights of the less favourably situated brethren. South Africa can easily absorb and accommodate the existing Indian population.



# *The Hindu*

Madras, May 19, 1931

Sentiments have been expressed by responsible Ministers in South Africa, which make it abundantly clear that the Cape Town Agreement was entered into principally because they desired perceptibly to reduce the number of Indians in the Union. Their anxiety to review the results of the working of that Agreement during the last four years was due to the fact that they were not satisfied that the result had been secured to the extent desired. Dr. Malan has tried to wriggle out of the statement he made a few months ago that the definite policy of the Government was to drive out the Indians. As a matter of fact, Gen. Hertzog had stated soon after the Cape Town Agreement was entered into, "We want to get rid of the Indians as far as possible. Repatriation should therefore be our first endeavour." The flow of emigrants under the assisted emigration scheme was kept up during the first three years, but has now perceptibly decreased. The Agent to the Government of India in one of his reports stated, "This decrease in the number of persons availing themselves of the assisted emigration scheme has caused the gravest anxiety both to the Agent and to the Union Government for there can be no doubt that Europeans in South Africa judge the success or failure of the Cape Town Agreement by the working of this scheme." It is perhaps this fact that is responsible for the strong anti-Indian agitation that is now going on in South Africa and for the introduction of the Emigration and Land Tenure Bills, the first of which has become an Act and the second has been postponed for discussion at the next Round Table Conference. Any settlement that is

entered into hereafter must proceed on the basis that those Indians who are now resident in South Africa must be treated as part of the permanent population and that the scheme of assisted emigration or any modification thereof should be definitely abandoned. The experience of the working of the scheme during the last four years has been such that there can be no possibility of doubt that inducing Indians to emigrate to India is an act of wanton mischief with which the Government of India should have nothing to do. Even the Natesan-Gray report described the difficulties which repatriated Indians had to undergo in securing suitable jobs. But that report related to conditions in Madras and did not cover those in Bengal to which place a fifth of the Indians coming to India proceed. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi has prepared a report which will be found extremely useful to those whose business it is to examine this question at length at the forthcoming Conference. This repatriation has been going on under one name or other during the last thirty years and various enquiries have been made from time to time into the condition of those who emigrate to various parts of India. Many of them are unhappy, find the rigors and restrictions of the caste system very annoying and irritating, discover that the standard of living in India is very much lower than in South Africa, and that the Government do not provide them with sufficient help and regret that they ever left Natal for India. Under the assisted emigration scheme though Indians can return, it is practically impossible for any large number to do so because they have to return to the Union Government all the money that they had received when embarking from South Africa. That is why we find that only a very small number have returned to South Africa because as soon as they arrive in India they spend all the money that they have received from the Government. Mr. Bhawani Dayal

Sannyasi has, therefore, no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that the scheme of repatriation has utterly failed because the repatriates have been made miserable on their landing in India, that they cannot be assimilated by their community and that Government help is not forthcoming to the extent necessary. He writes, "It is morally quite indefensible to try to reduce the Indian population in this artificial manner; to encourage unsuspecting and ignorant Indians from the colonies to return to India to lead a miserable life in the hope that others more fortunate who are left behind, will be uplifted, is at once selfish and immoral." The Union Government undertook under the Cape Town Agreement to treat those Indian who are left behind and who did not avail themselves of the assisted emigration scheme, as members of the permanent population, who must be educated and otherwise made fit to become useful members of the society. That responsibility is theirs and that Government cannot justly ask the Government of India to be a party to the reduction of the Indian population in South Africa. The whole basis of the negotiations, therefore, must be quite different from that of the Cape Town Agreement. In the meanwhile, it is the duty of the Government of India to be much more helpful to Indians, who find themselves stranded in India, than they have shown themselves hitherto. Some of the experiences narrated by the author are very sad indeed and steps must be taken immediately to put the matter right.





# *The Leader*

Allahabad, June 11, 1931

We commend to the attention of the Government of India Mr. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi's report on the condition of the emigrants sent to India under the assisted emigration scheme from South Africa which gives a most distressing account of the condition in which the emigrants find themselves on their return in India—without work, without friends, and without money, living a most miserable life in most unclean surroundings. Among other important questions to be discussed at the forthcoming Indo-South African Conference will undoubtedly be the future of the assisted emigration scheme. Though we gave our support to the Cape Town Agreement, we have never concealed our dislike of this scheme, and we would wish for nothing more than that it should not form a feature of the revised agreement. The members of the Indian deligation themselves who represented India at the Cape Town Conference of 1927 were not enamoured of the scheme. But they had to give their consent to it because under the circumstances then existing it was not possible to conclude an agreement on better terms. The scheme has been in operation now for about five years, during which period about 7,000 emigrants have been returned to India. It had been repeatedly represented to the Government that an inquiry should be made in order to find out how these emigrants have fared on their return to India as there were persistent reports that the returned emigrants were most unhappy in their new surroundings and were

regretting their action in having left South Africa tempted by the Union Government's offer of a free passage and other financial assistance. It was laid down in the Cape Town Agreement that on their arrival in India emigrants would be helped to settle in the occupations for which they were best suited by aptitude and their resources. Clearly it was the duty of the Government of India to assure themselves that this part of the agreement was being fulfilled, that the emigrants already shipped to India have been satisfactorily provided for, before further loads of emigrants were despatched. At first the Government of India maintained that the returned emigrants were not dissatisfied with conditions of life in India and were not anxious to return to South Africa. In the end however they were prevailed upon to institute an inquiry and Messrs. Natesan and Gray were appointed to constitute the inquiry commission. But whereas what was required was a thoroughgoing inquiry into the social and economic conditions of the returned emigrants throughout the country, the commissioners' inquiries were confined to the assistance received by the returned emigrants from the special officer at Madras. How incomplete and unsatisfactory such a report is likely to be will appear from the fact that whereas more than 7,000 emigrants have returned from South Africa only some 200 men sought the assistance of the special officer, for at least 32 percent of whom this official was unable to find suitable employment. The report is consequently unable to tell what happened to those who did not seek the help of the special officer, to those who sought his help but whom he was unable to help, and to those others who did not belong to Madras. Clearly a much fuller inquiry was required. Mr. Bhawani Dayal's report is more satisfactory in this respect that he took care to visit besides Madras other provinces where returned emigrants are to be found. Government may not be able to accept as Gospel

truth all that Mr. Dayal has to say. They may not for instance accept his statement that there is not a single returned emigrant who would not like to return to South Africa if he had only the means to do so. But there is enough in the report to show that the undertaking given in the Cape Town Agreement that the emigrants would be helped to settle in the occupations for which they were suited by their aptitude or their resources has not been fulfilled and that a very large number of them are living under the most distressing conditions. It is open to the Government to institute inquiries of their own to find out the full facts. But they would be well advised not to send their representatives to the next Round Table Conference with only the Natesan report in their pocket in order to discuss the future of the assisted emigration scheme.



## The Amrita Bazar Patrika Calcutta, May 15, 1931.

The report just issued by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chatuavedi on the problem connected with the emigrants repatriated to India from South Africa under the assisted emigration scheme is undoubtedly a useful, timely and interesting publication. These two gentlemen have deeply studied this important problem and so whatever they might have to say on it should deserve the closest consideration of the Indian public.

This question of repatriation has got an interesting history behind it and we would like to refer to it here

as briefly as we can. It was about the middle of the last century that the planters of Natal found themselves faced with bankruptcy on account of want of labour. Pressure was brought to bear upon the Government of India by the South African Government to allow the emigration of coolies from this unfortunate country and the Government of India was reluctantly forced to agree to this experiment. Emigration of Indian labourers to Natal continued from 1860 till the 1st of July, 1911. By the early eighties the white planters had established their industries on a more or less permanent basis and had prospered wonderfully and though they still wanted cheap Indian labour, they decided to get rid of as many Indians as possible. Acts and regulations began to be especially enacted against Asiatics or Indians. Repatriation of South African Indians took three forms: compulsory repatriation from 1895 to 1913, voluntary repatriation from 1914 to 1926 and repatriation under the assisted emigration scheme from 1927 onwards. More than 50,000 Indians have been repatriated under the first two items while under the third about 7,500 Indians have left South Africa. The scheme is euphemistically called "assisted" emigration though its real object is to get rid of the Indian population in South Africa by offering them money, which is £20, to go back to India. True it is that no compulsion is practised in regard to repatriation but it is none the less not voluntary. The inducement of money is there but the emigrants are quite ignorant of the kind of life which is awaiting them in India. Moreover, when these people were repatriated from South Africa they were given a printed form in Hindi on behalf of the Union Government which contained an assurance to the effect that arrangements would be made to find work for them in India. Under the Cape Town Agreement, the Government of India also undertook to see that on arrival in India repatriates

from South Africa were protected against squandering their cash and helped as far as possible in settling in some sort of occupation for which they are suited. But is the Government of India doing its duty and fulfilling its promise in regard to the unfortunate repatriates? After a good deal of agitation, it appointed a commission consisting of the Hon'ble Mr. G.A. Natesan and Mr. J. Grey I.C.S. to make a thorough inquiry into the condition of the returned emigrants. But the Commission only confined its investigation to Madras port alone for the Government of India observed that "investigations outside will neither be practicable nor fruitful of results commensurate with the labour and expense involved." But it should be born in mind that the emigrants do not belong to Madras alone though this presidency contains a large percentage of the returned emigrants out of the total. What has the Government of India done with regard to the repatriates of Calcutta and its suburbs, Bihar and Bombay? Practically nothing whatsoever. It thinks that its duty is finished by only appointing a Commission in Madras.

The condition of the Indian emigrants in this country, as described by Swami Bhawani Dayal and Pandit Benarsidas who write from first-hand personal experience, is one that will draw tears from anybody who has a heart to feel. In villages they cannot live, as they are treated as outcastes by their kinsmen. So they have flocked to the cities to live in the slums. As Mahatmaji has said they are looked upon as "social lepers." "India to most of them is like foreign land." They find themselves placed under a thousand and one obstacles. They can hardly find employment to make both ends meet. The result is disease, starvation and other concomitant evils. Neither the public nor the Indian Government are very much eager to relieve their distress. These emigrants require to be properly

looked after and this is a moral duty to be discharged by the Government of India as it was a party to the assisted emigration scheme. If it cannot do so, it should take measures to send them back at its own cost to the Colonies from where they were repatriated. The problem of the returned emigrants is assuming graver proportions every day and it will not do for the Government of India to sleep over it for any length of time.



## The Times of India

Bombay May 26. 1931.

Agitation on the subject of the Indian position in South Africa, in the preparation for the new round table conference proposed to be held in South Africa next winter, has already begun in India. There has just reached us a pamphlet about it, written by Swami Bhawani Dayal Snnyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, the former on the basis of experience in South Africa and in India and the latter on the strength of his knowledge of current conditions among "returned emigrants." We have no doubt that the Government of India are fully seized of the main points at issue and that Sir Fazi-i-Hussen will handle the Indian case in the pending negotiations as zealously and as skilfully as Sir Muhammad Habibullah did before him. The problem is exceeding'y difficult and the negotiations will be correspondingly delicate, so we deprecate efforts to stir up general agitation in India because if they are successful their effects are likely to be seen in a weakening rather than a streng-

thening of Government's hands. On the other hand, the pamphlet before us is not only ably written but couched in reasonable terms. The information which it displays represents the Indian case fairly and without exaggeration. Indeed, that case can much more forcibly be stated without being overcoloured. The facts mainly brought out are that the South African authorities signed the current Cape Town Agreement because they believed that the optional "repatriation" clause in it would genuinely lead to a reduction of the number of Indians in the Union, that it has not in an appreciable degree had that effect and that the plight of the Indian "repatriates" is for the most part deplorable.

The authors of the pamphlet demand a thorough official inquiry into the condition of the "repatriates" and of the measures taken for its amelioration, and they insist that the Government of India shall be party to no further "repatriation" schemes. The two demands appear to us to contradict one another. Our explanation lies in the quotation marks in which we have written the word, repatriates. These people are to a very large degree not repatriates, but were bred in the Union and are therefore practically foreigners to India. Of the rest, a great proportion return after so many years abroad that their Indian roots have perished and they are almost equally strangers. No plan of official "assistance" can enable such men and women comfortably and pleasantly to become absorbed in the social and economic life of Indian towns and villages on their pouring in from overseas. Why bother about an inquiry into what is already well-known? The crux of the matter now is that the Indians remaining in the Union have discovered that "repatriation" worsens rather than improves their lot and that the Union Government demand a revision of the Agreement because they desire to utilise such revision

to increase the pressure on Indians to leave their midst. What the Government of India have to stand for is that, as the Indians from the outset went to South Africa in response to urgent invitations backed by honeyed promises, South Africa shall now act in the true spirit of both invitation and premises. The real difficulties on the South African side are as great as those on the Indian. To agitate along lines of first principles cannot greatly help. The best way to uphold the Government of India in the difficult task lying ahead is through the Emigration Committee of the Central Legislature and with that body Government will be sure in due course to consult.

## The Hindu

Madras, May 27, 1931.

The time has arrived when the issues before the Indian community in South Africa have to be faced boldly without any attempt at glossing over inconvenient, but nevertheless, important aspects of the problems. The Union Government, it is obvious from the recent events, want to squeeze out as many Indians as possible and the comparative failure of the scheme of assisted emigration has had the effect of stiffening their attitude. The desire to revise the Cape Town Agreement is due to the feeling that other and stronger measures be taken to quicken the pace of Indian emigration from South Africa. On the other hand, the experience of repatriated Indians in India has been very unhappy, for they have discovered that India is not able



to provide them with suitable employment and so assimilate them. They are in a very sad plight, with no means of livelihood in India and with no money to return to South Africa. The fact that very few Indians are now taking advantage of the scheme of assisted emigration is undoubtedly due to the accounts of sufferings of repatriated Indians which have reached South Africa. What then is the remedy? As we have already pointed out, there is no alternative other than that the Union Government should treat Indians as part of the permanent population and extend to them the elementary rights of citizenship which are now denied to them. *The Times of India* takes a very sane view of the question when it says:-

The crux of the matter now is that the Indians remaining in the Union have discovered that "repatriation" worsens rather than improves their lot and that the Union Government demand a revision of the Agreement because they desire to utilise such revision to increase the pressure on Indians to leave there midst. What the Government of India have to say for is that, as the Indians from the outset went to South Africa in response to urgent invitations baked by honeyed promises, South Africa shall now act in the true spirit of both invitation and promises.

This is undoubtedly the proper view to take of the question and we have no doubt that the pressure of public opinion should be brought to bear on the Government of India to adopt it.



# The Bengalee

(CALCUTTA EVENING NEWS)

Calcutta May 15, 1931.

The report on the condition of emigrants repatriated to India under the Cape Town Agreement issued to-day by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi is a very timely publication.

The Cape Town Agreement will shortly come up for revision in the Conference to be held at Pretoria between the representatives of the Government of India and the Union of South Africa. The assisted emigration scheme forms a vital part of the agreement to which the Union Government attach the greatest importance.

Facts, from whatever sources received, regarding the working of this scheme must be particularly welcome to all concerned and because the facts in this case are particularly unpleasant and uncomfortable it is no reason why statement of both countries should shut their eyes to them.

The conclusions of Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi in this respect are that the assisted emigration scheme is a miserable failure and that, under present conditions, there is no place in India for the repatriated emigrant. The condition of most of these emigrants in the slums of Matiabruz which the authors of the report describe is eloquent testimony to the failure of the scheme.

Once this is clearly understood, the way will be clear for the delegates to tackle the problem from other more reasonable points of view.

Under the Cape Town Agreement, a large number of Indians have been sent back to this country and if

the Union Government are honest in their intentions, this reduction must be an incentive to them to devote their attention to the other much neglected part of the old agreement about improving the standard of living of the Indians now domiciled in South Africa.

No other solution of the problem of Indians in South Africa is likely to be acceptable to public opinion in India, irrespective of race, caste and creed.



## The Maharatta

Poona, May 24, 1931.

Pandit Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi have published a valuable report on the emigrants repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa. It vividly points out the defects in the Inquiry Report of the Natesan-Grey Committee appointed by the Government of India. Tragic stories of some of the repatriates told by Pandit Bhawani Dayal lead us to conclude that the scheme of repatriation has failed, as it has brought untold miseries on the repatriates, especially on those who are colonial-born; and they number more than 33 per cent of the total. The Government of India has helped only a small number of emigrants who returned to Madras. The Government has done practically nothing for those who returned to Northern India (Calcutta) from Fiji, British Guiana and South Africa. The fact that 33% of the emigrants are colonial-born aggravates their misery. These men are neither Indian nor Colonial. They had no Indian culture in the foreign lands except

perhaps that they picked up through their half-dis-indianised parents. They are not colonial, as the colonial culture is debarred to them. The Colonial-born men are often born of inter-caste marriage, and on account of the prevalence of the caste system in India, they have no equal social status. For them it is like falling out of the frying pan into the fire, as in the colonies they had some money and a home to live in. In India, the language of the people is also foreign to them. Therefore, we think, it is the duty of the Government to send them back to the Colonies wherein they can live happily. From the economic point of view their return to India is also a disadvantage, so long as India is not in a position to manage her own affairs and is not free from unemployment menace. We hope the Government of India will not be a party to a scheme of repatriation of Indians overseas where they had established themselves for generations. If they return of their own free will, it is well and good. However, it is the duty of the Government to see that they are well established, and in the words of Mr. C. F. Andrews "they must on no account be allowed to go to destruction in the slums of Calcutta and Madras."



## The Liberty

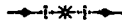
Calcutta, May 18, 1931

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi have done a notable public service by bringing to light the appalling conditions in which the returned emigrants from Fiji Natal and other colonies live in Matiabruz, Garden Reach and other suburban places round Calcutta. "Matiabruz has been a death trap for

hundreds of returned emigrants during the last ten years, and it is a disgrace to the municipality and the town that such an abominable slum quarter is allowed to exist." The indictment may give an unpleasant shock to the smug self-complacency of the ditcher, but judged in the light of facts related by the joint authors it does not appear to be exaggerated or unjustified. These facts are surely stranger than fiction. The repatriated are crowded in bastees, malari-ridden, without work, nourishment or medical relief. They are 'a prey to the sharks of the neighbourhood' who exploit their distress. Mr. F.E. James, Joint Secretary of the Indian Emigrants Friendly Service Committee, describes the condition of these people in the following words: "Many of them, on their return from their colony, had been driven from their villages because they could not fit in with the social structure of the village community, some unable to find work, had drifted down to Calcutta in the hope of securing employment. All of them, disillusioned on their return to India, had come to the riverside with the vague hope that a ship might somehow and sometime take them back to the colony they had left. They were friendless, without regular wages or food, and imposed upon by all to whom they went for help." Mr. C. F. Andrews who has come into personal contact with these returned emigrants living in Matiabruz, Garden Reach and near the docks writes that the luggage-carriers, the booking-clerks, the gariwallas, the tradesmen all cheated them. "There were thieves, and bad, immoral men and women always on the prowl to steal away their hard earned savings which they had brought back, and to entice them to gambling and immoral living." They live in houses worse than pig-sties, surrounded by pools with stagnant water, breeding places for mosquito and malaria. These emigrants are mostly from Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Natal. They

are colonial born. They are neither Indian nor Colonial. Mahatma Gandhi writes of them, "They have no Indian culture in the foreign lands they go to, save what they pick from their uncultured half-indianised parents. They are not Colonial in that they are debarred access to the Colonial, i. e., Western culture. They are therefore out of the frying pan into the fire. There at least they had some money and a kind of home. Here they are social lepers, not even knowing the language of the people." Anywhere, anywhere out of India, is their cry. It is the clear duty of the Government of India, to send them to the most suitable colony that would receive them.

The fact that stands clear is that the scheme of assisted repatriation is bad in policy and in practice. It involves a grim tragedy. The Government of India must take a determined stand against the repatriation of Colonial Indians. Should they also not try to mitigate the evil that has resulted from their shortsightedness! The Matiabruze Problem is not only a temporary one. It will recur again and again unless the Government of India can stop the repatriation of Indian Colonials. Lastly, with all the emphasis at our command we urge the Corporation of Calcutta to improve the conditions of life of these unfortunate emigrants in Matiabruz.



## The People

Lahore, May 24, 1931

Under the Capetown Agreement the Government of India undertook to look to the needs of the Indians sent back by assisted emigration. This scheme offers some bonus to Indians who submit to voluntary

repatriation. The Union Government think by this means they might be able to get rid of a large number of Indians settled in South Africa, and thus solve to a large extent the inconvenient Indian problem. The Union Government's policy does not appear to us to be sound at all, for though the scheme of assisted emigration has sent back to India, upto the end of March 1929, (the scheme was set into operation in 1927) 6,500 Indians, the Indian population in South Africa is not substantially reduced. In fact, this scheme by itself cannot even keep the Indian population at a stationary level. Besides, even if it could the "Asiatic cancer" would not be eradicated, for—as in the matter of the Liquor Act, in 1928, the Union Government had to accord better treatment to the Japanese than it would hold forth to the helots of the Empire, the Indians. And even of the "Asiatic Cancer," could by some scheme or some magic be eradicated would South Africa ever become all white? But probably the whites think if the Asiatics could be packed away they would be left free to exploit the black indigenous population as much as they liked.

What India is concerned with most however is not so much the soundness of the emigration scheme from the point of view of the Union Government but the problems that this scheme creates for the Indians supposed to be its beneficiaries or its victims.

The Government of India had some time ago an inquiry made into the condition of the repatriated by Messrs G. A. Natesan and J. Gray. For reasons known best to the Government of India this inquiry was confined only to the returned emigrants landing at Madras. Those landing at Calcutta were excluded from its purview. The Natesan-Gray report was besides more a chit for the Special Officer in charge of the repatria-

ted at Madras than a true picture of the condition of these miserable people. One could gather, though, from some of the figures in that brief and casual report, that things were far from being quite bright.

Now we have before us a much fuller thing than the Natesan-Gray note—a report by Syt. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi who is himself a colonial-born Indian and has for a long time been known as a writer on the problems of the Colonial Indians. When leaving South Africa for India in 1929, Syt. Bhawani Dayal had promised his community a report on the condition of the repatriated. Because of his having gone to jail in connexion with the Civil Disobedience movement the report was delayed. Now it appears with a sort of lengthy foreword by Syt. Benarsidas Chaturvedi who has for a number of years been in close contact with Indians returning from all colonies. The two writers combine to produce an authoritative document.

The conclusions arrived at by Syt. Bhawani Dayal and Mr. Chaturvedi, are practically identical. Both of them think that the lot of the repatriated Indians is extremely bad, both find these people are neither received well nor assimilated by the Indian community on their return and both warn India's politicians against all compromises involving schemes of repatriation.

The whole story of Indian emigrants from start to finish, that is from their leaving India for foreign lands under humiliating condition to their return under schemes of compulsory or voluntary repatriation is one long tragedy. When their friends saw them wretched and humiliated in colonies they thought repatriation might be not unwelcome, and yet experience only made the gloomy out look gloomier still. Mr. Chaturvedi quotes from an article by Mr. Andrews, in



which the latter describes how in Natal in 1920, and in Fiji in 1917 he was led to conclude repatriation might be good for the Colonial Indian labourer:

"Wherever I went [in Fiji], they fell at my feet, imploring me to get them ships to go away. They followed me about from place to place with blank looks of despair and with entreaties of every kind. I was reminded of that tragic scene described by the Latin poet, Virgil, in the sixth Aeneid, where the spirits of the dead follow Aeneas to the brink of the river Styx—the flood which divides the world of the dead from the world of living—and stretched out their hands towards him, crying out to him in their despair *Tendentes quae manus ripae ulterioris amore*. "And stretching forth their hand, in sick longing for the further shore."

The scene is mentally present with me still, where I left them at the wharf in Fiji to get on board the steamer. Their hands were uplifted as they cried,—  
"send us ships quickly to take us back to India."

And yet we know Mr. Ansirews had publicly repented for being party to compromises involving repatriation. Mr. Chaturvedi's experiences at Mutia-burz—the slum area in Calcutta where the returned emigrants lead an infernal existence—have led him strongly to the same conclusion. Syt. Bhawani Dayal visited nearly all the important centres where one could meet the repatriated and has come to the conclusion that not one among them is happy over his return to India.

The unfairness of the Union Government's policy may best be seen from the fact that ten per cent of those induced to avail of the scheme are decrepits! Even a Socialist Government in India might hesitate to pay pensions to large numbers of people.

who were born and became decrepit in other countries ! These surely should in no case have been repatriated.

The report forms most depressing reading. It shows clearly that the repatriated Indians are in a wretched condition—Mr. Chaturvedi maintains that Matiaburz wears a gloomier aspect today than that ever before did—the Government of India have not done or have not been able to do much in getting them settled to some jobs. Let us give some attention to the sad plight of these miserable people and let us remember their misery when next year the Capetown Agreement comes up for revision. Let there be no talk of repatriation then.



## The Patna Times

Patna, June 14, 1931

Messers Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Benarsidas Chaturvedi have published in the last month a report on the condition of the emigrants repatriated to India from South Africa. The true picture of misery which they have painted is very moving. The returning emigrant finds himself to be a comparative stranger in his fatherland. Things have changed during his absence. He has changed too. Mr. Dayal has the advantage of having seen both sides of the picture. He is himself a 'colonial born' gentleman and has specially studied the condition of the repatriated

Indians. The report which he publishes is a very considerate and considered document. He postponed the publication of his findings to give the Government of India a chance to appoint a commission of enquiry and to redress the grievances of these helpless people, or at least put a stop to the cruel process of outlawing—aye, it amounts to that—the Indians from their South African homes. It is common knowledge that the Government did nothing. The Gray-Natesan Commission was not even a proper apology for not appointing a real investigating commission, for it was to make an “enquiry into the working of the special organization in Madras for dealing with emigrants returning. A very large colony—aye, colony it must be described—of emigrants is to be found at Matiaburj, a suburb of Calcutta. Mr. F. E. James O. B. E., Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., Calcutta describes their condition thus:—

“These repatriates were scattered throughout the district crowded in bustees, malaria-ridden, without work, nourishment or medical relief. Many of them had been driven from their villages because they could not fit in with the social structure of the village community.”

It has been the boast of some Hindu publicists that of all countries India's social system is such that it has always assimilated foreign cultures. We are afraid that this is not wholly true. Foreign culture has either been thrust upon India or Indians have taken to it for self-aggrandisement, of course the beauty and good in foreign systems has always appealed to the intelligent few. Here is an example in point. When emigrants came, not as conquerors or rulers, but as one of us, Hindus refused to take them into their fold. Caste system all over! Mr. C. F. Andrews laments the lot of these repatriates in the following terms:—

"In my own experience, I have been drawn in two directions, while working out the practical issues of this great problem. When I was in Natal, in the year 1920, and found a very large number of the labouring Indian population sinking below the level of the Kaffir, that appeared to me far worse than those of labourers in India.....I became eager for their repatriation.....But when later I found that those who did return to India were not well received in their villages and therefore drifted into the slums in an altogether hopeless, discontented and unhappy condition,—then I began bitterly to regret that I had even by a single word given any encouragement to such repatriation."

Our callousness to our reclaimed kith and kin did not stop at indifference. Says Mr. Andrews: "They were cheated in Calcutta by those whom they had to hire. The luggage-carriers the booking clerks, the gariwallas, the tradesmen, all cheated them. "

Nor did this spirit of theft stop at this. Even their souls were not left pure. Proceeds Mr. Andrews:— "And there were thieves and bad immoral men and women always on the prowl to steal away their hard earned savings, and to entice them to gambling and immoral living."

According to their traditional conservatism—which may be better described as perverse brutality—their village *biraderi* would not admit them in their circle. They refused to give their sons or daughters in marriage. How often a Muslim or a Christian has felt insulted when he has been asked to keep at a distance from the Hindu while he is eating or drinking. Lo ! his own brother comes back from Africa and is treated as an untouchable. Truly did one emigrant say: "We were treated like dogs." When Mr. C. F.

Andrews learnt by experience how this Caste-machine grinds India he had to change his policy. Thence-forth he said,

*"No further emigration and no further repatriation"*

While experience taught the folly of the repatriation scheme it has been a moot point as to whether those who have returned should be sent back again. Mahatma Gandhi wrote a leading article in *The Young India* for 9th September, 1926 supporting the suggestion of the Council of the Imperial Citizenship Association that the repatriates should be sent back to some colony. He pointed out that "Anywhere out of India" was the cry of the repatriates. He specially advocated the return of the 'colonial born'. He argued:

"The reader will not understand the full meaning of being 'Colonial born.' These men are neither Indian, nor colonial. They have no Indian culture in the foreign land they go to save what they pick up from their uncultured half-dis-Indianised parents. They are not colonial in that they are debarred access to the colonial, i. e. Western, culture. They are therefore out of the frying pan into the fire.

The Colonies are the frying pan; India is the fire. We have treated them worse than the colonial Governments. Even the Congress did nothing practical. Mr. Andrews had pointed out the importance of the duty of getting the repatriated emigrants received in their ancestral homes. "Unfortunately," laments Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi, "this effort was never made. I tried to get this work done by the Congress but I failed." The author has put the matter mildly. 'Congress failed' is our comment.

While the Hindus and the Congress must share their part of the responsibility for the wretched con-

dition of the repatriated Indians, Government has a greater duty to discharge. Government have adopted their usual dilatory methods of fedtapism which end in reports and nothing substantial. Their callousness is unsurpassable. They do not even realise their moral responsibility. They were responsible for the exportation—aye, down-right forced exportation—of innocent persons. They were responsible for degrading these persons to the position of slaves. For a period of eighty years Government officials despatched 30 women per 100 men to the different colonies of the world. Indeed the Government of India had to confess their sin in their despatch of 15th Oct. 1915.

“It is firmly believed in this country and it would appear, not without grave reason, that the women emigrants are too often living a life of immorality in which their persons are by reason of pecuniary temptation or official pressure at the free disposition of their fellow recruits and even of the subordinate managing staff.”

This act of the Government is like the original sin of man as propounded by the Christian churches. Perhaps it was a natural consequence that two Christian Govts., Indian and South African, should combine in perpetrating this sin. There are often two to one sin. It is impossible for Government to disown their responsibility, yet, if Government refuse to see facts which stare in their face who can help it? Perhaps their eyes need a severe operation. Careful and sympathetic operations have been tried but failed. In reply to the representations made by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association of Bombay this is what the Government said in their reply dated 3rd April 1926.

*“Government of India do not think that any real need exists.”*

Government may think in any manner it likes but it is impossible to alter facts. But the trouble of the matter is that Government have not even got the courage to face facts. The "Sutlej" was responsible for more than 70 deaths among returning Indian emigrants. Government did not even publish the result of their own enquiries for fear of wounding the susceptibilities of the Colonial Governments ! A foreign government is after all a foreign government. Alien rule all over ! It must go ! In spite of Swami Bhawani Dayal's repeated requests Government did not even take the trouble to enquire generally into the condition of these returned emigrants. The terms of reference of the Natesan—Gray Commission were confined to Madras alone. That was a mere eyewash.

The conclusions to which we have arrived are:

- 1 Under no circumstances should any repatriation of colonial Indians be encouraged.
- 2 Colonial born Indians will not be happy except in the colonies.
- 3 Indians married in the colonies should not return.
- 4 Economically Indians are better off there.
- 5 Unless India is free she can be of no help to her sons abroad.
- 6 Indian leaders should repudiate all agreements between Government of India and Colonial Government which involve repatriation.
- 7 We should do our duty towards those who have already returned.



# The Star

Johannesburg, June 13, 1931

That an old Indian and his three Natal-born children, including a daughter, tramped 2,500 miles from Dar-es-Salaam to Mkuzi, in Zululand, in a vain endeavour to re-establish domicile in Natal after being sent to India under the voluntary repatriation scheme, is one of the illustrations of repatriation hardships which Mr. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi gives in a brochure ( printed in India ) on the South African emigration scheme, for Indians and the conditions in which repatriates are living in India. The four Natal Indians had accepted free passage to India and £5 a head in return for the forfeiture of their South African domicile, and in spite of their desperate efforts to return to what they termed their "motherland", they were, according to the brochure, sent back to India.

Mr. Sannyasi holds that for the following reasons, among others, all the repatriates desire to return to the land of their adoption:—

( 1 ) With the exception of those who belong to very low castes, the repatriates :—of whom 33 per cent, are Colonial-born—cannot be assimilated by their respective communities. The caste system still holds its sway in India, and the question of marriage of the Colonial children who are often born of inter-cast marriages, raises insoluble difficulties.

( 2 ) The Government of India, has been able to help only a very small number of the returned emigrants in South India, while they have done practically nothing to those who have returned to North India.



(3) Foodstuffs in India cost much more to-day than they used to do 30 or 40 years ago, and Colonial Indians are much better off there than their compatriots here at home.

The author quotes this from an article by Gandhi in the Young India on the misery of 2,000 Indian repatriates living in squalid conditions in Calcutta: "They all looked famished. Their lot is the lowest ab of human misery. The fact that the majority of these men are Colonial-born aggravates their misery ... These men are neither Indian nor Colonial. They have no Indian culture in the foreign lands they go to save what they pick up from their uncultured half-dis-Indianised parents. They are not Colonial in that they are debarred access to the Colonial, i. e. Western culture. They are therefore out of the frying pan into the fire. There at least they had some money and a kind of a home. Here they are social lepers, not even knowing the language of the people."

The following figures are given by Mr. Sannyasi in regard to Indian repatriates from South Africa:—

Between 1902 and 1913	...	...	32,506
Between 1914 and 1925	...	...	20,334
Assisted emigrants	...	...	7,500
Total	...	...	60,340

"Though the assisted emigrant", he says, "has a right to return to South Africa within a period of three years on repayment of the bonus and the cost of passage, this right can be utilised practically by only 1 per cent. of the returned emigrants."

Many highly controversial matters are dealt with by Mr. Sannyasi in a far from conciliatory tone. He has scathing things to say about the Cape-town agreement in respect of Indians and the "gentlemen's agreement"

between the Union and Japan. "The price is too high," he declares in warning South African Indians to think of the disadvantages of repatriation to India before touching the assisted emigration scheme. Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi contributes a preface, in which he contends that repatriated Indians should be returned to their former domiciles.



## The Zanzibar Voice

Zanzibar, June 28, 1931

The apprehensions of many with regard to the practicability and even the sincerity of the voluntary repatriation clause in the Hertzog-Habibullah Agreement have, we are pained to observe, been all so true. The plight of those South Africa born Indians who have either voluntarily accepted temporary return to India or have been induced to go to India has been too painful to be suffered by any patriotic Indian. It has been most difficult for them to settle in India. The reasons are not only economic but climatic as well. Two patriotic Indians interested in the welfare of Colonial Indians, namely, Swami Bhawani Dayal and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, after having made thorough enquiries into the plight of such returned emigrants, have recently published a report for a copy of which we are thankful to its authors, which, when read and studied, will boil the blood of anybody. It will indeed be impossible for the most sober Indians to exercise self-control in the matter. We are therefore not surprised that the question has evoked bitter in-

dignation from all sides. We think the question is so open that it would be a waste to use gallons of ink and tons of paper to give an expression to it in any elaborate form.

The Hertzog-Habibullah Agreement in this respect, therefore, has been a failure. We do not understand how with eminent and most capable men at the helm of affairs in Simla like Mr. G. S. Bajpai with Colonial portfolio, this question has been allowed to adopt such a sad aspect. The question is whether Indians born in any component part of what has been hitherto known as the British Empire are to be treated as British Nationals, if not for purposes of franchise and civic rights, at least for the purposes of decent living and quiet burial. If this much is not possible to achieve, after all these pourparlers we might say without any fear of contradiction that it is useless for India to think of posing herself as a proud partner within the group of what is so euphemistically called the Sister British Nations. No sister would treat the other sister as South Africa has done with India.

South Africa is a business nation. If she can think of arriving at a commercial treaty with Japan we do not know what comes in her way of deciding Indian question in a tolerable manner. We are told a new conference between India and South Africa is to be held at Capetown. With the experience of the past years we shall watch and wait the outcome of this conference not with much enthusiasm. On our part we are positive that the question of status of Indians abroad will be finally solved only when the question of Indian Constitution will have been finally settled. The Indians therefore in any plight in any corner of the world must exercise patience and self-control as China did several years before. We congratulate

Swami Bhawani Dayal and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi on the self-less service they have rendered by the publication of this report.



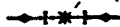
## The Kenya Daily Mail

Mombasa June 6, 1931

We have received a book which is the report by Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Benarsidas Chaturvedi of their independent enquiry into the subject of the Indians repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa, and their conclusions on the problem of returned emigrants from all colonies. It is a work in which no word is wasted, and it must afford to the Imperial Government a lamentable revelation, in a form that admits of no doubt or controversy of the oppression which former British Governments have allowed to exist in lands divided from Britain by the sea. The field for comment is too wide and the facts presented too voluminous for us to attempt at first sight to present more than the general impression; it is essentially a report which everyone must study for himself. The great and general conclusion which its history conveys is that no Empire, the greatness of which is the boast of its island people, can maintain that boast in the jealous world of today, if overwhelming millions of its commonwealth peoples are estranged by secret foes of the Empire under the eyes of the nation which is expected to hold it together. Those foes, secret and open, are in Africa, and since the day when the blunder of forgiving South Africa was committed by the victors

of the war this part of the Empire is working against Britain and the rest of it through Indians and India. How to stop the rot thus introduced should be the most urgent Empire business. The report we indicate is evidence of necessity and should be studied at the centre of the Empire. The conclusion will force itself even upon unwilling statesmen opposing the awakened Party now in power, that the only antidote to the cancerous poison of South Africa is the very thorough placation of India. The internal medicine which the Empire needs is Goodwill.

And how to reach Goodwill? Trade relationships are at the present hour a sign on the path to it, and South Africa's doings together with provocative and extravagant language by Churchills and Rothermeres are the obstacles to it. It is only natural for example, that effects on Lancs of Indian policy should be gravely disquieting to bussinessmen and trade unionists of Britain alike, but it would be rank folly to allow this concern to be translated into action which will make the situation worse instead of better. One path is open to Britain, along which there is the hope of creating the wished for trading relationships, and that is marked on the sign-post with the word "Goodwill"—the word let us hope, which will also mark the path of the Joint Committee. The Government preparing the way for the Round Table Conference, and conciliating India, is pursuing the only policy which in the long run will bring economic co-operation. Sir Padmji Ginwala uttered wise words the other day when he cautioned Lancashire against alienating her best friends in India by the incredible folly of believing that the Government can give by coercion what can only be obtained "from a fiscally autonomous India in an atmosphere of mutual good will."



# The Samachar

Zanzibar, June 7, 1931

Messrs. Bhawani Dayal and Benarsidas Chaturvedi, two staunch workers in the cause of the unfortunate South African Indians deserve very well of Indians in general and South African Indians in particular for the most excellent and illuminating Report recently published by them depicting the horrible condition of the repatriated Indians from South Africa. No two better persons can be found to undertake the laborious work, without which this Report could not have been prepared. Mr. Bhawani Dayal is himself a Colonial Born Indian of South Africa and has intimate knowledge of the condition of Indians in the Union as well as the condition of the repatriates in India. Really speaking such Reports are the work, not of a single individual, but of bodies or associations. And yet Mr. Bhawani Dayal took the work upon his own shoulders and has done it in a way very creditable to himself. Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi, though not a Colonial, has been in constant touch with Colonial Indians for the last seventeen years and no subject is dearer to his heart than the lot of Colonial Indians and it was therefore in the fitness of things that he undertook to write the foreword to this very valuable Report of Mr. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi.

We shall place before our readers next Sunday the blood—curdling facts revealed in this Report about the condition of the Indians repatriated from South Africa, the hideously naked and selfish policy of the Union of South Africa towards the poor

Indians and the step-fatherly attitude of the Government of India. For the present we say that history will scarcely show a page containing a more horrid account about the hounding of one harmless and victimised people by another, who have thrown away even the ordinary decent principles of humanity in the pursuit of their most revoltingly naked selfish policy, a policy which an English paper published in England decries as:—

“A monstrous wrong, an insult to British subjects a disgrace to its authors and a slight upon ourselves.”

The facts we shall place before our readers in our next issue will show that these words, though they are very harsh ones, fall short in indicating the real nature of the utterly heartless policy of the Union of South Africa towards the Indians whom they themselves begged on their knees to come to Natal and whom they are now hounding out of Natal, because their purpose is served.

## II

Last week we referred to the hideous spectacle offered by the tactics pursued by the Union South Africa towards the hapless Indians residing in that sub-continent. For want of space, it is not possible to do full justice to the subject on a single occasion only. We shall have therefore to refer to it in succeeding issues also, in addition to what we have to say today. As mentioned last time, our statements below are based on the excellent Report recently published by Mr. Bhawani Dayal at great personal trouble and expenses.

To refer to the fundamentally naked selfish policy of the Union towards South African Indians, the first point to be noticed is that when the Natal Sugarcane European Planters Community saw that they and their plantations would be ruined for want of cheap, docile, reliable labour, they besought the Indian Government on their bended knees to allow Indian labourers to migrate to Natal. After great difficulty, the Indian Government sanctioned the migration. The result was that Indian labour began to be provided to Natal from 1860.

For about fifty years thereafter all went well. The plantations, which were on the point of being totally ruined, were properly looked after with Indian labour and the Natal planters made their piles and everything looked rosy !

Having made their piles however, the planters saw that Indian labour was no longer wanted. And so they began to cast about for means to drive away the Indian labour. Then the campaign against the *Coolies* began. Several heartless remedies were tried and the hounding out of the Indians from South Africa became, day by day, more and more hideous and heartrending. Mr. Bhawani Dayal has given the full list of the 29 anti-Indian Enactments passed by the Union during the 28 years up to 1913. This shows what little regard they have for righteous laws! Then came the Great War. After its close, the restrictive legislation was forthwith taken in hand by the Union with redoubled vigour and with utter disregard for its own former enactments and promises. Indeed, one prominent politician openly stated that it is the practice of nations to treat as mere scraps of paper its own former enactments, when they are found to be unsuitable. So this is the reward India has got for helping Great Britain in the Great War !



Why laugh at Germany then for treating treaties as mere scraps of paper when they prove unsuitable? And the Great War was fought to protest, among other things, against Germany's high handed policy for violating Belgium's neutrality! The Union is doing something even worse.

Then came the famous Cape Town Gentlemen's Agreement. Its object was nothing but to drive away as many Indians from South Africa as possible. In this respect it is to be noted that it was the *Indian Views* of Durban that from the very first drew the attention of the Indian public to this real object of that Agreement, though it was opposed on this point by Indians themselves on that occasion. But now all acknowledge the truth of what that journal has been always saying.

And as even that Agreement did not succeed in driving away a large number of Indians, the Union has now entered on an intensive repressive legislation to make South Africa a veritable hell for Indians. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Bill has been suspended. But we may rest assured it will be only for a time. The other equally obnoxious bill, the Immigration Bill, has been recently passed.

We reserve further remarks for the next week and conclude today by saying that Christ has been all but forgotten by the so-called Christian Government of the Union! They are nothing but open worshippers of Mammon and nothing else.

### III

On the last two occasions we refer to this topic, and mentioned some of its most disgusting features. Today, we specially refer to the fact that

since the anti-Indian agitation began in the Union, it has been the persistent aim of the South African Statesmen of all shades and all parties that no stone should be left unturned till the whole lot of Indians in the Union is turned out lock, stock and barrel. And to achieve this object all sorts of subter-fuges have been used. Whenever the Indians or the Indian Government of their behalf agreed to give away some of their birth rights, the Union people always dangled before the eyes of the unsophisticated Indians the hope that in consideration of that particular concession or yielding of Indian, further oppression—as it has been nothing less than oppression—of the Indians there would come to stop. This has happened several times up to now and the result has been that each concession on the part of the Indians there has only whetted the unholy appetite of the Union politicians to give the screw a further turn! And thus in spite of all the concessions made by Indians so far, their lot is now so miserable as it was never so before!

And the step-fatherly Government of India has always played into the hands of the Union statesmen. It supplied them with Indian labour when Natal planters wanted it very badly and are now playing into the hands of the Union statesmen, when these latter no longer want the Indians, but actually want to drive away the whole lot! While it is thus helped and is helping the Union in both ways, it is very niggardly and dilatory in its scheme of help for the forlorn Indian repatriates from the Union!

The Indians now in South Africa will take, we trust, the lesson this report by Mr. Bhawani Dayal teaches and see that not a single Indian is henceforth repatriated thence under any guise or pretence or temptation!



# The Indian Nation

Patna, July 18, 1931

The report of the independent inquiry on the condition of the repatriated Indians from various British Colonies, particularly from the Union of South Africa under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, conducted by Pandit Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi with the help of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, makes a most painful reading. It reveals the wholly irresponsible character and the utter unwisdom of the emigration policy of the Government of India. It throws a lurid light on the incalculable mischief and misery that this illconceived and ill-conducted repatriation scheme inevitably entails. It also reveals, in brutal nakedness, how hopeless and miserable the Indian's lot is in the British Colonies, in foreign settlements, but worst of all, in his own motherland. The Indian coolie is in requisition everywhere to solve other people's labour and economic problem and to facilitate their struggle for existence, but there is none to save him from tyranny abroad and starvation at home. The indifference of the Government of India in this matter might have been characterised as ridiculous had it not been so tragical in its consequences.

The history of Indian emigration does no credit to the Government of India, nor enhances the civilised character of its rule. The way it has allowed the emigration to be conducted does it positive discredit and its weakness in the matter of securing a fair treatment and humane dealings in the Colonies is much to be deplored. Its thoughtless and hasty acquiescence in the Assisted Emigration Scheme that

is now operating on Indians in South Africa, bringing untold misery on tens of thousands of them, is a blunder—almost criminal. The Government of India entered into an agreement with the Union Government on this score, recognising fully its obligation “to look after such emigrants on their arrival in India” as clause 4 of the Agreement of 1927 completely bears out. Besides, on the eve of their departure, an assurance was given to each and every Indian going to be repatriated that the Government of India would make proper arrangements for receiving them back in India and should they be in need of work, the Government would also find work for them. It is a pity that the Government now forgets conveniently that under the agreement and even without any it has a duty by those whom it tore away from their immemorial home settings and environment and dumped in distant lands amidst utterly new conditions and amongst unsympathetic foreigners, only to oblige and benefit the white settlers there, with a supply of cheap labour. Such a forgetfulness would be tantamount to the whole business being reduced to the level of a traffic in human beings unless the Government of India fulfils, with meticulous care, its obvious duties by these unfortunate Indians for whose present misery it must hold itself primarily and morally responsible.

## II

The emigration policy of the Government of India is the direct result of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Colonies in 1834, which necessitated the substitution of the emancipated slave labour by a supply of cheap labour from somewhere who would work as slaves while providing means to

their masters for evading the law and the purchase of money as well. In response to this vital necessity of the white settlers all over the world—the East India Company's Government constituted itself as their recruiting agent and became a party to the indiscriminate transport of Indian labourers to the various British Colonies and settlements. Things somewhat changed for the better after the Government of India was transferred to the Crown. Various Acts have been passed, from time to time, with a view to facilitating emigration to British Colonies and to those of friendly powers and discouraging the same to those belonging to powers not on good terms with Britain. As the force of public opinion made itself felt more and more in this country, steps began to be taken in an increasing measure to secure better terms and treatment for the emigrated Indians. But these Acts and Regulations have never been sufficiently effective to secure any appreciable betterment of the emigrant's lot anywhere, as is evidenced by their present condition everywhere. Thus hundreds of thousands of Indians were torn away from their hearths and homes by the lure of a better life and more favourable conditions only to find themselves in inhospitable climes left miserably to the tender mercies of the nonq too, humane white settlers—the reports of whose misdeeds have often sickened the civilised world. As the result of this policy of the Government of India—2,525,065 Indians find themselves in British Colonies today and 100,525 in other foreign lands which make the number of Indians overseas 2,625,590, that is, over a half of the population of Greece and 230,000 more than the population of Norway. The Indian coolies—as they are called in the Colonies—cleared the primeval forests in most of these settlements, laid the railways, made the land habitable and safe for

civilised men, built up industries and plantations by dint of their ceaseless toil and together with these, the fortunes of the white settlers, at the cost of their own health and often of their lives. Now that everything is accomplished, the white settlers in most of these Colonies are no longer in need of the coolies, who have therefore become their *bete noir*. Hence it is a common phenomenon in these days to hear loud complaints in most of the British Colonies about the invasion of the Indians and Asiatics and also of the slogan "the white colonial civilisation in danger." Having got everything out of them it is now necessary to kick the Indians out—particularly when it is time to reap the fruits of their labour. And in whatever the settlers may do, they find in the Government of India a marvel of acquiescence.

### III

This problem became particularly acute in the Union of South Africa and in spite of the Gandhi-Smuts Agreement, and the Indian Relief Act of 1914 and various other measures for the safeguard of Indians' status and interests, it has come to a head today. The prolonged and heroic struggle that the Indians in South Africa had put up there under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi is now a matter of history. But General Hertzog's Government appears to be determined to hurl back into India as many Indians as possible in spite of the assurances given from time to time by Dr. Malan, Minister of the Interior, that the interest and rights of Indians would receive just consideration. The present Assisted Emigration Scheme practically bribes poor Indians out of that country by giving a bonus of £ 20 each a temptation which few poor Indians can possibly avoid.

During the period from 1914 to 1926 the total number of repatriates amounted to just over 20,000 or 1,700 per year. From July 1927 when the new Assisted Emigration Scheme came into operation, up to the end of the year 1929 the number of Assisted Emigrants was 6,571 making a grand total of 26,571 Indians repatriated from South Africa. Most of these belonged to the Madras Presidency, a large number to Calcutta and a smaller number to Bombay. Many of these people had left India decades ago perhaps merely as little children. Most of them were Colonial born and had never known India. The lure of a cash bribe and of the rosy dreams of the half-forgotten motherland drew the old people to India who dragged their unwilling Colonial-born children along with them. They arrive here in high hopes and with great expectations. They run through their slender savings in the confidence that the Government of India would provide them with suitable jobs. The expectation and the confidence more often than not, prove false and before they can realise what the matter was with them, they find themselves in hopelessly squalid slums, clothed in rags and themselves reduced to mere skeletons. They pine for their "native lands" that is, the Colonies, but all avenues of return are "barred with gold, and open but to golden keys." For they must repay the bonus, received together with the repatriation costs, before they can secure permission to enter the Colonial township where they lived and were happy in a way. Bad as conditions are in the Colonies, those prevailing in India are worse still, which only an Indian who is inured to it for the last five or six generations can possibly stand. It is because of this that repatriated Indians fail to acclimatise to Indian conditions once they get used to conditions in the Colonies.

## IV

The Government of India have done very little to meet this ghastly situation in which ruin and death stare thousands of India's innocent children in the face. It appointed an inquiry committee consisting of the Hon. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan and Mr. J. Gray, Labour Commissioner, Madras, more as a sort of eyewash than anything else, for the Committee failed to bring to light the serious misery resulting from repatriation under the Assisted Emigration Scheme. The terrible predicament of the repatriates may be gathered from the frequent instances of their going back to an African port and walking with women and children from 2,000 to 4,000 miles in many cases, to reach their "native town" in the Colonies, in the hope of being reunited with their near and dear ones only to get themselves arrested and deported to India without even so much as a hearing being given them.

The report of Pandit Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi bristles with innumerable tragic instances of this nature, but the Government that is the protector of the people and is primarily responsible for these appalling tragedies remains to all intent and purposes, quite unmoved. In such circumstances the duty of the people is absolutely clear. And unless they act up to it without any further loss of time—the situation which is fraught with the gravest danger will get utterly out of hand.





# The Searchlight

Patna June 24, 1931

The report on the condition of returned emigrants from the colonies generally and from South Africa in particular that has recently appeared is a valuable document and in a short compass it familiarises us with the many hardships to which these returned emigrants are subject here in India, the general unsuitability, climatically, economically and socially of Indian conditions for even a partially peaceful, contented and happy life for them and the extreme injustice of their repatriation from the land for whose development and enrichment they sweated throughout the best period of their lives and which has for all practical purposes become their motherland, their children specially being born there and knowing no other land which they could call their own. The report is the outcome of the labours of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, well-known as a specialist in these matters, and of Swami Bhawani Dayal of South African fame, who is now in India serving his mother country and her battles for freedom with the same zeal, earnestness and sacrifice that characterized his work while in South Africa where he was a leading fighter in the Indian cause.

Pandi Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi have written their reports separately. Pandit Benarsi Das's report deals generally with the conditions of returned emigrants from all colonies—Fiji, Trinidad, Surinam, British Guiana etc. Swami Bhawani Dayal's report is limited entirely to the condition of the repatriates

from South Africa which he had been specially asked by his friends in South Africa to study and report. And the two reports substantially agree on almost all points. After a careful study of the problems of these returned emigrants at which he has been engaged for years and from a firsthand and intimate knowledge of the condition of these emigrants, Pandit Benarsidas has come to the conclusion that under no circumstances should any repatriation of colonial Indians be encouraged. It is most difficult for them to settle in India happily. And the reasons are, firstly, that they and, specially, those who are born in the colonies, find India an altogether new world for them and they can neither acclimatize themselves here nor find any place in social organisations. Their economic condition also is far better in the colonies than it can ever be here and the mode and standard of life to which they are accustomed in the colonies are different from what they will be compelled to adopt in India. Pandit Benarsidas therefore, recommends, that under no circumstances whatsoever should our leaders or the Government of India be a party to any compromise, as the latter has been in the case of the emigrants from South Africa, with any colonial Government which has for one of its object the repatriation of colonial Indians.

Swami Bhawani Dayal, since his return from South Africa in 1929, has been studying the condition of the repatriates from South Africa. He has visited all important centres where these repatriates land after their return and also various places in the mofussil to which large number of these returned emigrants belong. He interviewed several hundreds of them and saw their condition with his own eyes. He also met some Government officials in this connection and had talks

with them on this subject. His report is, therefore, not only an authoritative pronouncement of one who is himself a colonial-born and has been intimately connected with all movements in South Africa and knows all the ins and outs of the problem of South African Indian, it is also based upon first hand knowledge and study from close quarters of the condition of the repatriates from South Africa. We attach the greatest value to his report, not only because it has been prepared with extreme care to present nothing but the truth but also because it is the only comprehensive and exhaustive report on the subject that of the special committee appointed by the Government of India in April 1930 and consisting of Mr. G. A. Natesan Editor of the "Indian Review" and Mr. J. Gray, Labour Commissioner Madras, having little to do with the subject, besides being limited to only the town of Madras.

Swami Bhawanl Dayl's report is also valuable because in a rapid survey it gives the whole history of the question of the Indians in South Africa beginning from the year 1860 when they were sent as indentured labourers by an obliging Government of India down to the present year, how the South African Government practically went on their knees to secure them when ruin faced the sugar and other plantations in Natal and were willing to agree to any terms that the Government of India might impose for the good treatment of the indentured labourers, how after prosperity had been built up by Indian labour and Indian blood, the European planters began to look upon the presence of the Indians in South Africa with disfavour, fearing the industry, frugality and simplicity of life of the latter might force them to the wall in a free competition with Indians in trade, industry and agriculture, how the selfishness of these Europeans found expression in various restrictive laws and ordinances against the Indians settling as free men, how these were first

repatriated practically compulsorily from 1895 to 1913 voluntarily—with inducements of the offer of a few pounds over and above a free passage to India, joined to an overdrawn picture of happy life that awaited them in India—from 1914 to 1926 and now by a system which is called “assisted repatriation” to which the Government of India is also a party, being practically the principal term of the Capetown agreement of 1927. Swami Bhawani Dayal gives in brief the history of South African Whitemen’s greed, their selfishness, their ingratitude and positive hostility towards the Indians’ in short, the whole story of unparalleled race-hatred, inequity and injustice that have throughout characterised their relationship with the Indians after once their prosperity had been established with the latters help as result of most exacting and sweating labour taken from them by the free use of the lash. After showing how the one aim of the South African Government has been to rid that country of the Indians and how as a result of that policy over 60,000 Indian have already been repatriated, he gives details of the appalling hardships and miseries of these repatriates.

After a close study of all the facts he comes to the same conclusion as Pandit Benarsi Dasji and it is that the repatriates from the colonies can never be happy in India, that they can not be assimilated by their respective communities, that they are much better off in the colonies than they can be here, that neither the climate suits them—far too many deaths have occurred in their ranks—nor suitable works are available for them. Swamiji further observes that even from the point of view of the South African Government, the scheme of repatriation, in whatever way conducted, has been a great failure. It has produced in the minds of the educated Indians considerable bitterness against South Africa and the pangs of humiliation to which the Indians have been subjected on account of a compara-

tively differential treatment being allowed to the Japanese, who are not even members of the same Empire are embittering feelings still more and "infinite harm" may result to South Africa, as the "Rand Daily Mail" of Transvaal points out. It is needless to say that we agree with each one of the above observations of Swami Bhawani Dayalji and we wish only to add that the Government of India is morally and legally responsible for all these ills. Its weakness and supineness have brought all these miseries on the South African Indians. It had no business to oblige the white planters of South Africa by sending shiploads of indentured labourers from India, but having sent them it had no business again to oblige them and their Government by agreeing to take back Indians under whatever scheme of repatriation, compulsory, voluntary or assisted. In fact the "assisted repatriation" scheme, which is regarded as one of the greatest achievements of the Government of India, is one of the greatest hoaxes going. Under it a repatriate is free to return to South Africa, if he does not find conditions favourable here, within a period, of 3 years, provided he returns all the money spent by the South African Government in sending him and his family to India free of charge as also the amount of bonus given to him when leaving. But can the poor repatriates—almost cent per cent of them—return this amount? Swami Bhawani Dayalji tells us that enquiries made in the case of one repatriate, who wanted to return elicited the reply that he would have to refund £457 before he could be permitted to return. We ask, how may even among the ordinarily rich people can get together that amount besides the necessary passage money. There is no doubt the clause regarding return is just to tempt and defraud. The Government of India owe it as a duty, which they dare not neglect to see to it not only that there is no further repatriation but also that after a careful enquiry those, whose lot

are found to be the hardest, be sent back, the Government of India meeting the necessary expenses including refund of expenses incurred by the South African Government.



## Indian Opinion

Phoenix, Natal, July 3, 1931.

Messrs. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi have published a report "on the Emigrants repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa and on the problem of returned emigrants from all colonies." Pandit Benarsidas has written his own experiences about the repatriates not only from South Africa but from other colonies as well while Pandit, Bhawani Dayal has described the history of Indians from their advent in South Africa and has dealt with the various measures passed by the Union Government with a view to driving out the Indians from this country, and as to the origin of the repatriation scheme and how it was changed into an "Assisted Emigration Scheme" as a result of the Round Table Conference.

The report itself is very interesting and contains valuable information. We hope to give extracts from it as time and space permits.

Our immediate object is not to enter the history of the repatriation scheme. It is known to all in South Africa. Our contrymen are well aware of how

many of our brethren were defrauded to leave this country under the old scheme and how a counter-propaganda on the part of the Indian community had to be made. But since the old scheme was changed to Assisted Emigration Scheme, there has been hardly any reason to complain against the scheme itself. It is a purely voluntary scheme and those who wish to take advantage of it may, and those who do not, may not. In so far as the scheme itself is concerned there is no compulsion at all. But there are other ingenious methods adopted by the authorities such as throwing Indians out of employment, restricting their trading rights to such an extent that it would be practically impossible for them to earn an honest livelihood and by other means rendering their position in this country as humiliating as possible, that in the end, being disgusted with their lives, they would be lured into taking advantage of the scheme. That many poor indians have left this country under these conditions is out of question. But we cannot therefore blame the scheme. We know some of 'well-to-do' people who have found the scheme beneficial from a business point of view and have taken advantage of it. It is no use, therefore, crying against the scheme or cursing those who are responsible for it. If our well-to-do brethren feel for their poorer brethren it will not be right for them merely to lead a life of ease and contentment by driving in expensive motorcars and living in fine bungalows. They will have to descend from those heights and not only render lip sympathy but take an active part in fighting for the rights for their poorer brethren in this country and in making life worth living for them. If we have to blame anyone for the present state of affairs we have to blame our own apathy.



# Tanganyika Opinion

Dar-e-s Salaam, July 15, 1931

Through the courtesy of the authors we have received a copy of "A Report on the Emigrants Repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa and on the Problem of Returned Emigrants from all Colonies" by Pandit Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, which gives a very lucid and pathetic description of the repatriated Indians from the colonies. This Report is divided into two parts, the first part being a short description by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi from his own experiences and the latter, the main part, being an account of the conditions of South African Indians from the pen of Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi. In this article we will refer only to the first part of the Report.

The problem of repatriated Indians is of a very acute nature and is one which, on account of the Government of India's studied negligence, has not yet been solved. This problem, which by itself is a disgrace to the Government which in India is supposed to be responsible for the good Government of the people and the country, is purely the creation of the frightful, British bureaucracy which rules the roost in India. It was an indentured slavery of the Indian people who were by various questionable devices obliged to leave their country to be used as labourers by that bureaucracy's white conferrers in the colonies and the dominions. "It should be borne in mind that it was they who were responsible for the indentured slavery of



hundreds of thousands of Indians. For a period of about 80 years their officers were despatching 30 women per 100 men to the different colonies in the world, where they were exposed to the life of shame and degradation," is the author's description of the sin committed by the British Government established in India. A Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces in India once said before a commission of enquiry that those who come were recruited with difficulty, and not infrequently by methods which were commonly known in India as coolie catching.

This indentured slavery of Indians transformed the dying industries of the white planters into flourishing business and turned the bush and the rock into beautiful landscapes penetrated by railways and roads. These white planters had no need for these Indian "coolies" after their end was served and wanted to go away under pressure of legislation. The Government of India, as it is, would little care for the destinies of these poor people and permitted their repatriation. Their lot was, according to the description of Mahatma Gandhi, "the lowest ebb of human misery" and "out of the frying pan into the fire." Mahatma Gandhi wrote in *Young India* in 1926 that "the duty is clearly of Government's. For they alone can carry on negotiations with the various Colonies. This duty should have been discharged long ago." And worse still, that duty has not yet been discharged by the Government of India. Here is yet another crime which the foreign Government of India is engaged in against the Indians.

Pandit Benarsidas states in his report that futile effort was made to move the Government of India through the press, by the representations, by Rev. Andrews and Congress to hold an enquiry into the conditions of these repatriated Indians. The Government did not desire to do anything by negotiating

with the colonial governments, nor to improve their conditions on their return to India. Philanthropic bodies like the Arya Samaj and many other charitably disposed Indians offered to help these people, but the Government has not even until now taken any initiative in the matter. The whole problem has assumed a very critical phase and yet it hangs where it was.

Unfortunately this is only one of those pressing problems of India for the solution of which the whole nation is looking forward for ending of a Government which little cares for the interest of the indigenous people of the country but which with India's man and money power has extended its own imperial designs in the world. In a categorical finishing touch the author in the course of his conclusions writes that "so long as India is not herself free to manage her own affairs she is not in a position to give any material help to her sons overseas." This is an inexorable conclusion.



## The Fiji Times & Herald

Suva, July 7, 1931

The receipt from India of a report on the condition of the returned emigrants from the colonies, simultaneously with an announcement that a certain amount of repatriation may be expected by the next direct boat, impresses upon us the necessity of urging upon the Government and the leaders of all Indian organisations to place before all Indians proposing to return the full facts regarding the present very unsatisfactory position of the colonial Indians in India. A report

on the "Problem of Returned Emigrants from all Colonies," by Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Benarsidas Chaturvedi, presents a pitiful picture of distress and misery on the part of those who have returned to find themselves unable to fit into the social or economic life, and whose only desire is to return from whence they came as quickly as possible. In most instances this is impossible and they are forced to remain in distress and starvation in a country where, very obviously, they are not wanted.

Investigations made by a committee of representative Indians leave no doubts as to the unfortunate lot of these people. In a leading article under the heading of "Out of the Frying-Pan," in which he referred to the squalor in which these people were living, Mahatma Gandhi said. "They are from Fiji, Trinidad, Surinam and British Guiana.....They find that their own people in their villages will not have them and so they want to go back to the place where they have come from. 'Anywhere out of India' is their cry. Meantime they are eking out a miserable existence in Calcutta. They all looked famished. Their lot is the lowest ebb of human misery. The fact that the majority of these men are colonial born aggravates their misery. These men are neither Indian nor Colonial. They have no Indian culture in the foreign lands they go to, save what they pick up from their uncultured half-dis-Indianised parents. They are not Colonial in that they are debarred access to the Colonial, i. e., Western, culture. They are therefore out of the frying-pan into the fire. There at least they had some money and a home. Here they are social lepers, not even knowing the language of the people."

Reporting on this question, on May 10 last, Benarsidas Chaturvedi stated that at Matiaburz, a dirty suburb of Calcutta full of slums, more than a thousand returned emigrants from the colonies are living in

a wretched condition. He states that although he had visited this place frequently during the last three and a half years, he has never seen such pitiable scenes as he witnessed this year. Formerly they could get some employment and they were pulling on somehow but now they are mostly unemployed and this has brought them to the verge of starvation. Some had been turned out of their houses and were passing their days and nights during the rainy season under the trees. The lanes in this quarter were full of mud and stench, and many of the returned emigrants were suffering from malarial fever. The social problem in regard to these people is also stated to be acute. Many have married outside their caste and reports state that it is almost an impossible task to get these people and their families taken into their respective social organisations. The question of marriage of their children also raises another difficulty. The children born in the colonies chafe at the caste-ridden atmosphere all around. And to these the economic distress—the want of employment—and you can imagine the miserable lot of these people.

Apart from the expense that the repatriation of these Indians will involve, and the loss to the country of any money that they have saved and will take with them, there is a strong moral obligation to warn them fully of the conditions which they must expect on arrival in India, particularly those which the colonial-born Indian will meet and which he may not be able to understand or tolerate. Here it is not difficult for them to obtain a living, and even if unemployment does affect them, food and shelter is much more easy to obtain than in the midst of the teeming millions of Mother India.



# The Modern Review

Calcutta, August, 1931

This month, we shall suspend the usual monthly survey of overseas affairs to take into consideration the report on the emigrants repatriated to India, under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, from South Africa, issued by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi. This document is extremely painful reading and humiliating to the last degree for the people of India. It is not that Indian leaders and publicists are not taking sufficient interest in the fate of thousands of their fellowcountryman in the dominions and colonies of the British Empire. As a matter of fact, this is one of the sorest spots in the Indian political consciousness. But it does not sound incredible that after the publication of stories of such agonizing suffering, a suffering which the authorities of the other parts of the British Empire have done nothing to spare our unfortunate countrymen who have put themselves in their power, and the people and the Government of India have done nothing to alleviate, a wave of indignation should not have swept over the country and called for justice to these men.

The story of this repatriation of Indian emigrants from 1895 is well-known, and the problems, too, are perhaps as old as that date. There are three definite stages in the relationship of the emigrated Indian with the Natal Government. In the first, the South African Government pursued what has been aptly called a system of compulsory repatriation from 1895 to 1913. In the twelve years from 1902, when

the Act 17 of 1895 imposing a tax of £3 annually on any Indian residing in Natal at the end of this term Indian indenture, became operative, the South African Government got rid of 32,506 Indians. Mahatma Gandhi's *Satyagraha* movement brought this system to an end, and the second stage is marked by the scheme of voluntary repatriation which continued for another twelve years from 1914 to 1926. The purpose of the Indian Relief Bill of 1914 was nothing else than eradication of the "Indian cancer" and 20,384 Indian returned from South Africa between 1914 and 1926. They gave up their right of domicile in exchange for the free passage and they could never return to South Africa again. This second stage too, ended and we are witnessing from 1927 the third stage in the policy which is known as "Repatriation under the Assisted Emigration Scheme" or the Cape Town Agreement. A bonus of £20 for every adult and £10 for each minor offered by the Union Government in addition to the cost of passage on behalf of each and all leaving the colony is a generous proposal. The promise of the S. A. Government to receive back any repatriated colonist returning within a period of three years on repayment of the bonus, the cost of passage, etc. looks still more generous. The scheme fulfilled at first all the expectations of the Union Government, but soon there was a fall in the number of people availing themselves of such generous scheme and the decrease caused, writes Sir K. Y. Reddy, the Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, in his report for the year ending 31st December, 1929, "the greatest anxiety both to the Agent and to the Union Government". But is the repatriation of the emigrated Indian no ground for anxiety at all to any one on earth? "Out of a total of 7,500 returned emigrants (under the Assisted Emigration Scheme) only 73

or 74 have been able to return to South Africa again," writes Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi in his report, "*It is certain that most of these repatriated emigrants will return to South Africa if they had the means to do so.*" This definite statement is based on the results of the enquiry made by the Swami himself into the condition of these returned emigrants, and his experiences and conclusions are supported by those of Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi and others who have studied the problem of the returned emigrants for a very long time.

The problem is neither new nor unknown. The voluntary repatriation scheme ending in 1926 proved disastrous to the unfortunate colonists who availed themselves of it, and Mr. Andrews who at first lent his support to it, soon repented of the step. Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi finds that the repatriated colonists raise the same problems as the returned emigrants from other parts of the world to the Indian soil. The problem may be stated in a few words as its importance would allow. Many of the repatriates belong to a generation who have grown in the colony, were born and brought up there and are used to the climate and conditions of life obtaining there. For them, the colony is in every sense the mother country, and in India they are in the midst of an alien people and in an inhospitable climate. To the others who left the shores of their mother-country many years ago, this land no longer appears as that land of plenty, offering a cheap livelihood, as they left her decades ago. Moreover, uprooted from the native soil, they have given up in the colony the old caste prejudices, and entered into marital and other social relationships which their own community in India would never tolerate. Wistfully as they returned to their villages, they were driven away, for they could not fit in with the so-

cial structure of the village community. Naturally, such a class of old repatriates or their colony born children are the victims of adventures who hang about them from the port dock to the industrial slums where they finally drift. The bitter social apathy or antipathy of their countrymen is counterbalanced by the still bitterer economic ruin. The life they have been used to in the colonies offered a higher standard than that they are forced into in India. The colony born had better opportunities of educating himself in the colony, could expect a more remunerative job, and a higher standard of living. In India they have to forgo everything like that. Life is more merciless to him here, physically because of an uncongenial climate, socially because of a society in which he is a misfit, and economically because he is offered a lower remuneration and a lower standard of living.

'Anywhere out of India' is the cry of the returned emigrants. Mr. Andrews was struck with it, and Pandit Benarsidas also met with the same cry. It has been repeated for years by each and every one of them whether from Fiji, Trinidad or British Guiana. It rang in the ears of Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, himself a Colonial born as he toured from Bombay to Bihar, to Calcutta and its suburbs, Howrah and Matiaburz, and to Madras to acquaint himself with the conditions of his brothers from overseas. But no way is open to them. The repatriate colonists can not be happy except in the colonies—their homes—they maintain; and all who have studied the question, from Mahatmaji and Mr. Andrews to Panditji and Swamiji, are convinced of this. But can it be arranged for? The former Voluntary Repatriation Scheme left no room for such efforts. 20,384 men were condemned to live in India.



Of the 7,600 and more who have returned under the Assisted Emigration Scheme, and all of whom pine for the colonial home, not more than one per cent has been able to regain their Union domicile. The bonus, the passage, etc., they can never earn in the period of three years of grace granted to them for the purpose.

Has the Government of India done anything for them? It is to be remembered that the indentured immigration "was promoted and controlled by the Government and was at no time a voluntary and spontaneous movement of the Indian population." Yet when the Union Government were throwing the people away as squeezed lemon's the Government of India were indifferent. Wars have been fought between peoples on such issues. Even under the Cape Town Agreement the emigrant filled an explicit form which contained the following sentence.

*"Hindustanki Sarkar Hindustan janewale Hindunonka svagata karneki vavasiho karengi aur jo log kam karna chahata hoga unko kam dhundha dengi.*

In the day of disillusionment the repatriate can nowhere see this helping hand of "Hindustanki Sarkar." Their callousness, dilatory methods and red-tapism would not allow them to mitigate the sufferings of a people whom they have allowed to be ruined by a cruel and treacherous Power whom they are always too eager to accommodate.

"The cry anywhere out of India' is a sufficient indictment of Indians as well. The vocal element in Indian political life is alive to their sufferings of their brothers from overseas, but so far they have made no great attempt to make the conditions of life suitable to such emigrants. If the village communities could be made more tolerant life would be bearable to the new-comer, and in a few years,

even the colonial born could absorbed. But if the Colonies have barred and bolted their doors, we too have not flung open ours. Here is room for service for the public worker. Nearer at home, Matiaburz is a dark spot on the Swarajist Municipality of Calcutta, and the suggestions of Swami Bhawani Dayal on this particular area can be carried out without much difficulty. Nor are the conclusions of Swamiji at all unreasonable or revolutionary. They are simple, moderate in tone and straightforward.



## Advance

Calcutta, August 14, 1931

A crowded and influential meeting of the citizens of Patna was held on Saturday last under the presidency of Sir Ali Imam to consider the question of the repatriation of Indians from South Africa. The principal speaker was Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, himself a colonial-born and a prominent social worker in South Africa. In a forceful speech he explained the iniquity and injustice of the scheme of repatriation. As Sir Ali Imam pointed out in his opening address, it was the Indians who had built up the colony of South Africa at a time when there were no others available to do that work. In fact, it was they who laid the basis of white civilization in Africa. For about forty years, since 1860, when the stream of immigration to Africa first set in, Indians worked in the colony and developed it, clearing the jungles, opening up mines, working on

railroads, improving the land and in a host of other ways making the country "habitable, beautiful and rich." For forty years they worked, and how were they rewarded? In 1895, having finished their work, they were regarded as undesirables, unfit for human rights and privileges. They were regarded as a "menace" to white civilization, to be got rid of as soon as their utility to the white masters of the colony ceased.

The Clayton Commission of 1909 acknowledged in terms of praise the moral worth of the South African Indian. Even the Union spokesman, Mr. Henry Burton, admitted at the Imperial Conference of 1918, that Indians were "good, law abiding; quiet citizens, and it is our duty to see that they are treated as human beings, with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner." And how were they actually treated? By Act 17 of 1895 (Natal) any Indian who should "fail, neglect or refuse to return to India," on completion of his term of indentured, must and not being reindentured, pay a license tax of £ 3 per head. For Indians who were not labourers, a law was passed restricting their right to settle in the colony. The injustice of this tax of £ 3 per capita was realised even by the *Times* of London. By 1913, over 32,000 Indians had to leave the country as the result of the operation of the law and the condition of those that remained was miserable beyond description. In 1913, Mahatma Gandhi started his famous *Satyagraha* campaign for the repeal of the tax. The result was that in 1914 the Indian Relief Bill was passed and the capitation tax repealed. The scheme of voluntary repatriation was introduced under which those wishing to return to India had to give up their right of domicile in exchange for a free passage to India and could never go back to South Africa. Under this scheme,

between the years 1914 and 1927 when the Capetown Agreement of assisted immigration was concluded, over 20,000 Indians had been repatriated. The repatriation of these persons was secured often by means of fraud and misrepresentation as to their lot in India if they chose to return. The Capetown Agreement, which was concluded in 1927, and is due for revision in 1932, carried the principle of repatriation a step further by holding out special inducements to the Indians to leave South Africa under the garb of "assistance" in the form of bonus and free passage together with the condition that the Indian immigrant could return and resume his right of domicile within three years on refunding the assistance given. The futility of the last clause need not be discussed. The result has been that during these four years more than 7,500 Indians have returned to India, making a total during the period 1895-1931 of over 60,000 immigrants, men women, and children.

We have given this brief history of the repatriation of Indians from South Africa, for which ample materials have been furnished in the exhaustive and painstaking report issued by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Mr. Benarsidas Chaturvedi in May last, for the purpose not only of refreshing our reader's memory but of bringing out a few salient points in the situation thus presented. On the attitude of the Government of South Africa towards the Indian question, it will be enough for us to mention that they have openly and systematically repudiated the much advertised principles on which the British Empire is based. What is more important for our purpose, however, is that the Government of India is mainly responsible for the present situation. In 1860, they agreed to the system of indenture which was a synonym for slavery. Later on, they actually supported

the various schemes of repatriation of Indians and thereby tacitly acknowledged the right of the South African to get rid of the Indian as a menace to his own well-being. They did not pause to consider the effect it would have on the Indian immigrants landed in India. The policy which they are now pursuing has created a new immigration problem for India of, indeed, a more acute character. For these immigrants can not be observed in the social economy of India. To most of them, India is a foreign country. They are regarded as pariahs. They live in condition worse than brutish, half-fed half-clad, ill-housed with nobody to help them. This is "assited" immigration ! It is the firm opinion of Swami Bhawani Dayal and Mr. Chaturvedi that if the immigrants had opportunities they would at once go back to colonies. We have been unable to protect our brethren in the colonies and have added to their sense of humiliation by agreeing to the scheme of repatriation. Nor have we been able to protect their interest in India. Public opinion must be widely roused to a sense of responsibility for the welfare of these Indians. In the meanwhile, further emigration to the colonies should no longer be encouraged, and for those who already domiciled in South Africa, the Government of India should never agree to any further repatriation and should secure for them the rights of citizenship.



# The Searchlight

Patna, August 27, 1931.

The Capetown agreement that was concluded between the Union Government of South Africa and the Government of India in 1927 is now about to expire and a Round Table Conference is to meet again in South Africa between the representatives of the two Governments to consider the question of the treatment and status of Indians in the Union and arrive at some settlement for the future. When the last agreement was arrived at, it was definitely given out that as a result of its operation the condition of emigrant Indians in South Africa would improve, but five years' working of it has proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that far from effecting any improvement in their condition the way the agreement has been worked by the South Africans has tended to worsen it in many essential and vital matters. The chief claim to acceptance of the last agreement was that under it no Indian would be forced to repatriate, that those who will choose to repatriate of their own accord will not only be assisted by the South African Government by the grant of free passage to them and the members of their family but also, in addition of some substantial help at the rate of £20 per head for adults and £ 10 for non-adults to enable them to settle in India comfortably. It was also agreed by the Government of India to help these repatriates in finding suitable employment for themselves. But experience has shown that in actual practice the "assisted emigration", as the system is called, has been as detrimental to the interests of the

repatriates as the compulsory or voluntary repatriation of former days and that the Government of India has not been able materialiy to help them either in settling them comfortably in their village homes or in finding suitable employments for them. The report on the condition of the repatriates from South Africa that has recently been published by Swami Bhawani Dayalji proves conclusively, as similar reports on the conditions of repatriates from the colonies pointed out before, that a colonial born Indian or one who had long been an exile from India in the colonies is like a tree uprooted from its soil. He cannot be happy in India. He cannot be acclimatized here; he cannot grow and flourish here. Both the social and economic conditions in India are such as to make his life intolerable. The standard of life to which he has become accustomed while in the colonies is unattainable in India and the social, conditions—the less said about them the better.

Assisted emigration has, therefore, failed to achieve its purpose. It has failed because those who have availed themselves of it and have returned to India find themselves as though they were so many fishes out of water. Society does not admit them within its fold, employment that would give them a living wage according to their standard of needs cannot be found for them here. And the one inducement that had brought them here, viz, that if they find India uncongenial for them they could return within three years, paying back all expenses incurred on them by the South African Government has proved to be a delusion for the very simple reason that the money cannot be returned. Those who return are after all poor men. They bring little or nothing beyond the money given to them by the South African Government and this they spend up almost wholly or entirely in their efforts to find a home and employment here.

By the time, therefore, that they come to realize that India is not for them, they find that they have nothing left in their pocket. Therefore this much vaunted assisted emigration system has worked more to the ruin of the repatriates than as a mitigation sends them to their doom.

It is, therefore, necessary that at the next Conference the Government of India must insist that it can no more agree to any form of repatriation. If no agreement with the Union Government is possible on this basis let there be none. It is better that the South African Government should be left to deal with the Indians as they like than that the Indian Government should make itself a party to a measure or measures that means nothing but suffering to them. That way they would be forced to take up a more reasonable view of things than if their unreason and inequity were allowed to assume an appearance of equity and reason by the agreement of the Government of India to them. After all the Indians did not go to South Africa of their own accord. They had not been there in search of fresh woods and pastures new, like the average South African white. They were coaxed, cajoled and coddled into that migration by the South African planters and their Government and the Government of India consented to be their recruiting agent rather than the protector and guardian of the Indian people. After going through all the labour and hardships necessary to transform the country into a land flowing with milk and honey, it is only just and proper that they should be allowed to have a share, however small, in the prosperity they had helped to build up. No one has any right to turn them out of South Africa. They must be there and they must have an honourable place there.

Nor is an agreement, concluded with a Government, intent upon reducing the Indian population by fair



means or foul, whose Ministers have openly declared times without number that this is their policy, of any value. Whatsoever the terms of the agreement it will always try to circumvent them. The history of South African Government's treatment of the Indian is particularly notorious in this respect. There have been agreements with Mahatma Gandhi, and with the Government of India. There have been promises of better treatment to those that remained in the Union and did not avail themselves of the various systems that have been tried to repatriate them. Have the terms been observed and the promises carried out? Mahatma Gandhi has more than once complained that the terms of the agreement which General Smuts, on behalf of the Union Government had entered into with him in 1914 were being broken. The Government of India may not have complained regarding the breaches of the terms of agreement entered into with it. It was not free to do so. But can it say conscientiously that the terms of even the last much boasted agreement had been fulfilled by the Union Government either in letter or in spirit? Is a systematic endeavour being made to uplift those who are still in South Africa as undertaken by the South African Government in the Capetown agreement?

There is no meaning therefore in agreeing to any terms when they have been almost consistently and as a rule being violated in more than one instance. The South African Whites have always been the gainers and the Indians the losers since the terms applicable to the Indians have been strictly enforced whereas the terms observable by the Union Government have not been fully honoured. It is therefore, necessary that no term should be agreed to which means a repatriation of the Indians under any name or in any form or shape. This is the universal opinion of Indians and the Government of India, if it in any

sense stands for the people, must respect it. This warning is all the more necessary because every despatch from South Africa points to the fact that the Government is making all attempts to convert the next Conference into one for settling the repatriation question only with a view to making the repatriation more effective and more extensive.



## The Hindustan Times

Delhi, September 1931

The pitiable condition of the men who have come down to India in pursuance of the Assisted Emigration Scheme and who find themselves unable to go back to the land of their birth owing to various reasons, has been brought to the notice of the public times without number. The only solution of the difficulty, so far as Indians in South Africa are concerned, is to end the scheme of repatriation and to tell the Union Government that they will have to consider Indians in the Dominion as their own fellow nationals entitled to all rights of citizenship. The Cape Town Agreement is due for revision shortly, and it is to be hoped that the occasion will be utilised by the Government of India to make it plain to South Africa that they will stand by the Indian community until their rights are recognised.



# The Bombay Chronicle

Bombay, August 27, 1931

"Over two hundred people, Europeans and Asiatics, packed the Durban Town Council Chamber" says "Indian Opinion" "during the hearing of an unsuccessful appeal by an Indian firm against the decision of the Borough Licensing Officer in refusing an application for a trading license in West Street." Two points emerged in the hearing of this appeal by the Durban Town Councillors, points which throw significant light on the manner in which the Cape Town Agreement is kept in Natal. The Councillors showed approval of two principles emphasized by Counsel on behalf of the defendant. Those principles were that there should be no increase in the number of Asiatic licenses in a particular area if the Municipal authorities so decide and that "there shall be no Indian penetration" in any area "not hitherto occupied by Asiatics." The rejection of the claim of the Indian firm to have a trading license issued to them was so manifestly unjust and iniquitous that the "Natal Advertiser" was constrained to remark that the Licensing Officer's decision was "unhappy" and the ratification of this decision by the Town Council was "thrice unhappy."

The attitude of the Durban Town Council is on a par with the policy adopted by Bourough authorities all over Natal and Transvaal. There is a systematic effort to make self-respecting economic activity impossible for the Indian community and to force it into a segregated area practically everywhere.

It is not difficult to imagine how unwilling the anti-Asiatic element is to pay heed to the 'uplift' clause of the Agreement when it is bent upon bounding the Indians out of the Union. The Conference to be held in January next between the Union Government's delegates and the nominees of the Government of India will have to examine carefully this vital question of how far the Agreement has been regarded in the Union as a mere scrap of paper.

The anti-Asiatic Press of South Africa and the members of the Union legislature who desire the re-introduction of the Class Areas Bill complain that "repatriation" is not proceeding satisfactorily. They would, of course, like the Indians to leave the Union in large numbers. But South African Indians do not desire to take advantage of the inducements offered to them for repatriation because they know that their lot after return to India would be even more miserable than their present one. The report prepared by Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi on the condition of 'emigrants repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration scheme' makes sad reading. It is a record of callous indifference on the part of the Government of India who did not care to institute prompt and adequate inquiry. Although about six thousand Indians have taken advantage of the scheme and returned "home" their condition afterwards is pitiable. The Government of India appointed a committee of inquiry in 1930 to investigate the working of the special organisation in Madras for dealing with emigrants returning to the Presidency from South Africa and all that the Committee could suggest was that the social Officer in charge of the organisation should be assisted by a committee "in placing returned emigrants in suitable employment". "Apart from this" said the Committee, "we have no recommendations

to make regarding the arrangements now in force for assisting returned emigrants to find occupations suited to their abilities and resources." Is it any wonder a lesser number of South African Indians refuse to allow themselves now to be repatriated ?

## New India

Madras, June 4, 1931

Last week we printed an article by Mr. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, showing how consistently the Government of South Africa has been attempting to rid of the Indians settled in that country. The policy pursued towards them has been essentially the same during the last 38 years, in spite of agreements that have seemed from time to time to presage a better day, and changes in the expédients use for its purpose. Whether the scheme in force is compulsory repatriation, "voluntary" repatriation or assisted emigration, the object is the same, and the persecution of the Indians resident in South Africa has not been pretermitted. Even the Capetown Agreement of 1926 concluded with the Government of India, under which South Africa entertains an Agent of this Government to supervise the welfare of the Indians there, has not made any difference to the mentality of the white people as regards the Indians, and the Agreement has not been honored even in responsible quarters. Now another Conference between the Governments of South Africa and India hangs over the horizon; but we in India are losing faith in these Conferences, except as palliatives of a situation for which the real remedy lies in the Self-Governance of India. The Union Government does not dare to treat the Japanese as an inferior race, though the Japanese also

are Asiatics. The Liquor Act, No. 30, of 1928 imposed special restrictions on Asiatics, depriving them of equal opportunities of labour; the Japanese who are a powerful and independent Nation, protested against it; and lo and behold, a proclamation was issued, excluding the Japanese from the definition of an Asiatic for the purposes of the Act.



## Public Meetings in India

Further Repatriation must be Stopped

At Patna

Patna, August 11, 1931

Resolutions requesting the Government of India to take immediate steps to ameliorate the miserable condition of Indians repatriated from South Africa under Cape Town Agreement and asking the representatives to the forthcoming Round Table Conference to be held in South Africa not to agree under any circumstances to any scheme of repatriation of Indians, were passed at a crowded public meeting of the citizens of Patna held on Saturday last in the Anjuman Islamia Hall. Prominent among those present in the meeting were Sir Ali Imam, Mr. Abdul Aziz, Babu Badri Nath Varma, Swami Bhawani Dayal, Mr. Chandrabansi Sahay and others. Sir Ali Imam, *Bar-at-Law, ex-Law Member of the Government of India and Member of the London Round Table Conference*, presided.

Opening the proceedings of the night, Sir Ali Imam gave a short history of the South African Colony and said that after the colonisation of South Africa by the Europeans when it was found that the natives were not quite fit for the purpose of effecting the development of the colony the colonial Government had applied to the Government of India for indentured labour from this country and it was then that Indians, men and women had begun leaving their own country for the strange land of South Africa. It was these Indians who by dint of their labour and energy had developed the undeveloped tract of the continent, it was they who practically built the colony. But it was not in their lot to enjoy the fruits of their labour. So long as their services were required for the development of the colony, they were quite welcome, but when the colony was made what it is at the present time, the Union Government became anxious to get rid of the Indians. Various devices were adopted and it was according to the device of the Government of South Africa, thousands of Indians—men, women and children,—many of whom even born in South Africa—were got rid of by the South African Government under the scheme of what was called assisted Emigration.' It was the condition of these Indians who had been repatriated under the scheme and were finding themselves like strangers in a strange land—even in their—own country—without home, without money to support them without work to earn money—that was the subject matter for discussion in the meeting.

The President hoped that after hearing the speech of Swami Bhawani Dayal who had first hand knowledge on the subject, the citizens of Patna would clearly express their opinion as to how best they could help their own brothers and sisters who were

...to great distress of the present moment. The following message from Babu Rajendra Prasad, *the Great Nationalist Leader of Bihar and Member of the All-India Congress Working Committee*, was then read out to the meeting by the President:—

Revered Swamiji.

I had a strong desire to show my sympathy towards the emigrants repatriated to India at the meeting. But I am sorry to say that I have to attend the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on the same date and therefore I beg to be pardoned. It need not be mentioned that I fully sympathise with the aims and objects of the meeting and am quite prepared to render my service if any programme concerning them comes forward. Your very report shows the extent of their suffering. It is a shameful thing to tolerate it. But the helpless situation we are placed in makes us unable to do much for them. The best thing is to stop their further repatriations and I personally fully sympathise with the means adopted to work it out.

Rajendra Prasad

### **Swami Bhawani Dayal's Speech**

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi being called upon next to speak said that the subject of repatriated Indians was one in which all Indians whether Congressmen or Liberals, Government servants or independent business men, Hindus, Musalmans or Christians were equally interested. It was not a question to be ignored by any one, to ignore it was to commit suicide.

Continuing the speaker gave a short history of the colony of South Africa in its relation to Indians and said that although about 100 years ago through the intervention and efforts of a number of well-in-



tioned European missionaries slavery and slave trade were abolished by legislation, it could not succeed in uprooting the institution of slavery as such. Slaves were no doubt set free but probably in accordance with the doctrine of re-birth as believed by the Hindus, they were again re-born in a new shape in India. From the very beginning the planters and settlers in the new colonies were opposed to the abolition of slavery but when notwithstanding their protests and howls, the system was at last abolished, they had to look for slaves in a new garb. Naturally the two Eastern countries, China and India attracted the notice of the greedy and exploiting planters and they tried to recruit slaves in the name of labourers from these two countries. The design did not succeed in independent China, but from India which by then had lost its political independence, it was easy to get men. When the Government of Natal first asked for men from India the Governor General-in-Council was not agreeable to the proposal for about that time, labourers in large number were needed for the development of India herself. But through the intervention of the Imperial Government, the Natal Government at last succeeded in bringing round the Government of India and from 1860 Indians actually began to be sent to South Africa. The Government of India became a party to the emmigration scheme and according to Sir Henry Cotton brokers were appointed under the auspices of the Government at different centres to recruit labourers to be sent beyond the seas. Simple Indians were duped and hood-winked and lured to leave their county and go to the strange land. They left their home, their relatives, their friends and in the distant land of South Africa, they cleared the forests, opened the mines, developed the land and made it habitable, beautiful and rich-but alas ! all for the whites !

For after the country was developed Indians began to be considered a nuisance. Serious and persistent attempts began to be made to get rid of Indians from South Africa. For the Indians labourers law was made compelling them either to leave the country or to pay a tax of 45 rupees per head per annum. For Indians who were not labourers, law was made restricting their right to settle in the colony. In 1902, this law came into force and about 30 thousand people had to leave the country. The condition of those who remained became miserable beyond description. How could a poor Indian pay a tax of rupees 45 per head? The result was that men were compelled to steal and women to take to a life of shame to earn the money to pay the tax. There was wide spread agitation and some attempts were made by notable Indians to get the law repealed. At last in 1913 Mahatma Gandhi had to start his famous South African Satyagraha to get the tax repealed.

Continuing the speaker said that the Satyagraha ended in the Gandhi—Smuts agreement according to which the capitation tax was repealed and a scheme of voluntary repatriation was adopted in place of compulsory repatriation. But the principle of repatriation remained. The South African Government would not allow Indians to go to South Africa and settle there. Even at the present time the policy was to get rid of Indians the only relieving feature according to the Cape Town agreement being that the Indians at the time of coming back got their passage money as also a reward of £20 for adult men and women and £10 for minor children. But whatever might be the nature of the reward by, whatever name the scheme of emigration might be called the fact remained that Indians were considered undesirable in South Africa. The South African Go-

vernment did not conceal this attitude; as a matter of fact, responsible persons like late General Botha, General Smuts, Dr. Malan, General Hertzog—all had openly declared that they would adopt all possible means to drive away the Indians from South Africa. That was the attitude of the South African Government and the fact was that as a result of that attitude about 60 thousand Indians had already been virtually compelled to come back to India.

Describing the condition of these repatriated Indians Swamiji said that they were living a most wretched life in India. According to the Cape Town agreement the Government of India were to see that the repatriated Indians got work on their return to India but no work could be found for them. Only 223 persons had applied to the Special Officer in Madras for employment but even such a small number could not be given any job. These repatriated Indians on their return to India found themselves as it were in a strange land, for long residence abroad and for their association with Europeans they had developed habits and manners which had nothing in common with the habits of Indians in India. In South Africa the Indians did not recognise any caste, inter-dining and inter-marriage were in vogue there. Their food and habit of life were akin to those of Europeans. Therefore on their return to India they found themselves like square peg in round hole. The society would not accept them, or even if it would agree to accept them, such condition would be imposed on them as the poor men would find themselves unable to fulfil. The Hindu rites of *Pravachitya* were costly ones and when the village Brahmans asked the repatriated Indians to perform them naturally they found it beyond their means and the only alternative before them was to leave the village—their own village from which they had emigrated—

and go to the city in search of job. But where was the job to be found? They tried and tried in vain and at last were compelled to begging for a bare livelihood. The tragedy was intensified by the factor that in South Africa they had become used to a higher standard of life—much higher than that of their equals in India—because of the wages being higher in that country. Therefore it was that even if they got any job in India, the pay was not sufficient for them and they had to drag on a life of misery and shame. The speaker narrated his own experiences gained at Matiaburz in Calcutta where he had seen boys and girls in half naked condition begging in the streets for a few morsels of food and that inspite of their being able bodied and willing to work.

The miserable condition of the Indians caused by no fault of theirs, continued Swamiji, called for immediate amelioration. It was therefore up to the people of India to create public opinion in the country to put pressure upon the Government of India to observe the Cape Town Agreement in so far as it was for them to observe. It was also necessary to create public opinion so that at the forthcoming South African Round Table Conference the representatives of India might not agree to any scheme of repatriation which naturally brought so much of misery in its train. If the Union Government wanted to drive away Indians from South Africa, the speaker concluded, they should do so without the consent of the representatives of India and India should refuse to be a party to it. The South African Government was in a hurry to pass all the obnoxious legislation against Indians before India attained Swaraj; it was up to the people of India to try hard to frustrate that design and take steps to safeguard the rights of their brothers and sisters abroad.

**Mr. Aziz**

Mr. Abdul Aziz *Bar-at-Law* then moved the following resolution:—

**The Resolution**

This meeting of the citizens of Patna draws the attention of the Government of India to the great hardships which the Indians repatriated from South Africa under the Cape Town Agreement are undergoing for want of occupation and accommodation and request them to take immediate steps to ameliorate their condition.

This meeting requests the representatives to the forthcoming Round Table Conference to be held in South Africa not to agree under any circumstances to repatriation of Indians.

In the course of his speech he said that it was disgraceful for Indians to tolerate the hardships and indignities that were being heaped upon Indians repatriated from South Africa under the Cape Town Agreement. They had heard from Swamijee how, though the slavery was formally abolished in 1834, it appeared under a worse form under the system of indentured labour. The labourers, who under various temptations were taken to South Africa, and who made that land prosperous and flourishing by the sweat of their brow, were, in pursuance of a deliberate and determined policy, being compulsorily repatriated from South Africa. They were considered unworthy to reside in that portion of God's land. It was blasphemous. Even slaves had better rights. It was their duty to create such a public opinion in the country as to make this state of things impossible. The Government also would not be able to resist the pressure of public opinion.

Continuing he said that South Africa was enjoying all the privileges of being a member of the British Empire, and had none of its obligations.

He hoped that the Government of India would effectively interfere in the matter and stop the tyranny that was being practised upon Indians who had settled there. The representatives to the Round Table Conference to be held in South Africa must be urged not to agree to any terms to repatriation of Indians. Pressure must be brought to bear on the Government of India so that they might not be a party to any compromise for the repatriation of Indians. It should be also pressed upon the Government of the condition of repatriated Indians.

He emphatically repudiated the idea that any race or community had any monopoly in a portion of the earth which was a free gift of God to man.

Mr. Chandrabansi Sahay *Bar-at-Law* seconded the resolution.

Sir Ali Jman in putting the resolution to vote said the reason why Indians were so shabily treated abroad was that they had not developed sufficient strength, and self-confidence in them. Once they developed the necessary strength and self-respect no nation would venture to insult, humiliate and oppress them in any part of the world. He appealed to the audience to accept the resolution with the determination to become a united nation—so that all Indian problems, including that of Indians abroad, might automatically solve themselves.

The resolution was adopted unanimously

Babu Harinandan Singh *Advocate, Patna High Court* then moved that a copy of the resolution be sent to the Government of India. with a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting terminated. —*The Searchlight*.



## At Arrah

*Arrah, July, 30, 1931*

on Sunday, the 19th July a huge meeting was held at the Bazarī Sahu's Gola at 5 P. M., the audience numbering over 7,000. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Bar-at-Law, M. L. C., Ex-Finance Member of the Government of Bihar & Orissa, the meeting was presided over by Babu Radha Prasad Sinha, B. A., B. L., M. L. C., Advocate and Zemindar of Tilothu Estate.

After a song suited to the occasion was sung by Babu Rang Bahadur, the president requested Swamiji to enlighten those present about the Indians in South Africa and the repatriates from that country. Swamijee explained at length as to how the Natal Government compelled the Imperial Government to supply coolie from India for their benefit and how their women strayed in the fair, young men seeking service and cultivators groaning under the tyranny of some zamindars were entrapped for transmission to South Africa and how they settled down there. 8000 of them were sent back to India where most of them were passing their days in misery. Swamiji's narration of their miserable condition moved the audience very much. The President too seemed to be very much impressed with the speech. He offered to take up that question in the Council and also promised to do whatever he could outside it. The following resolution was then put from the chair and unanimously passed:—

“Resolved that the Government of India be approached with a request to take all possible ameliorative measures necessary to afford relief to the repatriated

Indians from South Africa under the Cape-Town Agreement. Further resolved that the representatives of the Government of India to the forthcoming South African Round Table Conference be requested not to agree to terms that might contain any provision for repatriation"—*The Searchlight*.



## At Gaya

*Gaya, August 5, 1931*

A largely attended meeting was held yesterday at 6 p. m. in the Municipal Park under the presidentship of Badu Gauri Shanker Sharan Singh, ex-President, Gaya District Congress Committee. About 5000 people had gathered.

Sj. Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi spoke for an hour on the question of the treatment and condition of the repatriated Indians from South Africa and other colonies.

He described clearly and in graphic language, how, when slavery was removed from the world, the Indians were sent to South Africa to work as coolies and after their term of five years was over they began to settle there. But this was not liked by the white men of the colony and several legislations were passed curtailing the rights of the Indians so that they might return to India. They were not allowed a vote in Parliament, Provincial Council nor even in the Municipality. These measures failing a tax of £3 was imposed on those Indians, who wished to settle down there and whose age was above 16. The poor Indians, the speaker added, had to adopt foul measures to pay up the tax and the women had to sell their honour for it.



These things caused Mahatma Gandhi to start a Satyagrah campaign there which compelled the Govt. of the Union to abolish the tax. But even then the white men did not let them live peacefully. They went on inventing means whereby they could cause Indians to leave South Africa. A bonus of £ 5 was given to every Indian who agreed to leave S. Africa, besides free passage to India—their original home. Later on the bonus was increased to £ 10.

Then came the Cape Town Agreement under which the Government of India undertook to make suitable provisions for the repatriates. The repatriates from South Africa are here in a most pitiable condition. The Indian Government had not been able to make any arrangement for them. The speaker drew a most touching picture of their condition in India, specially in Matlaburj, a place in Calcutta. He gave instances in which the repatriates had to sell their children to pay up rents, etc, and the grown up girls to remain half-naked. The speaker said that his mission was to create public opinion in the country so that the people here may understand the real situation.

The speaker added that they should impress upon the Government of India the necessity of making suitable provision for the repatriates and also impress upon the members who were going on behalf of the Indian Government to attend the Round Table Conference to be held at Cape Town in South Africa, not to allow any legislation to be passed which might perpetuate the policy of repatriation.

The following resolutions were passed unanimously:—

1. Resolved that in view of the fact that the Indians repatriated from South Africa under the Cape Town Agreement are undergoing great hardships and untold miseries for want of occupation and accommodation, the citizens of Gaya in a mass meeting request the

Government of India to take immediate steps and all possible measures to ameliorate their conditions.

2. Further resolved that the representatives of the Government of India to the forthcoming Round Table Conference to be held in South Africa, be requested not to agree to any terms that might contain any provision for repatriation of Indians from South Africa under any circumstances.

3. Further resolved that the Government of India be requested to nominate Mahatma Gandhi as one of the representatives to the said Round Table Conference.

4. Further resolved that the president of the meeting be authorised to send copies of these resolutions to H. E. the Viceroy, Mahatma Gandhi, Right Hon'ble Shrinivas Shastri, Sir Fazli Hussain and Mr. Bajpai.—  
*The Searchlight*



## At Sasaram

*Sasaram, August 7, 1931*

A mass meeting of the citizens of Sasaram was addressed by Swami Bhawni Dayal Sannyasi in the Hasan Soor Shah Rauza yesterday. Maulvi Mohiuddin Saheb, President Sub-divisional Congress Committee, presided.

Referring to the question of the repatriated Indian emigrants from South Africa and other Colonies, the Swami said that when slavery was removed from all over the world, the Government of India consented

to the emigration of Indians to South Africa to work as coolies. The original mistake on the part of the Indian Government brought untold miseries to the poor Indian labourers, who had not gone to the Colonies of their own accord, but were entrapped by the recruiting agents by methods now known as "coolie catching". When these Indians had by their hard labour cleared the dense forests of Natal and transformed the country into beautiful, sugarcane yielding fields, several unjust and harsh legislations were passed curtailing their rights which caused natural resentments and compelled Mahatma Gandhi to launch his famous Satyagraha movement there, the result of which was now a matter of common knowledge. But the Union Government, who were always devising ways to get rid of the Indians gave a bonus of five pounds, afterwards raised to ten pounds and now is £ 20, along with a free passage to India to every Indian who agreed to leave South Africa. The Swami then described the pitiable condition of the returned emigrants in India and gave several painful instances of the condition of the repatriates. The speaker proceeding added that his main object was to create favourable public opinion in the country regarding these unhappy repatriates so that the real difficulties of the situation might be thoroughly understood by all. Concluding, the Swami emphasised that they should impress upon the Government of India to make suitable provisions for the repatriates under the Cape Town Agreement and not to allow any agreement that might contain any provision for repatriation at the forthcoming Cape Town Conference.

The following resolutions were then passed unanimously:—

(1) Resolved that the Government of India be approached with a request to take all possible ame-

liorative means necessary to afford relief to the repatriated Indians from South Africa under the Cape Town Agreement. Further resolved that the representatives of the Government of India to the forthcoming Round Table Conference to be held in the Union of South Africa be requested not to agree to terms that might contain any provision for repatriation.

(2) Resolved that the President of the meeting be authorised to send a copy of the above resolution each to H. E. Lord Willingdon, Sir Fazli Hussain, Sir G. L. Corbett, Mr. G. S. Bajpai and the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.—*The Indian Nation.*



## At Dehri

*Dehri-on-Sone, August 5, 1931*

"To bring over, for purely selfish reasons, a whole population in order to build up prosperity and wealth and then, last of all, when wealth is established, to banish the labourers who produced the wealth"—this has been in brief the policy of the South African Government towards the emigrated Indians" declared Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi addressing an over-crowded meeting at Dehri yesterday, Mr A. Qaïyum Ansari presiding. Swamiji continuing traced the whole pathetic history of Indian emigration of a hundred years back and explained how the Government of India had committed the original sin of sending out these labourers, men, women and children, under many demoralising conditions in order only to save the European-owned sugar industry of Natal at the behest of the Govern-

ent of South Africa. The Government of India, he said, under the strong pressure of the Natal Government allowed and assisted in the emigration of the indentured labour from India in 1860 onwards. He quoted from Sir Benjamin Robertson and said that the emigration of the labouring class from India had never been spontaneous but they had been recruited by methods commonly known as "coolie catching" But it was only when the thick jungles of Natal had been cleared up and transformed into "the Garden of South Africa" that the oppression of Indians began and many laws were enacted by the Union Government to get rid of Indians. This voluntary repatriation hoax, he declared, meant nothing if it did not mean that the South African Government were tired of the Indian community among the European settlers and were looking round for ways to get rid of them. Swamiji emphasised that much of the repatriation carried through South Africa was based on lying propaganda regarding the prospects of the repatriated in India. The policy of repatriation was due chiefly to the criminal weakness and meek submission on the part of the Government of India, which had brought untold miseries and hardships on those who had been repatriated and what was more unfortunate, he said, was the Government of India who were not prepared to realise their responsibility and do their duty in this respect, having all along refused even to make full and thorough enquiry in to the condition of the repatriated emigrants. Swamiji, in this connection, very feelingly referred to some individual cases of those unhappy people who were helplessly lying without a home and without means in the dirty slums of Matia-burz in Calcutta which place had already proved a death-trap for hundreds of repatriates and said that apart from economic distress, the social side of the question equally stood in the way of successful solu-

tion of painful problem. A number of repatriates who had married outside their castes and had their families, said Swamiji, could not be taken back in their respective social organisations owing to the rigours of the existing caste-system in India and those who were colonial-born were accustomed to a different standard of living and found it most difficult to adopt the old methods of the land of their fathers, while the question of the marriages raised insoluble difficulties. These, the Swami declared, were some and not all factors that awaited successful tackling. Concluding, Swamiji appealed for speedy help from the people for the immediate relief of these unfortunate sufferers.

The following resolutions were then passed unanimously:—

(1) That the Government of India be approached with a request to take all possible ameliorative means necessary to afford relief to the repatriated Indians from South Africa under the Capetown Agreement.

(2) That the representatives of the Government of India to the forth-coming Round Table Conference to be held in the Union of South Africa be requested not to agree to terms that might contain any provision for repatriation:—*Amrit Bazar Patrika*



*Similar meetings were also held at Dinapore under the presidentship of Sjt. Ramkrishna Dalmia and at Nasriganj under the presidency of Babu Vindeshwari Prasad Varma)*



## No Further Repatriation

By Mr. A. Qaiyum Ansari, late Editor, 'Al-Islah'

*(Special For The "Indian Nation.")*

I have read the Report on the Emigrants repatriated to India, published by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, based on their independent enquiry a copy of which I had received through the kind courtesy of the revered Swamiji himself. I have been somewhat interested in the problem of our brethren overseas. But, the report aroused my interest anew. It presents a heart-rending reading and is based on facts which are difficult to refute or deny.

The Government of the Union of South Africa, from the early eighties, constantly employed every means, fair and foul, to turn out Indians, at all costs, by their selfish policy. Since then the emigrants have continually been compelled to return to India by the help of repressive legislations. A very large number of such laws as discriminated against Indians have been enacted in South Africa from 1885. The history of Indians in South Africa from 1885 to 1931 is a history of continuous oppression and repression. Several responsible officials of the Union Government have recognised the Indians in South Africa as "good, lawabiding, quit, citizens." But to their great misfortune, even such noble qualities have not been considered sufficient certificate by the Government of the Union for the treatment of the Indians there like human beings, as is conclusively proved by the long series of anti-Indian laws enacted by them. The so-called voluntary repatriation scheme has pro-

ved an effective means to get rid of a vast number of Indians in South Africa. This hoax has evidently added to their many troubles. It has done a great deal of harm to our overseas brethren. The trap was however laid and the mischievous policy of "getting rid of Indians as far as possible" is going on uninterruptedly ever since, to the entire satisfaction of the Government of the Union of South Africa.

But, the harmful effects of repatriation, as can be seen at Matlaburz, at Madras or elsewhere, have however brought the problem of repatriates to the forefront. Now, the question of all questions is, how, are the returned emigrants from South Africa and other colonies faring? Under the Cape Town Agreement, the Government of India undertook to see that on arrival in India, assisted emigrants from South Africa were helped, as far as possible, to settle in occupations for which they are best suited by their aptitude and resources. But, if one looks at the present wretched condition of returned emigrants in Calcutta—and more or less the same disgraceful scenes will be found at any place where these unhappy people are living—one is reminded of the callousness of the Indian Government, who are evidently not prepared to realise their responsibility in this respect and have carefully evaded the issue by not conceding to the demand of holding a thorough enquiry into the pitiable condition of the repatriates. When examined in this light the contention of several influential members of the Government of India that the lot of the repatriates is satisfactory does not stand even for a moment. Undoubtedly, it is the clear duty of the Government of India to help the repatriates in every possible way and to see that they get employment on their return according to the Cape Town Agreement. But, the Government have awfully failed to carry out



their obligations of safeguarding the interests of repatriates in India as they have not been able to give the necessary protection and help to these] miserable people as promised by them.

The repatriation scheme has totally failed, because it has brought untold sufferings on the repatriates. The strange attitude of the Government of India has made the problem all the more complex. Moreover, India is not in a position to assimilate repatriates from abroad and the social and economic difficulties connected with this problem have as yet remained unsolved.

Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, who, being himself a colonial-born Indian, can better understand the feelings and difficulties of the repatriates and who, having made comprehensive enquiries into the condition of these unhappy people, has to tell a woeful tale. It must be noted that he, by his unselfish and invaluable work on behalf of his countrymen settled overseas, has won their unbounded confidence and affection and has consecrated his life to the service of his Motherland. He says.

“... I did not meet a single returned emigrant who is happy in his new environments and who would not like to return to the colony if he could only get a chance; while the number of people who are simply pining away in the hope of getting a free passage to South Africa or any other colony can be counted by hundreds if not thousands. I have been actually approached by a large number of people to make some arrangements for their emigration to some colony.....”

So, these people are most unhappy in their new surroundings. They are unable to find suitable occupation, what to say of maintaining the standard of living to which they were accustomed in South Africa.

Yes, the repatriation scheme has miserably failed. The time for revising the Cape Town Agreement is near. Now, it is high time that, on the one hand, the Government of India should be strongly impressed not to allow any legislation that may contain even the slightest hint for repatriation to be passed at the forthcoming Cape Town Conference, while, on the other, pressure should be brought to bear upon the Government of the Union of South Africa that India will never accept again in any form or at any stage any repatriation scheme.

The sooner this repatriation business comes to an end the better. In plainer words, "No further repatriation" must be our policy in future.

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(To the Editor, "Indian Nation.")

Sir—The deplorable condition of the returned emigrants from South Africa is a clear testimony to the working of the "Assisted Emigration Scheme" The woeful story of the repatriated Indians at Matlaburz and other ports, as related in the Report on the Emigrants Repatriated to India, touches even a callous heart deeply and moves him to tears. It clearly leads one to the conclusion that the much-vaunted scheme instead of improving the condition of the poor emigrants has worsened it hopelessly. Those who fell victims to repatriation could not be admitted into the society under the existing rigour of the caste-system, nor could they be able to secure employment for themselves. The Government of India, despite their undertaking, have failed in procuring suitable works for them and settling them in their village homes. As a result these evicted victims from South Africa have nothing but starvation before them. Such is the beneficial result of repatriation.

The report, coming as it does, from Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi, who is himself a colonial-born Indian and whose one great mission of life is to raise the status of his brethren overseas and those returned to India, must receive the attention of the interested public in general and the Indian delegates to the next Round Table Conference to be held in South Africa in particular. It is the bounden duty of these delegates not to accept any form of repatriation in future so that poor emigrants might not be subjected to such sort of miserable and inhuman life.

M. A. HALIM KHAN



## Indo-Union Conference.

The Indian Conference will be held between Jan. 10 and 15, 1932, at Capetown. As a result of the negotiations held during the last Parliamentary session between the Minister of the Interior and the Leader of the Opposition, General J. C. Smuts, two prominent leaders of the South African Party, who are members of the House of Assembly, will form part of the Union delegation to the Conference. These South African Party members will be Mr. Patrick Duncan, M. P., and Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls, M. P.

### Number of Indians Repatriated

The following are the official figures of Indians who have been repatriated since the Capetown Agreement came into force in 1927.

Men	...	...	3,559
Women	...	...	1,546
Boys	...	...	1,484
Girls	...	...	1,393
			<hr/>
			7,972
			<hr/>

### Alarming Situation

*Durban, Sep. 17, 1931*

Unemployment in Natal is driving hundreds of Indians back to India. Under the repatriation scheme 345 Indians left Durban last month, the biggest batch for the past 18 months.

#### Big Increase in Repatriation

"If applications continue at the present rate the next boat, due to sail on Nov. 20 will also carry a big load," said the Director of Indian Immigration Mr. H. Robinson, in an interview with a representative of "*The Natal Mercury*" yesterday.

#### Labouring Class

"It is mainly the labouring class from the mines and estates which is leaving. The traders seem to be firmly planted here. The difficulties in India are apparently no deterrent to repatriation. They seem to think that they could not be worse off there than here."

The figures for last year show that in March 295 Indians left, in June 205 and in September 133—a total of 633. This year the two repatriation boats have carried 759 people, with the possibility of another 350 leaving in November.

# In Bihar Council

## Questions on Repatriated Indians

*Ranchi, August 20, 1931.*



The Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council re-assembled to-day at 2 P. M.

During interpellations replying to Mr. Radha Prasad Sinha B. A., B. L., M. L. C. on repatriated Indians from South Africa Mr. Mansfield stated that the Government, at the instance of the Government of India, have entrusted the Director of Industries of the province with the work of settling the repatriated Indians in homes and providing them with employment.

Q. How many repatriated Indian have been provided with suitable homes in the province and how many have been provided with employment ?

A. None.

Q. What is the number of those who have not yet been settled in suitable homes and the number of those still unemployed ?

A. Government have no information.

Q. What steps Government propose to take in respect of those not settled and not provided for ?

A. Twenty-three repatriates belonging to the province returned from South Africa under the scheme of assisted emigration. Twenty-two were disposed of by the Protector of Emigrants, Calcutta, and one by the Commissioner of Bombay. None of them wanted any help from local Government. No request of any kind has been received from any repatriates.

# *In Indian Parliament*

## Problem of Repatriated Emigrants

*Simla, September 7, 1931*

The following questions were asked by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, M. L. A. of Muzaffarpur, in the current Simla session of the Legislative Assembly, relating repatriated Indians from the Colonies:—

(a) Will Government kindly lay on the table a statement, showing the number of repatriated Indians returned to India from abroad, during the last 5 years, or for such period for which the figures may be available, giving separately the territories abroad from which they returned, the Provinces in India to which they belong, the steps taken by Government to meet their wants, and how they were settled in life ?

(b) With reference the reply given by the Hon'ble Sir Fazl-i-Husain to a question put in the Council of State on the 25th September, 1929, that "Government are considering whether anything can be done to help the repatriates", will the Hon'ble Member in charge kindly state if the consideration stage has passed, or still continues; and if so, with what result ?

(c) Has the attention of Government been drawn to a "Report on the Emigrants Repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa, and on the Problem of Returned Emigrants

from All Colonies", by Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi and Benarsidas Chaturvedi (15th May, 1931), depicting the miserable plight of the returned emigrants in India, and the need of urgent relief?

The Honourable Sir Fazl-i-Husain:—A statement showing the number of Indian emigrants repatriated since 1928 is laid on the table. As regards the distribution according to provinces, information is not readily available, but the repatriates mostly belong to Madras and the United Provinces. Emigrants returning to Calcutta from the Colonies of Mauritius, Fiji, British Guiana, Trinidad and Jamaica are received on arrival by the Protector of Emigrants. Some of them have taken up abode in or near Calcutta. The Protector of Emigrants tries to find work for those that are unemployed and send to the charitable institutions those that are destitute or have been left stranded and helps the sick in being admitted into hospitals. As a result of the facilities offered by the Colonial Governments of British Guiana and Fiji, more than 500 persons were assisted to go back to these Colonies. An attempt to find an outlet for them in Malaya was not successful. As regards those who return from South Africa under the assisted emigration scheme, special arrangements have been made for their reception and for rendering them all possible assistance in banking their savings and finding employment suited to their aptitude and resources. The arrangements are in charge of the Director of Industries in Bihar and Orissa and of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the United Provinces. Emigrants returning to these provinces are first sent to Calcutta from Madras. Generally speaking, they have seldom expressed any desire to avail themselves of the facilities provided by Government. The majority of the repatriates from South Africa belong to the Madras Presidency and a Special

Officer with necessary staff has been appointed to look after them. The working of this organisation formed the subject of an inquiry by Messrs Natesan and Gray in April last year. A copy of their report will be found in the library of the House.

(b) This part of the question apparently relates to the repatriates who have settled down at Matiabruz near Calcutta. The Government of Bengal recently made inquiries whether suitable employment could be found for any of them in the public works, irrigation, agriculture or industries department, but it was not found possible to do anything in this direction.

(c) Yes.

*Simla, Sept 14, 1931*

Extract from an address of H. E. Lord Willingdon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, to the joint session of both houses of Central Legislatures at Simla:—

As for Indians in South Africa non-official Indian opinion, both in this country and outside had been greatly alarmed by the Bill regulating the tenure and ownership of immovable properties by Indians in Transvaal and by the recent amendment of the Immigration Act. The Government of India are of the opinion, observed Lord Willingdon, that there is justification for this feeling but they do not despair of a satisfactory settlement of all these questions at the Capetown Conference. His Excellency felt confident that the interests of India would be maintained by her representatives under the wise and able chairmanship of Sir Fazli Husain.





**Statement showing the number of Indians who were retriated from  
various colonies, etc. since 1928.**

Year	NAME OF COLONY, ETC.								REMARKS.
	Mauri- tius	Trini- dad	Fiji	Jemai- ca	British Guiana	South Africa	Malaya	Ceylon	
1928	367	—	973	—	645	3,477	18,147	3,508	
1929	112	938	653	—	—	1,328	6,731	3,212	
1930	—	—	642	425	520	1,012	77,761	7,472	
1931 UP TO END OF JULY	—	1,012	—	—	—	531 <sup>x</sup>	32,456	10,705	FIGURES NOT INCLUDE ARRIVALS, IF ANY, IN BOMBAY DURING THE MON- TH OF JULY.

# The Leader

Allahabad, September 1931

Sir Fazli Husain stated in the Assembly that Indian emigrants returning from South Africa under the assisted emigration scheme had seldom expressed any desire to avail themselves of the facilities provided by the Government. The alleged unwillingness of the returned emigrants to avail themselves of the reported facilities provided by the Government does not however absolve the department of Sir Fazli Husain from its responsibilities in the matter. The repatriates may or may not avail themselves of the facilities provided by the Government. The question is are the repatriates happy in their new surroundings? If not, is it not incumbent on the Government of India to withhold their support from the assisted emigration scheme and persuade the Union Government to give their assent to its deletion when a new agreement is drawn up at the forthcoming conference at Cape Town?



## Advance

Calcutta, September 10, 1931

In replying to a question of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh in the Legislative Assembly Sir Fuzli Hussain made a statement regarding the position of Indians in East Africa and the repatriated Indians from the Colonies. Sir Fuzli said much about the help rendered and contemplated to be rendered by the Government to the emigrants who have come back to India.

It is too early to say that anything substantial has been done. But the far more important question is the question of the position of the Indians in the Dominions and other British possessions. We hear far too much of common citizenship in the British Empire. We hear that a British citizen in one part of the Empire is also a citizen in other parts and as such is entitled to the rights and privileges of British citizenship. What have His Majesty's Government to say regarding the discriminatory laws which have been passed e. g. in the Colonies for the political and economic oppression of His Majesty's Indian subjects settled there? Do they not offend against the principles of equity, justice and fairness? Or are these principles to be enforced only in India for the benefit of British European subjects?



## Emigrants' Home, Bombay

The following information has been received by Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi from Mr. S. A. Waiz, B. A., Secretary, The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay:—

Hundreds of Indians travel between British Colonies particularly Africa and India every month. The majority of them are deck passengers, who, as a rule are illiterate and ignorant. They have no friends; and that there is no agency to guide and help them. They are consequently at the mercy of unscrupulous people, who pose as their friends and offer to assist them in various ways, but who in fact are really out to loot and ruin them. The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, therefore, have instituted an Emigrants' Home, where these poor unfortunate people can go for help, guidance, advice and temporary shelter. They

will be assisted in every possible way. The Association will endeavour to hold out a helping hand to them in the following ways:

(1) By securing for them the necessary tickets to their destination in Africa or other Colonies either through a reliable broker or direct from Messrs. Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. Ltd. (2) By making their sojourn in Bombay as comfortable and cheap as possible. (3) By running a Hindu and Moslim Kitchen in Bombay where they can get cheap and wholesome food. (4) By giving them all the necessary information, regarding the country to which they are emigrating, and if required, by giving them introductory letters to Indian Leaders in the Colonies. (5) By providing a Reading Room for their use, containing important Colonial and Indian Newspapers. (6) By supplying indoor game, and other amusements, such as a gramophone with Indian records. (7) By helping them to visit places and go about sight seeing. (8) By providing medical aid whenever necessary. (9) By helping indigent cases by providing fares to their homes in India. (10) By writing letters for the illiterate. (11) By supplying all their other legitimate and immediate needs.

Experience will show us that there are many other ways in which the Association can help the emigrants, which can be gradually introduced, as funds permit.

For further particulars, please write to the Hony. Secretary, The I. I. C. A., Sohrab House, 235, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. The Telegraphic address of the Association is "Equality", Bombay.

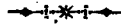
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## Vernacular Journal's Comments

Part II of this booklet contains leading articles from responsible vernacular journals of India and abroad, such as :—

- ( 1 ) The Anand Bazar Patrika, Calcutta
  - ( 2 ) The Dainik Basumati, Calcutta
  - ( 3 ) The Bang-Vani, Calcutta
  - ( 4 ) The Nawjiwan, Ahmedabad
  - ( 5 ) The Desh, Patna
  - ( 6 ) The Bishwa Mittra, Calcutta
  - ( 7 ) The Arya Mittra, Agra
  - ( 8 ) The Lokyamanya, Calcutta
  - ( 9 ) The Matwala, Mirzapur
  - (10) The Swadhin Bharat, Calcutta
  - (11) The Tyag-Bhumi, Ajmer
  - (12) The Vijay, Calcutta
  - (13) The Kesri, Calcutta
  - (14) The Swadhin Bharat Bombay
  - (15) The Hindi Bangbasi, Calcutta
  - (16) The Sudha, Lucknow
  - (17) The Vishal-Bharat, Calcutta
  - (18) The Karmavir, Khandwa
  - (19) The Aj, Benares
  - (20) The Mahabeer, Patna
  - (21) The Grahasta, Gaya
  - (22) The Fiji Samachar, Suva
  - (23) The Indian Views, Durban
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# दक्षिण अफ्रिका की प्रत्यागमन योजना पर लोक मत



इस पुस्तकके अंग्रेजी अंशमें दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी प्रत्यागमन योजना (रिपेट्रियेशन स्कीम) पर हिन्दुस्थान तथा विदेशोंके अनेक प्रख्यात और प्रतिष्ठित समाचार-पत्रोंकी सम्मतियां प्रकाशित हो रही हैं जिनमें यज्ञ इन्डिया, हिन्दू, लीडर, अमृत बाजार पत्रिका, टाइम्स आफ इन्डिया, बंगाली, मराठा, लिबर्टी, पीपल, सर्व लाइट, इन्डियन नेशन, पटना टाइम्स, एडवान्स, मॉडर्न रिव्यू, स्टार, इन्डियन ओपिनियन, टोनिका ओपिनियन, जंज़िवार बोइस, जंज़िवार समाचार, केनिया डेली मेल, फ्रिजी टाइम्स एन्ड हेरल्ड आदिके नाम उल्लेखनीय हैं। देशी भाषाके पत्रोंकी सम्मतियां हिन्दी-अंशमें दी जा रही हैं। हिन्दुस्थानकी सरकारके भूतपूर्व सॉ-मेम्बर सर अली इम. रिस्टर-पेट-लॉकी अध्यक्षता में पटनामें जो सभा हुई थी उसकी तथा अन्य सभाओंकी रिपोर्ट अंग्रेजी में ही छप रही है। कौन्सिल तथा असेम्बलीके विवरण भी पाठक अंग्रेजी में ही पढ़ेंगे।

# हिन्दी नवजीवन

अहमदाबाद, ११ जून १९३१

(लेखक—महात्मा गांधी)

देशान्तर की मददवाली योजना के अनुसार दक्षिण अफ्रिका से वापस स्वदेश आये हुए भारतीयों की स्थिति की जो स्वतंत्र जांच खुद की है, उसका सुन्दर दलीलों से युक्त निवेदन पंडित बनारसीदास घनुर्वेदी और स्वामी भवानी दयाल संन्यासी ने तैयार किया है। इसके अलावा पिछले महीने की १६ वीं तारीख को स्वामी जी ने मुझे एक तार भेजा था, जिसमें मुझ से निवेदन की टीका करने को कहा था और यह समाचार थे कि 'लोग पूरे पूरे बेहाल हैं, बहुतरे भूखों मरते हैं, त्रियों को तन ढकने के लिए पूरा कपड़ा नहीं है, बालक भोज मांगते हैं'। उक्त निवेदन और तार तभी से मेरे पास पड़े हैं। निवेदन की चर्चा मैं जल्दी ही न कर सका, इसका मुझे खेद है। जिस तार में से मैंने उक्त उद्धरण दिया है, वह निवेदन का सारांश है। हमारे लोगों को अपने ही देश में परायों की तय्य रहना पड़े, यह स्थिति हमारे और सरकार दोनोंके लिए कलंकरूप है। परन्तु सरकार की अपेक्षा वह हमारे लिए अधिक कलंकरूप है। दुनियाकी कोई भी सरकार ऐसे मामलोंका पूरा-पूरा प्रबन्ध नहीं कर सकती। ऐसे मामलों में लोगोंके चेन्डिक

प्रयत्नमें सरकार एक हद तक मदद भर कर सकती है। वस्तुतः ऐसे लोगोंके कल्याणमें सच्ची दिलचस्पी लेने और उनके लिए उचित काम तलाश कर देनेका धर्म कलकत्ते के धनाढ्य व्यापारियों और दूसरे लोगोंका है, जो मजदूरी पर काम कराते हैं।

परन्तु ये स्वदेश को लौटे हुए लोग जिस कारणसे इस दशा को प्राप्त हुए हैं, उसको तुलना में उनकी आज की हालत कोई चोज नहीं है। दक्षिण अफ्रिका के भारतीयों के स्वदेशगमन सम्बन्धी किसी प्रकार का इकरार होनाही न चाहिये था, और हुआ, तो उन्हें उचित काम दिलाने की पूरी व्यवस्था पहले ही से हो जानी चाहिये थी, और किसी भी तरह क्यों न हो उपनिवेश में जन्मे हुए भारतीयों के, जो कलकत्ता के पड़ाव की आबादी के ठीक ३३ फी सदी हैं, स्वदेशगमन के लिए तो कभी सम्मति दी हो नहीं जानी थी। पर साँप के निकल जाने पर लकीर पीटने से क्या होता है? केपटाउन का इकरार फिर से होते समय यदि गरीब भारतीय मजदूरों की आबादी के हक दूसरे भारतीय उपनिवेशवालों को मिलनेवाली संशयास्पद छूट के बदले में बँच नहीं डाले जायें तो इस निवेदन के जन्मदाताओं का परिश्रम निष्फल न होगा। दूसरे, हिन्दुस्थानी उपनिवेशवालोंने जो रुख अख्तियार किया है, वह अभेद्य है, और उसका आधार उसके अपने



गुण दोष पर होना चाहिये। इस लिये उपनिवेशवालों को स्वयं ही ऐसे व्यापारमें शामिल होनेसे इनकार करना चाहिये, जिसकी वजह से उनके कमनसीब भाइयों के हक गारे जाते हों। जितने भारतीय आज वहाँ हैं, उतनों का समावेश और पुनश्च दक्षिण अफ्रिका आसानी से कर सकता है।

## देश

पटना, २५ जून १९३१

करीब सत्तर अरुसी वर्ष हुए दक्षिण अफ्रिका में मजूरों की बड़ी कमी हुई। उन के अभावमें वहाँ के खेत पड़ती पड़ने लगे। जो आबाद थे उनकी आमदनी घटने लगी। वहाँ बसे हुए युरोपियनों ने देखा कि बाहर से मजूर मंगाना अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। कई जगहों और जातियों के लोग मंगाये गये पर वे परिश्रमी तथा दूसरी तरह से उपयुक्त साबित नहीं हुए। अन्त में भारत सरकार पर दबाव डाला गया कि हिन्दुस्तान से मजूर दक्षिण अफ्रिका भेजे जायें। हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार तो युरोपियनों की सेवा के लिये तत्पर रहती ही है, उसने दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार की प्रार्थना को स्वीकार कर लिया और हिन्दुस्तान से दक्षिण अफ्रिका कुली भेजनेकी चाल चला दी गयी। हिन्दुस्तान के अपढ़ लोग किस तरह टग

फुसलाकर बृटिश उपनिवेशोंमें कुलीगिरी करने को भेजे जाते थे, उसकी कहानी बड़ी लम्बी है । उसे कहनेका यहां स्थान नहीं, जरूरत भी नहीं है । यदि इस प्रथा को मनुष्य बेचने की प्रथा कही जाय तो विशेष अत्युक्ति न होगी । जो हो, दक्षिण अफ्रिका में बसे योरोपियनों के खेतों, उनके ऊख के कारखानों, उनकी कोयले की खानों को आबाद करने और उन्हें उनके लिये लाभ दायक बनानेकी नीयतसे दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकार की प्रार्थन पर हिन्दुस्तान की सरकार ने भारतसे हिन्दुस्तानी मजूर भेजने आरंभ किये । यह प्रथा १८६० ई० में जारी हुई और बहुत दिनों तक चलती रही । इस प्रकार हिन्दुस्तान से जो लोग दक्षिण अफ्रिका भेजे गये उनकी मदद से धीरे धीरे वहां के योरोपियनों ने अपना खेतों और कारखार खूब बढ़ाया और उसके फलस्वरूप वे बड़े धनी और सम्पन्न हो गये । जब वे इस अवस्था को पहुंच गये और समझने लगे कि अब हमें हिन्दुस्तानियों की जरूरत नहीं तो वे इस धुन में लगे कि अब किसी न किसी तरहसे उन्हें यहां से बाहर निकालना चाहिये । और इसका एक खास कारण यह हुआ कि जो हिन्दुस्तानी कुलीगिरी करनेकी शर्तों में बंधकर दक्षिण अफ्रिका गये उनमें बहुत से शर्तकी म्याद पूरी होनेपर वहां अपना खाल खेत लेकर खेती करने या दूकानदारी आदि कर अपनी जीविका कमाने के लिये बसने लगे । हिन्दुस्तानी स्वभावतः परिश्रमी और मितव्ययी भी होते हैं । उनके इन गुणों

को लाचार होकर दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके योरोपियनों को भी बारबार स्वीकार करना पड़ा है। हिन्दुस्तानियों के बसने और स्वतंत्र रूप से कारखार या खेती करने की चेष्टा से अब योरोपियनोंके दिल में यह भय उत्पन्न हुआ कि कहीं ये हिन्दुस्तानी हमसे प्रतियोगिता न करने लगे और धीरे धीरे अपने उपर्युक्त गुणों के कारण वे हमसे बाजी न मार ले जायें। अतएव उन्हें यहाँ से निकाल डालनाही ठीक है। बस क्या था, जबरदस्त आंदोलन शुरू हुआ कि हिन्दुस्तानियों का दक्षिण अफ्रिका में रहना वहाँ की संस्कृति के लिये बड़ा हानिकर है। साथ ही हिन्दुस्तानियों के चरित्र में तरह तरहके पेट्र दूँडे जाने लगे और चाहे वे सचमुच में मौजूद हों या न हों उन्हें दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे हिन्दुस्तानियों को निकालने का कारण बनाया जाने लगा। उनके जमीन खरीदने, तेजारत करने, यहाँतक कि रहने के लिये मकान बनाने या स्थान लेने की राह में भी तरह तरह की रुकावटें पैदा की जाने लगीं। इस उद्देश्य से नये नये कानून, आर्डिनेन्स आदि पास और जारी किये जाने लगे। १८८५ ई० से लेकर १९१३ ई० तक इस प्रकार करीब तीस कानून बनाये गये, आर्डिनेन्स जारी हुए। यद्यपि आरंभ में यह कहा गया था कि चाहे जो शर्त की जाय दक्षिण अफ्रिका के प्लाण्टर सब शर्तों को स्वीकार करेंगे और यह भी वादा किया गया था कि कुलीगिरी को पांच साल की म्याद पूरी हो जाने पर

हिन्दुस्तानी लोग एक-दम स्वतन्त्र हो जायेंगे और उन्हें वे सब अधिकार प्राप्त होंगे जो उपनिवेश में बसे किसी और दूसरे प्रजाजनको होंगे, पर अब तो दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें स्वतन्त्र हिन्दुस्तानियोंकी उपस्थिति भी योरोपियनोंके हृदय को चुभने लगी। उपर्युक्त कानूनों के अलावे १८६५ सालमें उन पर फी सर तीन पाउण्ड ( ४५ रुपये ) सालाना टैक्स भी लगाया गया। इन सब कारवाइयोंका एकही उद्देश्य था और वह स्वतन्त्र हिन्दुस्तानियोंको दबाव डाल कर वहांसे किसी तरह निकाल बाहर करना था।

दक्षिण अफ्रिका का १८६५ से आज तक का इतिहास हिन्दुस्तानियों के निकालनेका इतिहास है। १८६५ से १९१३ तक तो वे एक प्रकार से जबरदस्ती निकाले जाते रहे चूँके अधिकांश हिन्दुस्तानी फी सर ४५) सालाना लाइसेन्स भी देने में असमर्थ थे। इस प्रकार ३२५०६ हिन्दुस्तानी दक्षिण अफ्रिका से निकाले गये। १९१४ में महात्मा गांधी के सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन के फलस्वरूप वहां एक नया कानून पास हुआ जिसकी सब शर्तें आज भी पूरी नहीं हुईं और न उन्हें पूरा करने का दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार का इरादा था। जो हो सत्याग्रह से लाचार होकर दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तानियों को घर वापस करनेके तरीकेमें यह परिवर्तन किया कि जो लोग चाहें वे ही वापस जायें और उनके

लौटने का सब खर्च वह अपनी ओरसे देगी बशर्ते कि उसके बदले में वे दक्षिण अफ्रिका में बसने का अपना अधिकार त्याग दें। लौटने वाले लोगों को कुसलानेके लिये उन्हें फी भादमो ५ पाउण्ड ( पीछे १० पाउण्ड ) को घूस भी हो जाने लगी। साथ ही उनके बीच इस तरह का भान्दोलन भी जारी कर दिया गया कि हिन्दुस्तानमें जाने पर उनकी हालत बहुत अच्छी हो जायगी। कुछ तो मुफ्त राह खर्च और नके में ५ या १० पाउण्ड पानेका लोभ और कुछ हिन्दुस्तान के सम्प्रदाय का सुन्दर चित्र, इन उबल जालोंमें धनके हिन्दुस्तानी फंस गये और वे अपनी धुशीसे दक्षिण अफ्रिका में रहने के अपने अधिकारों पर लात मार कर हिन्दुस्तान लौटने लगे। इस प्रकार २०३८४ हिन्दुस्तानी दक्षिण अफ्रिका से मर्दा के लिये बिदा होगये। १९२७ में भारत सरकारके साथ दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार का नया समझौता हुआ। उसके मोताबिक दक्षिण अफ्रिका से हिन्दुस्तानियोंको निकालनेका एक नया ढंग अस्तियार किया गया। संक्षेप में यह ढंग यह है कि जो हिन्दुस्तानी चाहें हिन्दुस्तान वापस लौट सकते हैं, उन्हें दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार खर्चके लिये ३० पाउण्ड देगी और उन्हें परिवार सहित मुफ्तमें हिन्दुस्तान पहुँचा देगी। हिन्दुस्तान में जब वे पहुँचने तो भारत सरकारकी ओर से काम घन्टा खोजने में उनकी मदद

की जायगी। पर यदि वे किसी तरह हिन्दुस्तानको अपने लिये मुवाफिक न पावें तो एक सालके बाद और तीन साल के अन्दर उन्हें फिर दक्षिण अफ्रिका वापस जानेका अधिकार रहेगा। लेकिन वापस लौटने की अवस्थामें उन्हें वे सब खर्च दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकारको लौटा देना पड़ेगा जो उसको उनके और उनके परिवार वालोंको हिन्दुस्तान भेजने में लगे थे। इस तरीकेके मुताबिक अबतक प्रायः ७५०० हिन्दुस्तानी भारत लौट चुके हैं।

पर हिन्दुस्तानमें जो लोग लौटे हैं उनकी हालत अच्छी नहीं है। इसके प्रधानतः दो कारण हैं। एक तो यह कि जो लोग दक्षिण अफ्रिका से अथवा और किसी उपनिवेशसे लौटते हैं उन्हे उनकी जाति यहां अपनेमें मिलाना नहीं चाहती और इस कारण ये लोग यहां समाज में घुल मिल नहीं सकते, जो सुख शान्ति तथा सांसारिक और पारिवारिक जीवन की आवश्यकताओंके लिये अत्यन्त आवश्यक है। दूसरा कारण यह है कि इनमें अधिकांश लोग ऐसे हैं जिनके लिये हिन्दुस्तान एकदम नया देश है। ये दक्षिण अफ्रिका में ही पैदा हुए और वहीं बालपनसे पले। उनकी रहन सहन, आचार विचार, तौर तरीका हिन्दुस्तानियों से इतना भिन्न है कि वे कभी समझ ही नहीं सकते कि यह हमारी मातृभूमि है। उनकी सच्ची मातृभूमि तो दक्षिण अफ्रिका ही है। वहां के बाहर

वे कभी सुखी हो ही नहीं सकते। जिन थोड़े से लोगोंकी पैदाइश हिन्दुस्तान में ही हुई थी वे भी बीस तीस बालीस वर्ष दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें रहने के बाद अब हिन्दुस्तान में अपनेको बे पानीकी मञ्जली की तरह पाते हैं, यहांके नित्य नैमित्तिक जीवन में उनके लिये भी कोई सुखकर खान मिलना अत्यन्त कठिन है। एक तीसरा कारण भी है। वह आर्थिक है। हिन्दुस्तान में मजूरी आदि की दर दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे कम है। जो लोग लौटे हैं उनका इन दरोंसे गुजारा नहीं हो सकता। दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें खर्चका मान बढ़ा हुआ है। हिन्दुस्तान में एक आदमी जिस प्रकार का जीवन व्यतीत करता है, दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें उसी श्रेणी का एक आदमी उससे अधिक खर्च करता है और उससे ज्यादा आरामसे रहने का आदी है। ये भारतप्रत्यागत लोग हिन्दुस्तान में प्राप्त कम मजूरी पर अपना अधिक खर्चीला अभ्यस्त जीवन बितानेमें असमर्थ हैं।

अतएव अधिकांश लोग जो लौटे हैं बहुत तकलीफ में हैं। उनकी वास्तविक अवस्था की जांच की बड़ी जरूरत थी, ताकि उससे और लोग सबक सीखें। यह काम भारतसरकार का था पर उसने आज तक कोई पूरी जांच नहीं करायी। पिछले साल उसने जांच के लिये मि० ब्रे और मि० नटेशन, इन दो सज्जनों की एक कमीटी मुकर्रर की थी। पर एक तो उनकी जांच मद्रास शहर तक ही सीमित रही और दूसरे

उनकी जांच एक विषय विशेष के सम्बन्धमें थी और वह था केवल इस बात का पता लगाना कि लौटते हुए लोगोंको मदद देनेके लिये मद्रास में सरकारकी ओरसे जो प्रबन्ध या संगठन है उससे कहांतक काम चलता है और उसमें परिवर्तन, सुधार या घटाव बढ़ावकी कोई जरूरत है या नहीं। इस कारण इस कमीटीकी रिपोर्ट से प्रत्यागत लोगों की दशा ठीक ठीक जानी नहीं जा सकती, विशेष कर उत्तर भारत वालोंकी दशाका तो कुछ भी पता नहीं चल सकता। पर खुशी की बात है कि जो काम भारत सरकार ने नहीं किया, जो उसका महज मामूली फर्ज था चूं के भारतीयोंको दक्षिण अफ्रिका भेजने और उस कारण उनकी दशा बनाने बिगाड़ने और उन्हें फिर जबरदस्ती, प्रलोभन द्वारा अथवा अन्य तरीकोंसे वापस किये जाने की सारी जिम्मेवारी तो उसीकी हैं,—वह काम स्वामी भवानी दयाल जी संन्यासीकी कृपासे बहुत अच्छी तरह सम्पन्न हुआ है।

स्वामी जी स्वयं एक प्रत्यागत दक्षिण अफ्रिका प्रवासी भारतीय हैं। उनकी पैदाइश दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें ही हुई थी। वहां वे भारतीयोंकी दशा सुधारने के सब आन्दोलनोंमें शरीक रहे और उसके लिये उन्होंने बहुत व्यय कर “हिन्दी” नामका एक पत्र भी निकाला था। अब आप भारतमें लौट आये हैं और विहारमें ही—जो आपकी मातृभूमि है—इन दिनों



कांग्रेस और देश सेवा का कार्य कर रहे हैं और सत्याग्रह आन्दोलनके सम्वन्धमें पिछले साल दो साल की सख्त कैदकी सजा भी प्राप्त कर चुके हैं, जो दिल्लीके समझौते के कारण अधूरी ही भुगती जा सकी। दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे पिछली बार चलते समय वहाँके हिन्दुस्तानियोंने आपसे भारत लौटे लोगोंकी दशा की जांच करने की प्रार्थना की थी। आपने इस कामको पूरी मुस्तैदी, लगन और बड़ी छानबीनके साथ किया है। इसमें आपने उपनिवेश प्रवासी भारतीयों के प्रसिद्ध मित्र और सेवक " विशाल भारत " सम्पादक ए० बनारसी प्रसाद जी चतुर्वेदीसे भी सहायता ली है। इन दोनों सज्जनों की जांच की रिपोर्ट अभी हालमें प्रकाशित हुई है। रिपोर्ट के दो भाग हैं। पहले भागमें ए० बनारसीदास जी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट लिखी है। वह साधारणतः उपनिवेश प्रत्यागत भारतीयोंकी साधारण दशाका संक्षिप्त चित्र है और उससे केवल दक्षिण अफ्रिका प्रत्यागत लोगों की ही नहीं बल्कि ट्रिनीडाड, गायना, फीजी, सुरिनाम आदि सभी उपनिवेशोंसे लौटे भारतीयोंकी करुणाजनक अवस्था का पता चलता है। दूसरे भागमें स्वामी भवानीदयाल जी की रिपोर्ट है जो खास दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे प्रत्यागत लोगों की दशा के सम्वन्ध में है। दोनों रिपोर्टों का सारांश बस एक ही है और वह यह है चाहे किसी भी उपनिवेश से

भारतीयों का भारत वापस लौटना उनके लिये असीम कष्ट का द्वार है । कोई उपनिवेश-प्रत्यागत कभी हिन्दुस्तान में सुखी हो ही नहीं सकता । यहां न तो कोई उसे समाज में लेता है, न कोई उपयुक्त काम उसे मिलता है, और न आवश्यक वेतन ही । यहां की जल वायु भी उसके अनुकूल नहीं । यहां का जीवन भी उसे पसन्द नहीं । जो कोई आया है यहां आकर पछताया है और फिर वह वापस जाने को लालायित है । पर उसके पास पैसा कहां कि फिर वह वापस जाय । स्वामी भवानी दयाल जी लिखते हैं कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका से लौटने वाले एक परिवार के फिर वापस जानेके सम्बन्ध में लिखापढ़ी करने पर मालूम हुआ कि जब ४५७ पाउण्ड वहां की सरकार को उसे भारत भेजनेके खर्च स्वरूप वापस किया जायगा तभी उसे फिर दक्षिण अफ्रिका लौटने की अनुमति मिल सकती है । मतलब यह कि जो लौटा वह सदाके लिये गया । कहने को तो दक्षिण अफ्रिका से हिन्दुस्तान वापस भेजनेके नये ढंगमें एक शर्त है कि तीन वर्षके अन्दर यदि चाहे तो लौटनेवाला भेजने का खर्च वापस कर फिर दक्षिण अफ्रिका जा सकता पर ४००, ५०० पाउण्ड जो पांच छ हजार रुपये के बराबर हुए, कितने लोग दे सकते हैं ? ये तो ये कुली पर इनसे रुपये मांगे जाते हैं जो साधारणतः अमीरोंके लिये भी सुलभ नहीं है । सच पूछिये तो

जांचने पर यह शर्त एक प्रकार को ठगो हो मालूम पड़ती है। मालूम नहीं भारत सरकार ने किस तरह आखें मूंदकर इसे स्वीकार कर लिया था।

जो हो, स्वामी भवानी दयाल जो की रिपोर्ट प्रत्यागत भारतीयोंको दुर्दशा का ऐसा हृदयविदारक चित्र है जो पत्यर के कलेजेको भी दहला सकता है। मालूम नहीं भारतसरकार का हृदय पित्रलेगा या नहीं। दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकारका तो कभो पित्रल ही नहीं सकता। उसका तो सिद्धान्त ही यह है कि दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे चाहे जैसे हो भारतीयोंको निकाला जाय। उसका जप-तप, ध्यान पूजा, नीति-धर्म सब यही है। मि० रेडो ने ठीक ही कहा है कि जैसे नीबू चूस लेने पर फिर उसको कोई जरूरत नहीं वैसे ही भारतीय परिश्रम, अध्यवसाय और किरायातसारीसे भरे पूरे हो जानेके बाद दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके योरोपियनोंको अब उनकी क्या जरूरत है? पर भारतीय सरकारको तो कम से कम अपना फज्र अदा करना चाहिये। स्वामी भवानी दयाल जो की रिपोर्ट से स्पष्ट प्रकट होता है कि किसी भी हालतमें दक्षिण अफ्रिका से हिन्दुस्तानियोंके वापस किये जानेकी कोई भी शर्त मानना अनुचित, हानिकर और अन्यायपूर्ण है। क्या भारत सरकार इस अन्यायको सदाके लिये दूर करनेको चेष्टा करेगी?

( १४ )

हम बारबार कह चुके हैं कि दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके भारतीयोंके कष्टोंकी जवाबदेह भारतसरकार है । उसकी योरोपियन-परसती और हिन्दुस्तानियों के मामलेमें पुस्तैनी कमजोरी ही उनके दुःखों की जननी है । उसे क्या गर्ज थी कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका के गोरोंकी बेचैनी दूर करनेके लिये उसने हिन्दुस्तानियोंको कुली बनाकर दक्षिण अफ्रिका भेजा ? और जब वे भेजे ही गये तो उसे फिर कौन सी गर्ज पड़ो थी कि वह चाहे जैसे हो, जिस शर्तपर हो, जिन तरीकों पर हो उन्हें फिर वापस लेकर युनियन सरकार पर एहसान करने पर तुल गयी ?

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## विश्वामित्र

कलकत्ता, १७ मई १९३१ ।

स्वामी भवानी दयाल और पंडित बनारसी दास चतुर्वेदी ने दक्षिण अफ्रिका से सरकारी खर्चसे भारत लौटाये हुए प्रवासी भाइयोंकी अवस्था की जांच करके जो रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की है, उसे पढ़ कर कौन ऐसा भारतीय होगा, जिसकी आंखों से रक्त के आंसू न टपक पड़ें ? दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके गोरे प्लांटरो और वहांकी सरकारने हमारे इन भाइयोंके साथ

जैसा कृतज्ञतापूर्ण बर्ताव किया है, उसकी जितनी भी निन्दा की जाय, थोड़ी है। किन्तु इन भाइयों की वर्तमान दुर्दशाका एक प्रधान कारण भारत सरकारका उपेक्षा-भाव भी है। इस समय दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकारके खर्च से भारत लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी संख्या हजारों की है। ये किस तरह और क्यों लौटाये गये हैं, यह जाननेके पूर्व यह जान लेना अच्छा होगा कि किस तरह ये वहाँ गये थे। पूरा व्योरा तो उक्त रिपोर्ट से ही मालूम हो सकता है, पर संक्षेपमें हम अपने पाठकोंको बता देना चाहते हैं कि जब नेटाल के गोरे प्लॉटर्सको सस्ते मजूरों की आवश्यकता हुई, तब उन्होंने दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकारके द्वारा भारत सरकारपर दबाव डाला कि यह भारतसे मजूरोंके जानेकी व्यवस्था करे। १८६० ई० में पहलेपहल हिन्दुस्तानी मजूर भारतसे वहाँ गये। शर्त यह थी कि वे वहाँपर पाँच सालतक किसी मालिकके अधीन रह काम करेंगे और फिर स्वतन्त्र रूपसे पाँच वर्ष तक देशको आबाद करनेमें मदद पहुँचायेंगे। इसके बाद वे चाहते तो सरकारी खर्चसे पुनः भारत लौटा दिये जाते थे। उन्हें किस तरह डीपू वाले तरह तरह के प्रलोभन और धोखा देते थे, यह बात बहुतोंको मालूम है। इसीसे इसके विरुद्ध पीछे घोर आन्दोलन किया गया। १८६० से १८६५ ई० तक तो बराबर उक्त शर्तोंके अनुसार ही काम होता रहा। यद्यपि

बीचमें एक दो बार हिन्दुस्तानसे मजूरोंका बुलाना बन्द भी किया गया, किन्तु इससे नेटालके गोरे प्लॉटरोमें हाय तोवा मच जाती थी, जिससे नेटाल सरकारको फिर भारतीय मजूर मंगानेको लाचार होना पड़ता था। इस बीच एक लाखके लगभग भारतीय मजूर वहां बस गये और उनके परिश्रमके फलस्वरूप ऊजड़ नेटाल देश आबाद हो गया, गन्नेकी खेती लहराने लगी और सब प्रकारके उद्योगवन्धोंकी उन्नति हुई। बस हिन्दुस्तानी मजूरोंके प्रति गोरोंका रुख बदलने लगा। क्योंकि वे उनकी मिहनत मजूरी तो चाहते थे, किन्तु उनका वहां बस जाना उन्हें बहुत खटकने लगा। तभी से वे वहां बसे हुए भारतीयोंको निकालनेकी कुचेष्टामें लग गये।

१८६५ में नेटालकी सरकारने कानून बनाया कि जो मजूर पांच वर्षकी गिरमिट पर आयें, वे मियाद पूरी होने पर सरकारी खर्चसे भारत लौट जायें। जो न लौटेंगे और वहां बसेंगे उन्हें फी आदमी तीन पाँड कर देना होगा। यह सरीहन ही अन्याय था, जिसका घोर विरोध किया गया। अन्तमें घोर आन्दोलनके फलस्वरूप १६११ ई० से भारत से नेटालको मजूरोंका भेजा जाना बन्द किया गया और १६१३ में उक्त करको रद्द करानेके लिये सत्याग्रहकी लड़ाई छेड़ी गयी। उसमें नेटालके पचीस हजार मजूरों और किसानोंने भाग लिया था। १६१४ में सरकारको झुकना पड़ा और दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकारको इण्डियन रिलीफ ऐक्ट पास करके

तीन पाँड का कर रद्द करना पड़ा। यह कानून गांधीस्मद्दस समझौतेके अनुसार बना था, जिसमें यह भी व्यवस्था थी कि जो लोग राजीसे देश लौटना चाहें, वे सरकारी खर्च से भेज दिये जायें। पीछे खर्चके सिवा पाँच पाँडका इनाम भी निश्चित किया गया। हिन्दुस्तानियोंको इस तरह प्रलोभन देकर लौटानेके लिये दलाल भी रचे गये और इनामकी रकम बढ़ा कर दस पाँड कर दी गयी। १९२६-२७ में हिन्दुस्तान और दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकारोंके प्रतिनिधियोंने केपटाउन में जो समझौता किया, उसके अनुसार इनाम की रकम बढ़ाकर बीस पाँड कर दी गयी। पहले जो लोग लौटते थे, उन्हें इस मतलबकी एक अर्जी पर सहो करनी पड़ती थी कि हम नेटालमें रहनेका हक सदाके लिये छोड़ रहे हैं, पर केपटाउन के समझौतेमें यह तय हुआ कि जो लोग इनाम और सरकारी खर्च लेकर भारत लौटें वे अगर फिर नेटाल लौटना चाहें तो एक सालके बाद और तीन साल के भीतर लौट सकते हैं, बशर्त्त कि वे इनाम और राह खर्च को पूरी रकम सरकार को लौटा दें और भारतसे अपने खर्चसे नेटाल जायें। प्रत्यक्ष है कि इतनी बड़ी रकम लौटे हुए भारतीयों के पास होगी नहीं, इस लिये उनका पुनः भारत से नेटाल लौटना असम्भवसा है। इसी तरहका विश्वास भारत सरकारके प्रतिनिधियोंने भी दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकारको दिलाया था।

१९२६ के अन्त तक इस स्कीमके अनुसार ६,५७१ भारतीय वहां से लौटे, पर उनमें केवल ७३ आदमी हो फिर नेटाल वापस जा सके हैं ।

जो प्रवासी भाई वहांसे भारत लौट कर आये हैं, उनकी यहां बड़ी दुर्दशा है । यह देश तो वैसे ही संसार भर में सबसे अधिक गरीब है, जिससे लाखों करोड़ों को बेकारीका जीवन बिताना पड़ता है । प्रवासी भाई बहुत दिनोंसे अफ्रिका में रहनेसे अधिक व्यवसाय से जीवन बिताने के आदी बन गये हैं । यहां आकर उनके पास जो कुछ था, वह सब खर्च कर चुके, तब काम की तलाशमें लगे । पर एक तो काम मिलना ही कठिन है, दूसरे मजूरी बहुत कम मिलती है । जहां अफ्रिकामें वे महीनेमें किसी काममें तीन चार पाँड कमा लेते थे, वहां उसी कामके लिये यहां दस पन्द्रह रुपये से अधिक नहीं मिलते । तिस पर भी भारत सरकारने समझौतेमें जो यह शर्त मंजूर की थी कि उक्त स्कीम के अनुसार जो लोग देश लौटेंगे, उनकी यथा संभव सहायता की जायगी, स्वामी भवानी दयाल की रिपोर्टसे स्पष्ट है कि वह उसके अनुसार कार्य नहीं कर रही है । यह इसीसे सिद्ध है कि साढ़े छः हजार लौटे हुए भारतीयोंमें से केवल दो सौ तीन ने ही नौकरी के लिये दरखास्तें दी थीं, पर इतने लोगों के



लिये भी कोई प्रबन्ध नहीं किया जा सका। इस दुर्दशा के सिवा प्रवासी भाई भारतीय समाजके भीतर 'अस्पृश्य' समझे जाते हैं, जिससे वे बहिष्कृत से हैं। इसके कारण अपने देशभाइयों द्वारा भी वे बुरी तरह तिरस्कृत हो रहे हैं। जिस तरह प्रलोभन देकर दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार ने इन भागोंको यहाँ भेजा है, वह ऐसा 'पाप' है, जो अक्षस्तब्ध है। अब ये गरीब लौटना चाहें तो अपने खर्च से पुनः नेटाल नहीं जा सकते, जहाँ ही इनमें से कितने ही जन्मे थे। ऐसी दशा में तो ये बेचारे कहींके नहीं रहे हैं। स्वामी भवानी दयाल जी का कहना है कि सरकारकी ओरसे लौटे हुए प्रवासियोंके लिये जो कुछ इन्तजाम है, वह बिल्कुल नाकाफी है और उसके भरोसे पर देश लौटना प्रवासी भाइयोंके लिये एक जबर्दस्त भूल होगी। हम आशा करते हैं कि उक्त रिपोर्ट से प्रवासी भाइयों की आँखें खुल जायँगी और भविष्य में वे इनाम के प्रलोभन या दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार के दलालोंके बहकावे में फँस कर इस देशको लौटने से रुकेंगे। अगर दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार अपने घृणित स्वार्थकी सिद्धि के लिये ऐसे पापपूर्ण उपाय काम में लाती है, तो कमसे कम भारत सरकार का तो उसमें सहायक न बनना चाहिये और इसके सहायताके आश्वासन पर जो अभाग्ये यहाँ भा चुके हैं, उनके जीवन-निर्वाह की इसे समुचित व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये। यदि इतने आदमियों के लिये भी यह प्रबन्ध नहीं

कर सकती, तो इसका कर्तव्य है कि जितने आदमी एग्रीमेण्ट के अनुसार दक्षिण अफ्रिका को लौट सकते हैं, उन्हें अपने खर्चसे यह पुनः वहां पहुंचा दे। इतना न करने पर भारत सरकार अपने कर्तव्य से पतित होगी, इसमें कुछ भी सन्देह नहीं है।



## आर्यामित्र

आगरा, २८ मई १९३१

भारतवासियों को एक बहुत बड़ी संख्या भारत से बाहर उपनिवेशोंमें बसी हुई है। ये लोग प्रवासी भारतवासी कहलाते हैं। वहां वे मेहनत, मजदूरी, खेती-बाड़ी और बनिज-व्यापार करके अपना निर्वाह कर रहे हैं। दक्षिण, अफ्रिका में नेटाल आदि कई प्रदेश तो ऐसे हैं, जिनको आबाद करने के लिए भांति-भांति के प्रलोभन देकर भारतीय मजदूर भेजे गये हैं। पहले पहल सन् १८६० ई० में भारतीय मजदूर भारत से नेटाल भेजे गये। शर्त यह थी कि वे पांच साल किसी मालिक के अधीन रह कर काम करें, और फिर पांच साल स्वतन्त्र रूप से देशको आबाद करने में मदद दें।

फिर अगर वे चाहें तो सरकारी खर्च से भारतको लौटा दिये जायें। यह 'गिरमिट' प्रथा बहुत दिनों तक जारी रही। करीब-करीब एक लाख मजदूर नेटाल में बस गये और वे अपनी मेहनत से फलने-फूलने लगे। कितनी ही भारतवासियों ने तो बड़े पैमाने पर खेती का काम शुरु कर दिया। अभि-प्राय यह है कि हिन्दुस्तानी किसानों और मजदूरों की मेहनत से नेटाल आबाद हो गया। जहां भर्यंकर जंगल थे, वहां गन्ने की खेती लहकहाने लगी और नाना प्रकारके फलोंके बागीचे लग गए। रेलवे लाइनें खुल गईं। अनेक कारखाने खड़े होगए और सभी प्रकार से उद्योग घन्धोंकी उन्नति हुई। परन्तु नेटाल के गोरे वहां पर भारतवासियों की सस्ती मजदूरी से तो खुश होते थे परन्तु उनका वहां बसना या फूलना फलना उन्हें एक आंख न भाता था। गोरे चाहते थे कि भारतीय मजदूर नेटाल में आवें, सस्ते दामों पर उनके खेतों में काम करें और अपनी 'गिरमिट' की मीयाद बिता कर हाथ हिलाते हुए स्वदेश लौट जावें, अर्थात् उदरपूर्ति के लिए जितना धन आवश्यक है उससे अधिक वे न कमा सकें। ऐसे स्वार्थी गोरो को नेटाल में एक लाख भारतीयों का बस जाना तथा वहां उनको फूलते-फूलते देखना कब सहन हो सकता था! इस समय इन लोगों ने भारतीयों के विरुद्ध षडयंत्र रचा और यह कोशिश की, कि भारतीय मजदूरों के

लिए नेटाल में बसना कठिन हो जाय । इस उद्योग का फल यह निकला कि नेटाल सरकार ने सन् १८६५ ई० में यह कानून बना दिया कि जो भारतीय मज़दूर 'गिरमिट' लिखा कर आवें वे मीयाद बीतने पर सरकारी खर्च से स्वदेश लौट जावें । अगर वे स्वदेश नहीं लौटेंगे और नेटाल में ही बसेंगे तो उनसे फी आदमी तीन पाँण्ड टैक्स वसूल किया जायगा । इस टैक्स ने प्रवासी भारतवासियों की भयंकर दुर्दशा कर दी । स्वर्गीय श्री गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले तो इस टैक्स से अत्यन्त दुखी हुए, और उन्होंने इस विषय पर इतना ज़बर्दस्त आन्दोलन किया, कि सन् १६११ से भारत से मज़दूरों का नेटाल भेजा जाना बंद कर दिया गया । सन् १६१३ में नेटाल में जो सत्याग्रह संग्राम छिड़ा था, उसमें और बातों के सिवाय एक यह भी बात थी, कि तीन पाँड का टैक्स रद्द किया जाय । महात्मा गाँधी इस आन्दोलन के नेता थे । १६१४ ई० में 'गाँधी-स्मट्स' सम्झौते के अनुसार तीन पाँड का टैक्स रद्द कर दिया गया, और यह बात तय हो गई, कि जो लोग अपनी खुशी से भारत लौटना चाहें वे सरकारी खर्च से लौटा दिए जायें । मामला शान्त सा हो गया परन्तु सन् १६२० में ट्रान्सवाल के हिन्दुस्तानियों की ज़मीन और उनके व्यापार की जांच करने के लिए, एक 'एशियाटिक कमीशन' बैठा ।

इस कमीशन ने उपनिवेशों में भारतीयों की तादाद कम करने के विचार से यह भी 'फूतवा' दे दिया कि स्वदेश लौटने वाले भारतवासियों को मार्गव्यय देने के अतिरिक्त सरकार पांच पौण्ड इनाम भी दिया करे। बहुत से अपढ़-कुपढ़ भारी इस पांच पौण्ड इनाम के लोभ में पड़कर अपने बाल-बच्चों सहित भारत लौटने लगे। परन्तु अब सरकारने देखा कि पांच पौण्ड के लोभ में अधिक भारतवासी नहीं फलते, तो इनाम की रकम दस पौण्ड और फिर १६२७ में बीस पौण्ड करदी गई। साथ ही यह भी तय कर दिया गया कि जो लोग बीस पौण्ड इनाम लेकर सरकारी खर्च से स्वदेश वापस जायें वे अगर लौटना चाहें तो एक साल के बाद और तीन साल के अन्दर दक्षिण अफ्रिका लौट सकते हैं परन्तु इस सूरत में इनाम और मार्ग-व्यय की रकम सरकारको वापस करनी पड़ेगी और लौटने वालों को अपने परिवार के साथ लौटना पड़ेगा। इसका मतलब यह हुआ, कि नेटाल को फिर लौटने वाले भारतवासी पहले हजारों रुपये का इन्तजाम करलें, तब उधर जाने का नाम लें। फिर पूरे परिवार को साथ लेकर जायें अकेले-दुकेले नहीं। नेटाल सरकार की ओर से लगाई हुई इन सब अड़चनों का यही अभिप्राय है कि जो प्रवासी भारतीय बीस पौण्ड इनाम के प्रलोभन में पड़ कर स्वदेश लौट आवे वह फिर नेटालकी

ओर मुंह भी न कर सके। इस समझौते में, भारत सरकार ने यह शर्त मंजूर की है कि जो लोग २० पौण्ड का इनाम ले कर दक्षिण अफ्रिका से स्वदेश लौट आवेंगे भारत सरकार उनकी यथा सम्भव सहायता करेगी, परन्तु सरकार अपने इस वायदे को पूरा नहीं कर रही है। जो लोग बीस पौण्ड के चक्कर में पड़कर लौट आए, उनको दुर्दशा का ठिकाना नहीं है। सन् १९२६ के अन्त तक इस “ इनामी स्कीम ” के अनुसार ६,५७१ भारतवासी भारत में आ गए। इनमें से सरकारी खर्च लौटाकर अपने खर्चसे फिर नेटाल जाने वालों को तादाद केवल ७३ है, अर्थात् सैकड़ों पीछे डेढ़ आदमी। जो लोग यह कहते हैं, कि नेटाल सरकारने भारतवासियों को अपने यहां फिर आने से रोक नहीं रक्खा है वे उक्त अंकों पर आंखें खोल कर विचार करें। जितने प्रवासी भाई भारत में लौटे हैं, उनको आर्थिक अवस्था अत्यन्त शोचनीय हो गई है। ये लोग बीस (इनाम) रुपया और कमाई हुई पूंजी समाप्त करके नौकरी के लिए निकलते हैं। प्रथम तो भारतमें वैसे ही बेकारों की बहुत बड़ी तादाद है, इसलिये प्रवासियों को नौकरी मिलनी ही कठिन हो जाती है। अगर किसी को नौकरी मिल भी गई तो उसमें उनका निर्वाह नहीं हो पाता। क्योंकि जहां किसी काम के लिए नेटाल में (५०), (६०) मासिक मिल जाते थे, यहां उसी काम के लिए उन्हें

१०), १५) से अधिक नहीं मिलते । जिस श्रेणी के मजदूर नेटाल में बड़े मजे में गुजर कर सकते हैं, उसी दर्जेके मजदूर को यहां चना—चबैना चबा कर रहना पड़ता है । कलकत्ते के मटियाबुर्ज में ऐसे अनेक अभागे प्रवासी भाई मौजूद हैं, भारत में आकर जिनके दृष्ट-पुष्ट शरीर केवल कफाल के रूपमें परिणत हो गये हैं । ये बेचारे घोर दुःख का अनुभव कर रहे हैं । इनके रहन-सहन और खान-पान की व्यवस्था बहुत ही शोचनीय है । जिस भारत सरकार ने, इन लौटे हुए भारतवासियों के लिए, यथा-सम्भव नौकरी दिलाने का वादा किया था, वह भी अपने वचनों पर दृढ़ नहीं रह सका । नेटाल से लौटी हुई स्त्रियों के तन पर कपड़े तक नहीं हैं, छोटे-छोटे बच्चे भोज मांगते फिरते हैं, कितनी ही लड़कियां पापी पेट के लिए अपनी इज्जत तक बेच रही हैं । यह है बोल पौण्ड के चक्करमें पड़कर भारत लौटने का परिणाम । इनकी सामाजिक अवस्था भी बहुत बुरी है । जो प्रवासी भाई भारत में आते हैं, उन्हें उनकी विरादरियां लेने को तैयार नहीं होती, दूर ही से उनका वहिष्कार किया जाता है । जिन भारतवासियों का जन्म ही प्रवास में हुआ है, उनकी तो और भी कमवस्ती है । इन सब बातों का मतलब यह है कि दक्षिण, अफ्रिका की सरकार यह चाहती है कि हिन्दुस्तानके सस्ते मजदूर उपनिवेशोंमें आकर गोपेंकी गु-

लामी तो बूबू करें, परन्तु वे वहाँ बस कर सुखमय जीवन न बिताने पावें। उनका वहाँ कोई किसी प्रकार का अधिकार न हो और वे मार्ग व्यय तथा बीस पौण्ड इनाम के प्रपंच में पड़ कर सदा-सर्वदा के लिए भारत भेज दिए जायं।

दक्षिण अफ्रिका से विदा होते समय वहाँ के प्रवासी भाइयों ने पूज्य स्वामी भवानी दयाल जी संन्यासी से प्रार्थना की थी, कि वे हिन्दुस्तान पहुँच कर सरकारी खर्च से स्वदेश लौटने वाले भाइयों की जांच करें। स्वामीजी भारतमें आकर तीन महीने तक बराबर इस काममें लगे रहे, आपने चार हजार मील से अधिक की रेल में यात्रा की, हजारों लौट्टे हुए भाइयों से मुलाकात और बातचीत की और उनको दशो अपनी आंखों से देखी। स्वामी जी ने श्रद्धेय पं० बनारसी दास चतुर्वेदी के सहयोग से अंगरेजीमें एक विस्तृत रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की है। इस रिपोर्ट में यह बात भले प्रकार बताई गई है कि जो प्रवासी भाई मातृभूमि के दर्शन के लिये आना चाहते हैं, वे खुशी से आवें और स्वदेश से अपना सम्बन्ध भी बनाए रखें। परन्तु स्थायी रूप से हिन्दुस्तान में बसने के लिए किसीको कदापि नहीं आना चाहिये। अगर किसी की तथियत नैटाल या अन्य टापू से विलकुल ऊब गई हो और हिन्दुस्तान में बसने की ही उसको इच्छा हो, तो पहले उसे अबैला ही आना चाहिये और यहाँ की हालत देख कर तथा



बसावट का बन्दोबस्त करके तब बाल-बच्चों को बुलाना चाहिये। जन्म प्रवासी बच्चों का यहाँ लाना तो अत्यन्त अनुचित है। ऐसे जो हजारों बच्चे टापुओं से लौटे हैं, उनमें से यहाँ एक भी सुखी नहीं है। पूज्य स्वामी जी कहते हैं, कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका के प्रत्येक पढ़े लिखे मनुष्य को, इस भारत प्रत्यागमन के विरुद्ध आन्दोलन करना चाहिये। इसी साल के अन्तमें दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार हिन्दुस्तानियों को बाहर निकाल देने पर पुनः विचार करने वालो है सम्भव है, उस समय इनाम को रकम और भी बढ़ा दी जाय, इस लिए जरूरत इस बात की है, कि इस विषय में इतना प्रचार किया जाय कि एक भी प्रवासी भाई नेटालसे भात लौटने का नाम भी न ले। दक्षिण अफ्रिका को सरकार पर चारों ओर से यह दबाव डालना चाहिये, कि वह देश लौटने की प्रथा को उठा दे। साल के अन्त में होने वालो इस कॉन्फ़ेस को रोकने के लिये भात में जनवरी आन्दोलन होना चाहिये। स्वामी जी ने अपनी रिपोर्ट में और भी ऐसी ही अनेक बातें लिखी हैं। परन्तु सबसे अधिक बल इसी बात पर दिया है, कि कोई भी प्रवासी भातवासी सरकारी इनाम के चक्कर में पड़ कर स्वदेश लौटने की गलती न करे। अगर करेगा तो उसे लौटे हुए हजारों अन्य प्रवासी भातियों की भांति बुरी तरह पछताना पड़ेगा। मातृ-भूमि से प्रेम-

सम्बन्ध बनाए रखने की आवश्यकता है, परन्तु जीविका के लिए जहां अच्छी सुविधा हो, वहीं रहना चाहिये । भारत बेकारोंका बन बना हुआ है, लोग भूखों मर रहे हैं, अपनी अच्छी जीविका त्याग कर भुक्खड़ों की तादाद बढ़ाना भयंकर भूल है । स्वामी भवानी दयाल जी सन्ध्याली और पं० बनारसी दास चतुर्वेदी ने ऐसी योग्यता पूर्ण विस्तृत रिपोर्ट लिखकर प्रवासी भाइयों की सचमुच अमूल्य सेवा की है । प्रत्येक प्रवासी भाई को इसका ध्यान पूर्वक अध्ययन करना चाहिये । और सरकारी इनाम के फेर में पड़ स्वदेश लौटने की बात भूल जानी चाहिये । इस रिपोर्ट में भारतसरकार द्वारा नियुक्त उस कमीशन की रिपोर्ट का भी सयौक्तिक प्रतिवाद किया गया है, जिसमें लौटे हुए भारतवासियों की दशा को सन्तोषजनक बता कर व्यर्थ लोपा-पोती करने की चेष्टा की गई है । हमारी सम्मति में यह रिपोर्ट प्रत्येक भारत हितचिन्तक और प्रवासी भाइयोंसे प्रेम रखने वाले भाई को अवश्य पढ़नी चाहिए ।



# लोकमान्य

कलकत्ता, जेष्ठ शुक्ला ४, १९८८

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जो परिस्थिति के प्रभाव में पड़ कर देश से बाहर चले गये; जिन्हें किस्मत को ठोकरोंने स्वदेश से बाहर हजारों मील दूर ब्रिटिश उप-निवेशों में जा फेंका था जिन्हें दुनियां के हौसलों ने अपने देश से अलग होने को मजबूर किया उनके दिलों में भी स्वाभाविक स्वदेश प्रेमकी उमंगे मौजूद हैं। उन्हें भी अपनी मातृभूमि से अटूट प्रेम है। उनके दिलों में स्वदेश दर्शन के अरमान मौजूद हैं। और जिन प्रवासियों की नसोंमें भारतीय रक्त दौड़ रहा है पर जिन्दगी में जिन्हें कभी अपने माता पिता के देशके दर्शन नहीं हुए वे भी यहां आने को तरसते रहते हैं। ऐसा होना स्वाभाविक है। इसी लिये उन्हें जब यहां आने का मौका मिलता है तो मातृभूमि के दर्शन के लिये वे व्याकुल हो उठते हैं। अपने देश में आकर फिर यहां जीवन बिताना अहोभाग्य समझते हैं। पर यहां आकर उनको जो दया होती है, उन्हें जो मुसीबतें उठानी पड़ती हैं, उन्हें जो सिद्धते भंगलनी पड़ती हैं वह किसी भी सभ्य देश के लिये, सभ्य जाति के लिये और सभ्य सरकारके लिये नितान्त लज्जा की बात है।

हम केवल अनुमान के आधार पर ऐसा नहीं कहते। यह किसी ख्याली दुनियां की बात नहीं है। किसी विकृत दिमाग की उपज नहीं है। जो कलकत्ते के विशाल भवनों में बैठे छल से दिन काट रहे हैं उन्हें क्या मालूम, जो आलीशान इमारतों में स्वर्गीय छलका अनुभव कर रहे हैं उन्हें क्या मालूम कि उनके बगल में हो उनके इसी शहर के किनारे मटियाबुर्ज में उपनिवेशों से लौट हुए सैकड़ों प्रवासी बन्धु किस प्रकार नर्क की यातनाएं सह रहे हैं, दो जखकी आग में झुलस रहे हैं। ऐसे लोगों से हो नहीं, सारे देश के सभ्य समाज से हमारा यह अनुरोध है कि स्वामी भवानो दयाल जी खंन्यासो और “ विशाल भारत ” सम्पादक पं० बनारसी दास जो चतुर्वेदी ने इस नर्ककुण्डका जो विवरण निकाला है उसे पढ़ने का कष्ट उठायें। उन्हें यह जानकर आश्चर्य होगा कि ये बेचारे गरीब प्रवासी बन्धु कैसे इन भोपड़ियों में—ऐसे स्थान में जहाँ न सफाई का नाम है न गन्दगी को सीमा—कैसे रहते हैं। उन्हें ताज्जुब होगा यह जान कर कि जहाँ कूड़ा—करकट, गढ़े पनाले और मलेरिया फैलाने वाले मच्छड़ों का राज्य है वहाँ वे कैसे जिन्दगी की घड़ियां काट रहे हैं। बेचारे गरीबों के पास न तो खानेको अन्न है, न पहननेको कपड़े और न रहने को घर कहाने लायक घर। ऐसी दशा में इनके पुचके पुचके गाल, भीतर घसी हुई आंख और रोढ़ से सटे हुए पेटको देख कर इस लिये आश्चर्य नहीं होता कि उनकी ऐसी दशा कैसे हुई बल्कि आश्चर्य तो इस बात का होता है कि अब तक वे जीवित ही कैसे हैं। क्या स्वदेशानुराग का यही फल है? स्वदेश प्रेम का यही प्रायश्चित्त है?

इनकी ऐसी दशा क्यों और कैसे हुई। प्रवासी भारतीय सहायक समिति के मंत्री मि० ए० ई० जेन्स का काना है कि—“सदैव लौटे हुए बहुतसे प्रवासी जब अपने गाँवमें जाते हैं तो समाज उनका बहिष्कार करता है, यहाँके समाजकी रहन सहन से इनकी रहन सहन यहाँ मिलती और निराश होकर काम-काज की तलाश में ये कतकत्त आकर मटियाबुर्ज में शरण लेते हैं। यहाँ काम तो मिलता हो नहीं, दिल टूक-टूक हो जाता है और किसी तरह अपनी जिन्दगी बितते हैं। कितने ही लोग तो इस आशा में यहाँ पहुँचते हैं कि कहीं कभी कित्ती जहाजमें फिर यहाँ से लौट जानेका मौका मिले तो इस कष्ट से रिहा हो लूँगे। पर ऐसा बर्हाने का !” जब ये अपने उपनिवेशोंमें रहते थे तो इनके रोटी का ठिकाना था; पालमें कुछ पीसे भी थे पर सब कुछ लेकर जब यहाँ पहुँचे तो जहाज पर; स्टेशनपर, शहर की सड़कों पर जिस किसीने चाहा, इनसे पीसे घुँठ लिये। जो कुछ इसके बाद भी रह गया तो कुम्भगति में पद कर शराब—कबाब में लुटाये, अब दूर दूर मार फिरोते हैं। अब ये न यहाँके रहे न वहाँके। न घरके रहे न बाहरके।

इनकी ऐसी शोचनीय दशाको बहुत बड़ी जिम्मेदारी भारत सरकार पर है जिसने अब तक प्रवासियोंकी इस प्रकार यहाँ भेजनेकी नीतिका विरोध नहीं किया है; जिसने अब तक इनके कष्टोंको दूर करने का कोई समुचित प्रबन्ध नहीं किया है। इस नर्कसे इनके उद्धार का एक ही रास्ता रह गया है। सरकारका कर्तव्य स्पष्ट है। उसे इन्हें शीघ्र पीसे उपनिवेश में भेजने की व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये, जहाँ इनकी गुजर हो सके। और साथ ही

उपनिवेशोंमें भो प्रवासियोंको यहां भेजनेकी नीतिके विरुद्ध प्रचण्ड आन्दोलन होना चाहिये जिससे कोई बन्धु फिर अज्ञानवश ऐसी गलती न करे। सरकार यदि इस ओर ध्यान नहीं देती तो क्या देश सुपचाप यह देखता रहेगा? सरकारको इसके प्रतिकारके लिये मजबूर करना क्या उसका कर्तव्य नहीं है। पर साथ ही हम कतकता कार्पोरेशनका ध्यान भो इस ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहते हैं, मद्रियाबुर्जको यह नारकीय दशा कार्पोरेशनके नामपर कतकते डोकाके समान है। कमते कम वहांकी गंदगीको दूर कर उसे मनुष्यके रहने लायक तो यह बना हो सकता है। क्या वर्तमान खयातनामा डाऊर मेयर भो इस ओर ध्यान न देते ?



## मत्काला

मिजापुर, २० जून १९३१

बिहार प्रान्त से श्री भवानी दयाल जो संन्यासी ने हमारे पास भारतमें लौटे हुए प्रवासी हिन्दुस्तानियों की अवस्था के विषयमें एक छपी हुई रिपोर्ट भेजी है। कहना नहीं होगा कि उक्त रिपोर्ट में दक्षिण अफ्रिका से लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारतीयों की परिस्थितियों पर जो कुछ भी प्रकाश डाला गया है, वह सहसा लोमहर्षक और हृदय दहला देने वाला है! जब नेटाल को आवाद करनेकी आवश्यकता हुई तब हिन्दुस्तान से मजदूरों का मांग की गई। इसका परिणाम यह हुआ

कि सन् १८६० ई० में पहले पहल भारतीय मजदूर यहाँ से नेटाल गये। उनके साथ सरकारी शर्त यह थी कि वे पांच साल किसी मालिक के अधीन रह कर काम करें और फिर पांच साल स्वतन्त्र रूप से देश को आबाद करने में मदद पहुँचावें। इसके बाद वे चाहते तो सरकारी खर्च से देश लौटा दिये जाते थे। सन् १८६० से १८६५ ई० तक यही व्यवस्था रही। बीच में दो बार हिन्दुस्तान से मजदूरों का मंगाना बन्द भी किया गया परन्तु इससे नेटाल के गोरे प्लान्टरों में हाय तौबा मच जाती थी और नेटाल की सरकारको भारतीय मजदूरों को मंगाने पर विवश होना पड़ता था।

सन् १८६५ ई० तक नेटाल में लगभग एक लाख भारतीय मजदूर बस चुके थे। भारतीय मजदूर की यह तादाद देखकर नेटाल की गोरी सरकार को भय होने लगा। कारण स्पष्ट है। ब्रिटिश साम्राज्य के बँभव के उपभोग करने के अधिकारी गोरे हैं, भारतीय नहीं। अतः सन् १८६५ ई० में नेटाल सरकार ने यह क़ानून बनाया कि आगे से जो भारतीय मजदूर पांच साल की गिरमिट लिखा कर आवें, वे मियाद पूरे हो जाने पर सरकारी खर्च से देश लौट जावें। उनके भारत न लौटने तथा नेटाल में बसने पर प्रति मनुष्य तीन पौण्ड ( उस समय के दर के अनुसार ४५ रुपये ) टैक्स रक्खा गया। इस टैक्स के कारण नेटाल में बसने वाले भारतीय मजदूर

की जो भयानक दशा हुई उसका उल्लेख भारतीय मजदूरों की करुण-कथाओं का एक दयनीय अध्याय है। उपरोक्त टैक्स औरतों, मर्दों, सोलह साल अथवा उससे अधिक के लड़कों और तेरह साल तथा उससे अधिक की लड़कियों के सिर मढ़ा गया। इस पैशाचिक कानून के विरुद्ध स्वर्गीय श्री गोपाल कृष्ण गोखले ने ज़बर्दस्त आन्दोलन किया जिसके फल स्वरूप सन् १९११ ई० में भारतीय मजदूरों का नेटाल भेजा जाना बन्द कर दिया गया।

सन् १९१३ ई० में संसारके सर्वश्रेष्ठ पुरुष महात्मा गांधी के अधिनायकत्व में नेटाल में सत्याग्रह संग्राम छेड़ा गया, जिसमें अन्य बातों के अतिरिक्त उपर्युक्त तीन पौण्ड वाले टैक्स के रद्द करने की भी बात थी। नेटाल की सरकार को इस सत्याग्रह आन्दोलन के कारण दबना पड़ा तथा गांधी-स्मट्स समझौते के अनुसार उपर्युक्त टैक्स बन्द कर दिया गया।

सन् १९२० ई० में ट्रांसवाल के हिन्दुस्तानियों को भूमि तथा व्यापार के सम्बन्ध में जांच करने के लिए एक एशियाटिक-कमीशन बैठा। इस कमीशन के सामने जांच का जो काम था उसके अतिरिक्त उसने इस बात की भी घोषणा की कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका से हिन्दुस्तानियों की तादाद घटाने के लिए देश लौटने वाले भारतीयों को राह खर्च के अतिरिक्त पांच



पोण्ड पुरस्कार भी मिलेगा । सन् १९२० ई० से इस घोषणा के अनुसार काम आरम्भ कर दिया गया । इन कार्यों के लिये सरकार की ओर से अलग एक विभाग खोला गया, एक खास अफसर मुकर्रर हुआ और अपढ़ भारतीयों को फुसला कर देश लौटाने के लिए कुछ हिन्दुस्तानी दलाल भी तैनात हुए । परिणाम स्वरूप बहुत से अपढ़ भारतीय पांच पोण्ड के पुरस्कार के लालच से अपने धौरतों-बच्चों के साथ देश लौटने लगे । इसके विरुद्ध प्रयासों भारतीयों ने आन्दोलन प्रारम्भ किया । इस आन्दोलन के द्वारा जब भारत में लौटने वालों की संख्या बिल्कुल घट गई तब सरकार ने इनाम की रकम पांच पोण्ड से बढ़ा कर दस पोण्ड कर दी । इसका फल यह हुआ कि रुपये के लोममें पड़कर हजारों भौले-भाले भारतवासियों ने न केवल नेटाल छोड़ कर अपने पैरों में ही कुलड़ाड़ी मारी, वरन् नेटाल में जन्मे हुए अपने बच्चों के जीवन भी नष्ट कर दिये ।

सन् १९२६ ई० के अन्त और सन् १९२७ ई० के प्रारम्भमें भारत और दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकारों के प्रतिनिधियों ने केपटाउन की गोलमेज कान्फरेन्स में बैठ कर समझौता किया । इस समझौते के अनुसार जो लोग अपनी खुशी से भारत में लौटना चाहें, उन्हें राह खर्च के अतिरिक्त प्रति मनुष्य पांच पोण्डके हिसाब से भारतमें बसने के लिए सहायता

दी जाती है। यदि वे पुनः दक्षिण अफ्रिका लौटना चाहें तो एक साल के बाद और तीन साल के भीतर लौट सकते हैं। परन्तु ऐसा करने पर उन्हें भारत लौटने के समय मिले हुए पुरस्कार के बीस पौण्डके साथ ही आनेके समयका सरकारी राह-खर्च भी सरकारको वापस देना पड़ेगा तथा उन्हें अपने खर्च से जाना पड़ेगा। इतना ही रहता तो कोई बात न थी। उन्हें अपने परिवार के सभी व्यक्तियोंके साथ जाना पड़ेगा। ऐसा नहीं कि कुछ लोग भारतमें रह जायं और कुछ दक्षिण अफ्रिका में चले जायं। इसका अर्थ यह है कि न उन्हें सब प्राणियों के लिए सुदूर अफ्रिका जाने का खर्च जुटेगा और न वे वहां जा ही सकेंगे। अस्तु।

सन् १९३० के मार्च तक समझौते की इस नयी स्कीमके अनुसार ६ हजार, ५ सौ, ७१ पुरुष स्त्री और बच्चे सरकारी खर्च से भारत में आए, जिनमें सरकारी खर्च लौटाकर यहां से अपने खर्च पर पुनः वापस जाने वालों की संख्या केवल ७३ ही है। तात्पर्य यह कि इस समझौते के कारण सैकड़ों डेढ़ मनुष्य भी दक्षिण अफ्रिका वापस न हो सके।

दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार आज वर्षों से हिन्दुस्तानियों की संख्या घटाने की कोशिश कर रही है। सन् १९१४ ई० के "इण्डियन" रीलीफ ऐक्ट के बाद और सन् १९२६ ई० तक बीस हजार से अधिक हिन्दुस्तानी अफ्रिका से स्वदेश

वापस आ चुके हैं। केवल चार वर्षों में अर्थात् १९२२-२३ से लेकर १९२६-२७ ई० तक दक्षिण अफ्रिका की युनियन सरकार ने हिन्दुस्तानियों को देश वापस करने में ३६ हजार पाउण्ड खर्च किया है। इतना प्रचुर धन दक्षिण अफ्रिका से भारतवासियों को निकालने की विपैली नीति के कारण ही व्यय किया गया है। केपटाउन-समझौते के बाद तो यह खर्च बहुत ही अधिक बढ़ गया, कारण डरघन डीपो से लेकर प्रत्यागत भारतवासी को अपने गांव तक लौटने के राह-खर्च के अतिरिक्त प्रति मनुष्य बीस पाउण्ड और प्रति-बच्चा दस पाउण्ड इनाम दिया जा रहा है। इस नयी स्कीम के अनुसार लग-भग साढ़े सात हजार मनुष्य भारतमें वापस आ चुके हैं।

केपटाउन समझौते में भारत सरकार ने यह बचन दिया था कि वह लौटनेवाले भारतवासियों को यथा संभव सहायता देगी। इस सहायता का कार्यसम्पादन करनेके लिये बम्बई में पुलिस कमिश्नर, बिहार और उड़ीसा में डायरेक्टर औफ़ इन्डस्ट्रीज़, युक्तप्रान्त में रजिस्ट्रार-औफ़-कोओपरेटिव सोसाइ-टीज़, कलकत्ता में प्रोटेक्टर औफ़ इमिग्रान्ट्स और मद्रासमें स्पेशल अफसर मुकरर हुए हैं। परन्तु ये लोग केवल मिट्टीके पुतले की भांति हैं। बम्बई के पुलिस कमिश्नर 'बोनस' को रकम बांटने तथा लौटे हुए प्रवासियों को अपने घर जाने के लिये रैड-टिकट कटा देने

के लिये और कुछ भी नहीं करते । यही अवस्था कलकत्ता के प्रोटेक्टर की है । कलकत्ता में लौटे हुए सैकड़ों प्रवासी भूखों मर रहे हैं । उनके तनको ढंकने के लिए पर्याप्त चीथड़े भी नहीं, फिर भी न तो उनके बसाने के लिए और न उन्हें नौकरी दिलाने का कोई समुचित प्रवन्ध किया जा रहा है । बिहार और युक्तप्रान्त के अधिकारियों के सम्बन्ध में इतना ही कहना पर्याप्त है कि इन्हें यह साबित करना कठिन है कि इन्होंने एक भी परिवार की सहायता की है । मद्रास की अवस्था यह है कि वहां सन् १९३० ई० के मार्च तक ५३२६ आदमी आए, जिनमें केवल २०३ आदिमियोंने नौकरी पाने की दरखास्त दी थी; परन्तु इतने थोड़े आदिमियों के बारे में भी वहां कोई प्रवन्ध न हो सका और इनमें बहुत से लोग मारे मारे फिर रहे हैं ।

इस प्रकार दक्षिण अफ्रिका से लौटने वाले प्रवासी सहस्रों की संख्या में भूखों मर रहे हैं । उनकी अवस्था हृदयविदारक है । वे मद्रास और कलकत्ता के गन्दे मुहल्लों के ऐसे घरों में रहते हैं, जिन से मुर्गी के दर्बे कहीं अच्छे हैं । परन्तु उन घरों का किराया न चुकाने के कारण मकान के मालिकों ने कितने प्रवासियों को निकाल बाहर कर दिया है । उनमें बहुतों ने तो दूसरे घर किराये पर लेने की हिम्मत ही छोड़ दी है । अब वे पेड़ों के नीचे बसते हैं और बर्षा के दिनों में

कहीं किसी बरामदे की शरण ले लेते हैं। कितनी लड़कियों की यह अवस्था है कि कपड़े बिना वे आधो नंगी हो रही हैं और बीस पाउण्ड के लालच पर आने वाले अपने माता-पिता को कोस रही हैं। छोटे छोटे बच्चे कलकत्ता की सड़कों पर मुर्झायी हुई सूरत लेकर पेट की अग्नि शान्त करने के लिये भीख मांगते फिरते हैं। एक महाशय की लड़की जिन्होंने सिडनम में हिन्दू-मन्दिर बनवाया था, अपने छोटे भाई को लेकर कहीं भाग गई। अन्य कई लड़कियाँ पेटके लिये अपना सतीत्व बेचती फिरती हैं। एक मकान मालिक तो एक प्रवासी से किरायेमें उसकी जवान लड़की मांगता था। मकान मालिक मुसलमान और किरायेदार हिन्दू था। एक ब्राह्मण स्त्री अपने पेट की आग शान्त करने के लिए अपने कई बच्चों के सहित एक मुसलमान के साथ कहीं चली गई।

देश की छाती पर दग्धिता का यह ताण्डव-नृत्य हो रहा है और सरकार तथा अमागे भारतवासी, दोनों ही अपने कानों में तेल डाल कर और अपनी आंखों पर परदा देकर चुपचाप पड़े हुए हैं! सरकार के सम्बन्ध में हमें कुछ नहीं कहना है; कारण सरकार विदेशी है और दक्षिण अफ्रिका से हिन्दु-स्तानियों को निकालने में उसका हित है; क्योंकि इस प्रकार वह वहाँ के वाणिज्य, कृषि और शासन का सारा प्रभुत्व अपने गोरे भाई-बन्धुओं को सौंप सकेगी। तात्पर्य यह कि

चाहे प्रवासो भारतीय भारत में आकर दरिद्रता के कारण विष खालें अथवा अपनी लड़कियों तथा औरतों का सतीत्व बेचते फिरें। उनके किसी भी कार्य से सरकार का कुछ बनने-बिगड़ने का नहीं। सरकार का उद्देश्य तो केवल इसी बात में सघना है कि वह किसी भी उचित-अनुचित तरीके को काम में लाकर दक्षिण अफ्रिका को हिन्दुस्तानियों से खाली कर दे। स्वर्गीय जनरल बोथा से लेकर जनरल स्मट्स, जनरल हार्ट्जोग और डाक्टर मलान तक ने सरकार के उद्देश्य को स्पष्ट शब्दों में व्यक्त किया है कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका किसी न किसी प्रकार हिन्दुस्तानियों से खाली हो जाना चाहिए।

परन्तु इस सम्बन्ध में हम भारतीयों का उत्तरदायित्व गुस्तर है। यह केवल प्रवासी भाइयों की ही समस्या नहीं वरन् सभी भारतवासियों की समस्या है। यहां प्रश्न यह है कि क्या ३५ करोड़ की आबादी के सुख-दुख में दक्षिण अफ्रिका से आए हुए उनके तीस सहस्र देशवासी सम्मिलित नहीं हो सकते? क्या कांग्रेस दक्षिण अफ्रिका से आए हुए उन तीस सहस्र भारतवासियों की समस्याओं को सुलझाने का प्रयत्न नहीं कर सकती, जो न केवल उनके देशवासियों हैं, वरन् जिनके अस्तित्व से उनका अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय महत्व स्थापित है? क्या हिन्दू जाति के कर्णधार और सारे देश को हिन्दू

सभाएँ काउन्सिल और एसेम्बलो में हिन्दुहित का बोझ लेकर अपनी नाक कटवायेंगी अथवा उनमें अत्र भी इतना पुरुषार्थ रह गया है कि लगभग तीस सहस्र राम-नाम लेवाओं को एक ओर दरिद्रता और दूसरी ओर सामाजिक बहिष्कार के अत्याचारों के कारण विधर्मी होने से रोक सकती है ? भारत में आए हुए प्रवासी भारतवासियों को यह समस्या हमारी दृष्टि में भारतकी स्वतन्त्रता की समस्या से कितनी प्रकार कम महत्वपूर्ण नहीं है। और जब हम अपने उन ३० सहस्र भाइयों का समूचित प्रबन्ध कर सकें तो हमारे सामने केवल दो ही प्रश्न रह जाते हैं। पहला यह कि प्रचार द्वारा दक्षिण अफ्रिका से यहां बसने के विचार से आनेवाले भारतीयों को तब तक आने से रोकने का प्रयत्न करें जब तक देशपूर्ण स्वतन्त्र न हो जाय। दूसरा यह कि हम उस देश को सरकार को इस बातके लिये मजबूर कर दें कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका से इस देश में आने वाले भारतवासी यदि पुनः वहां लौटना चाहें तो भारत सरकार अपने खर्च से उन्हें वहां पुनः वापस कर दे। साथ ही भारतवासी आन्दोलन के द्वारा इस प्रयत्न में लग जाय कि केपटाउन के समझौते पर पुनर्विचार करने के लिये जिस राउन्ड टेबल कानफरेन्स की योजना हो रही है वह तब तक के लिए स्थगित कर दी जाय जब तक भारत में फेडरल पार्लियामेन्ट न स्थापित हो जाय।

## स्वाधीन-भारत

कलकत्ता, १५ मई १९३१

भारत अङ्गरेजोंके लिये सब तरह से शोषण की सामग्री बन चुका है। भारतीय व्यापार चौपट कर लंकाशायरका माल यहां खपाया गया। यहां का कच्चा माल ले जाकर यूरोप में बेचा गया। इतने हो में सन्तोष नहीं हुआ तब भारतीय जन बल का दुरुपयोग करना आरम्भ किया गया। दक्षिण अफ्रिका के जङ्गलों को जब ब्रिटेन ने अपने राज्यान्तर्गत कर लिया तब उसको बसाने की सूझी। अङ्गरेजों की जो अवस्था आज है वह उस समय न थी। खेती-किसानी और मजूरी करने वालों की संख्या बहुत कम थी इस लिये सन् १८६० में भारत सरकार की सहायता से नेटालको सरकार ने भारत से मजूरीको आमदनी आरम्भ कर दी। इन से यह शर्त होती थी कि ५ वर्ष तक किसी मालिक के यहां काम करना होगा और फिर ५ वर्ष स्वतन्त्र रूप से रहना होगा। इसके बाद अगर ये चाहेंगे तो सरकारी खर्च से भारत लौटा दिये जायेंगे। मतलब यह कि १० वर्ष तक रह कर कौन लौटेगा, यहीं बस जायेंगे और वीरान जंगल आवाद हो जाय-



ने। भारत यों ही गरीब हो रहा है। उस पर स्वार्थी दलालों के बहकावे में आकर हजारों भाई गिरगिट की प्रथा से दक्षिण अफ्रिका पहुंच गये। १८६५ तक वहां एक लाख भारतवासी बस गये बीचमें कुछ समयके लिए कूली प्रथा भी स्थगित कर दी गयी। पर गोरों के बाबैला मचाने पर फिर वहां कुली भेजे जाने लगे। पर भारतवासियों की बढ़ती हुई बस्तो को देख कर नेटाल वाले घबड़ाये और यह नियम बनाया कि ५ वर्ष बाद जो सरकारो खर्च से भारत नहीं लौट जायंगे उन्हें ३ पौ० के हिसाबसे टैक्स देना होगा। यह जजिया १३ वर्ष से ऊपर लड़की और १६ वर्ष के ऊपर लड़के पर लागू हुआ। इस से प्रवासी भाइयों को बड़ो कठिनाई का सामना करना पड़ा और उनकी दयनीय दशा देख स्वर्गीय गोखले महोदय के आन्दोलनके फल से १९११ से कुली प्रथा बन्द हो गयी।

सन् १९१३ में नेटाल में सत्याग्रह की लड़ाई छिड़ी और उसमें भारतीयों की और शर्तों में यह ३ पौंड का जजिया उठा देने की शर्त भी थी। एक वर्ष के कठिन सत्याग्रहसमर के बाद नेटाल सरकारको जजिया उठा देनेको बाध्य होना पड़ा। और यह तय हो गया कि जो खुशो से स्वदेश लौट जाना चाहें सरकार उन्हें भेज देगी।

इधर ज्यों ज्यों प्रवासी भाइयों की संख्या वहां बढ़ने लगी त्यों त्यों नये उपायों का आविष्कार होने लगा। १९२०

में यह घोषणा हुई कि जो लोग स्वदेश जाना चाहेंगे सरकार उन्हें अपने खर्च से भारत पहुंचा देने के सिवाय ५ पाँड इनाम भी देगी। बहुतेरे भाई लौटे पर यहां उनकी बड़ी बुरी दशा रही। इस से फिर आन्दोलन हुआ और सरकारने इनाम की रकम बढ़ा कर १० पाँड और फिर २० पाँड तक कर दी। परन्तु २० पाँड लेने वालों के लिए दिखाने के लिये यह भी नियम किया गया कि अगर वे १ वर्ष से ३ वर्ष के अन्दर दक्षिण अफ्रिका लौटना चाहें तो उन्हें अपने सब बालबच्चोंके साथ लौटना पड़ेगा सरकारी इनाम और खर्च वापस देना होगा। और फिर नेटाल जानेके लिये अपनी गांठ के टके खर्च करना पड़ेगा। अर्थात् काहे को ६ मन तेल होगा और काहे को राधा नाचेंगे। १९२६ तक ६,५७१ औरत-मर्द वहां से भारत लौटे जिनमें केवल ७३ वापस गये इसी से स्पष्ट है कि सरकारकी चाल चल गयी।

परन्तु जो प्रवासो भाई भारत आये उनकी दशा और भी अधिक दुर्दशा ग्रस्त हो गयी। एक तो वर्षों बाद वे स्वदेश लौटे, दूसरे जाति-पांति रीति-रिवाज के बखेड़ों से उनके भाइयों ने उन्हें पास तक फटकने न दिया। नौकरी चाकरी का यहां पूरा शभाव है ही जो कुछ वहां से लाये थे, खा-उड़ा कर दर दर मारे मारे फिरते हैं और अपने भाग्य को कौसते हैं। जो बाल बच्चे वहीं जन्मे हैं उन्हें तो भारत

बिलकुल नहीं सुहाता और उनकी अवस्था अत्यन्त शोचनीय हो रही है ।

इन्हीं प्रवासी भाइयों के देश लौटने और बसने आदि को जांच करने के लिये एक सरकारी कमिटी नियुक्त हुई थी किन्तु उसकी जांच की सीमा बिलकुल संकुचित रही । श्रीयुक्त भवान्नी दयाल जी संन्यासी और श्रीयुक्त पं० बनारसी दास जी चतुर्वेदी जो प्रवासी भाइयों के लिये सदा व्याकुल रहते हैं उन्होंने सारी जांच पड़ताल कर एक रिपोर्ट निकाली है । उसमें आदि से सारा इतिहास दिया गया है । और यहां आये हुए भाइयों की दयनीय दशा का वर्णन करते हुए बताया गया है कि प्रवासी भाई यहां नहीं बसना चाहते इस लिये जिनकी तीन वर्षको अवधि बाकी है उन्हें सरकार अपने खर्च से नेटाल भेज दे । और जहां जहां प्रवासी भाई बसे हैं वहां के मैजिस्ट्रेटों को अधिकार दे दिया जाय कि वे उनकी देख रेख कर उनका दुःख दूर करने की व्यवस्था करें इस बात के लिये एक कमिटी भी बनायो जाय और उन्हें नौकरियां दिलाने की सुविधायें कर दा जाय । हिन्दू समा और आर्य समाज को भी उचित है कि वे इन भाइयों को सहायता करें ।

प्रवासी भाइयों की दयनीय दशा के सम्बन्ध में इस रिपोर्ट के प्रकाशन के लिये श्रीचतुर्वेदी जी और भवान्नी दयाल जी

वधायी के पात्र हैं। आशा है वह अपने इस आन्दोलनमें तत्परतासे लगे रहेंगे है तभी दुखी प्रवासी भाइयोंका कल्याण होना सम्भव है।



## त्यागभूमि

अजमेर, १२ जून १९३१।

यह बाल बहुत पुरानी हो चुकी, जब हजारों मजदूर इस देश से मजदूरी करने के लिए दक्षिण अफ्रिका गये थे। उस समय दक्षिण अफ्रिका को सरकारको मजदूरों को आवश्यकता थी, इसलिए उसने भारतीय मजदूरों को नाना भांति के प्रलोभन दिये। इन मजदूरों ने वहां जाकर जङ्गलो प्रदेश को हरा-भरा सार्वभूमि प्रदेश बनाया। उनको दो-दो तीन-तीन पोढ़ियां वहीं बोल गई और इस तरह सब पूछा जाय तो वे दक्षिण अफ्रिका के मूल निवासी ही हो चुके। इसके अलावा व्यापारादि के लिए भी बहुत से मध्यम श्रेणी के भारतीय वहां गये। किन्तु दक्षिण अफ्रिका को सरकार दक्षिण अफ्रिका को गोरी चमड़ी वालों के लिये ही सुरक्षित रखना चाहती थी और इस लिए भारतीयों को बढ़ती हुई संख्या उसकी आंखों में खटकने लगी। उसने जिस तरह से भी हो भारतीयों को दक्षिण अफ्रिका से निकाल बाहर करने का संकल्प कर लिया। केपटाउन के समकालीन में उसने भारतीय मजदूरों के लिए स्वेच्छा पूर्वक स्वदेश लौटने को एक शर्त रखी। इसके

अनुसार ७,५०० भारतीय हिन्दुस्थान को लौट आये। किन्तु दक्षिण अफ्रीका के गोरोंको इतने से ही सन्तोष नहीं हुआ। वे और भी अधिक संख्या में भारतीयों को वापस लौटा देने के लिए कानून-क्रायेद बनाने का आतुर हो रहे हैं।

स्वेच्छापूर्वक स्वदेश लौटने की योजना के अनुसार जो भारतीय मजदूर हिन्दुस्थान लौट आए हैं, उनको कितनी सहाय दया है, इसका ठम रिपोर्ट से भली भांति पता चलता है, जो श्री बनारसी दास जी चतुर्वेदी और श्री भवानी दयाल जी संन्यासी ने हाल हीमें प्रकाशित की है। ये लोग मटियाबुर्ज, गाडन रीच और कलकत्ते के पास पास के स्थानों में अपना दुःखमय जीवन बिता रहे हैं। गत दस वर्षों में सैकड़ों ही लौट हुए भारतीय मटियाबुर्ज में अपनी इहलीला पूरी कर चुके हैं। उनको घनी बस्तियों में मलेरिया का सदा दौरा दौरा बना रहता है, उनके लिए न दवा-दारु का बन्दोबस्त है और न कोई काम-खन्धा। विदेश से लौटने पर जब वे अपने गांवों में पहुँचे, तो जाति वालोंने उन्हें जाति में शामिल करने से इन्कार कर दिया; इस तरह वे अपने गांवों में शान्ति के साथ न रह पाये। बहुतेको गांवों में कोई काम न मिला, इस लिए वे नौकरी की तलाश में इधर-उधर निकल पड़े। किन्तु देश में वैसे ही बेकारी बहुत है, उनको नौकरी कहां से नसीब होती? न उनके कोई बार दोस्त, न निश्चित मजदूरी या भोजन की व्यवस्था। दीनबन्धु सी० एफ० एण्डरूज़, जो मटियाबुर्ज में रहने वाले लोगों के सम्पर्क में आये हैं, कहते हैं कि हमाल, गाड़ी वाले, व्यापारी सभी इन्हें टाल ले जाते हैं। चोर, दुष्ट और दुस्चरित्र ओ-गुरुब सदा इस ठाक में रहते हैं कि मौज मित्रने ही उनकी रही-सही गाड़ी कमाई को चुरा ले जायें। बुद्धा खेलने और अनैतिक जीवन बिताने के लिये भी वे प्रलोभन देते रहते हैं। लौटें हुए

भारतीयों के रहने के मकान छत्रों के गड्डों से किसी इन्द्र अच्छे नहीं हैं। उनके आस-पास गन्दे पानी के कुण्ड लबालब भरे रहते हैं, जहां मलेरिया के मच्छरों के झलावा और पैदा ही क्या हो सकता है ? निश्चय ही यह हृदय-विदारक अवस्था है। उसको देखते हुए दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार को वर्त्तमान नीति के लिए जितनी निन्दा की जाय उतनी ही थोड़ी है।

श्री बनारसी दास जी चतुर्वेदी और भवानी दयाल जी संन्यासी गत १६ वर्षों से प्रवासी भारतीयों के प्रश्न का निकट से अध्ययन कर रहे हैं, इसलिए यह कहने की आवश्यकता नहीं रह जाती कि वे जिस निष्कर्ष पर पहुँचे हैं उसपर गम्भीरतापूर्वक विचार किया जाना चाहिए। दोनों ही महानुभाव इस बात से सहमत हैं कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका से भारतीयों को हिन्दुस्थान वापस जाने के लिए किसी प्रकार से भी विवश नहीं करना चाहिए। यह तभी हो सकता है, जब भारत-सरकार इस सम्बन्ध में कड़ा रुख अख्तियार करे। साथ ही उसका यह भी कर्तव्य है कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका से लौटे हुए भारतीयों को यथासाध्य सहायता दे। इसके सिवा, जैसा कि महात्मा गांधीने इस सम्बन्ध में लिखा है; यदि भारतवर्ष के साधन-सम्पन्न धनी इन दुःखी मजदूरों को काम धन्धे पर लगाने का उप-क्रम करें तो उनको स्थिति बहुत-कुछ सुधर सकेगी।



## विजय

कलकत्ता, २४ मई १९३१।

दक्षिण अफ्रिका में तथा अन्य उपनिवेशों में जो प्रवासी भारतवासी हैं उन्हें हम लोग अपने भाई कहते हैं और वे हैं भी हमारे भाई ही, क्योंकि वे इसी देश के सन्तान हैं, इसी देश से वहां जाकर बसे हैं, इसी देशको अपना देश मानते हैं और कभी-कभी इस देश में देश-सन्तानके नाते लौट आनेकी इच्छा भी करते हैं। हम भी उन्हें इस देशके सन्तान ही मानते हैं और उन्हें अपने भाई ही कहते हैं। पर जो लोग दक्षिण अफ्रिकादि से इस प्रकार यहां लौट आते हैं, क्या उनके साथ हमारा व्यवहार भाई को सा ही है? क्या यह देश उन्हें अपने सन्तान कह कर अपनी गोदमें उठा लेता है? क्या वे यहां आकर मातृभूमिका सुख अनुभव करते हैं? इन प्रश्नों का उत्तर श्रीभवानी दयाल जी सन्यासी की दक्षिण अफ्रिका से लौटे हुए भाइयोंकी हाख्त के सम्बन्ध की जांच-रिपोर्टमें पढ़िये, जिसका सारांश इसी अङ्क में अन्यत्र प्रकाशित हुआ है। दक्षिण अफ्रिका तथा अन्य उपनिवेशों से लौटे हुए भाइयों की हाख्त की जो जांच पं० बनारसी दास जी चतुर्वेदी ने की है उसकी रिपोर्ट भी पढ़िये जो इस अङ्क में नहीं प्रकाशित हो

सकी। श्री भवानी दयाल जी ने जो हाल दक्षिण अफ्रिका से लौटे हुए भाइयों का बयान किया है वही हाल अन्य उपनिवेशों से लौटे हुए भाइयोंका है। कारण उपनिवेश भिन्न-भिन्न होने पर भी यह देश वही है और प्रवासी भारतीयोंको अपने भाई कहने वाले हम लोग भी वही हैं! इन प्रवासी भाइयों का हाल यह है कि इन्होंने यदि उपनिवेशों में रहते हुए यह समझा हो कि हिन्दुस्थान हमारा देश है और हिन्दुस्थान में रहने वाले लोग हमारे भाई हैं या हिन्दुस्थान की सरकार हमारी सरकार है तो उन्हें यहां आने पर यह अच्छी तरह मालूम हो गया कि हमारा कोई देश नहीं है, हमारी कोई सरकार नहीं है! और उनकी यह बात भी किसीपर प्रकट न होती यदि श्री भवानीदयाल जी और पं० बनारसी दासजी की यह जांचरिपोर्ट न निकलती।

हजारों आदमी इन उपनिवेशों से लौटे, अकेले दक्षिण अफ्रिका से इधर साढ़े तीन वर्ष के अन्दर साढ़े सात हजार आदमी हिन्दुस्थान लौट आये। इनमें से कुछ अपने देहातों में चले गये हैं, कुछ शहरोंमें कहीं नौकरी कर रहे हैं। कुछ कलकत्ते के मटियाबुर्ज में सड़ रहे हैं और कुछ कलकत्ता और मद्रास की सड़कों पर ही मारे मारे फिर रहे हैं, जो लोग देहातों में या अन्य शहरों में चले गये हैं, वे भी घूम फिर कर मटियाबुर्ज को ही आज नहीं कल लौटे आ रहे



हैं, क्योंकि यहीं वे जहाज उन्हें दिखाई देते हैं, जिनपर सवार हो कर ये फिर उपनिवेशोंको ही लौट जा सकते हैं !

यहां इन लोगों की यह हालत है कि देहातों में, जहां से ये लोग पहले पहल गिरमिट में बंध कर टापुओं में गये थे, इन्हें परदेशी होकर ही रहना पड़ता है। इनका रहन सहन इतना बदला हुआ है कि देहातों के लोग इन्हें परदेशी ही समझते हैं और इन्हें भी यहां का देहाती जीवन पसन्द नहीं होता। इनमें बहुतेरे उपनिवेशों में ही जन्मे हुए हैं जिन्हें यहां का रहन सहन स्वभाव से ही विचित्र सा मालूम पड़ता है, जिनकी भाषा और भाव यहां की भाषा और भाव से बिल्कुल भिन्न होगये हैं, जिनकी कदर करना हिन्दुस्थानी देहातों के लिये असम्भव हो जाता है। इनमें से बहुतेरों ने आपस में ऐसे विवाह-सम्बन्ध कायम किये हैं और इन सम्बन्धों से ऐसी प्रजा बढ़ायी है जिनके लिये विरादरी में कोई स्थान नहीं है। इसी कारण से कई स्थानों में इनके साथ अछूतों का सा व्यवहार होता है ! यह तो इनकी सामाजिक व्यवस्था है। इनकी आर्थिक अवस्था ऐसी है, कि उपनिवेशों में मजूरी या नौकरी करके ये लोग जो कुछ कमाते थे, उससे ये मजे में खाते पीते और मौजमें रहते थे और यहां अन्न-वल्ल भी नहीं जुटता। बहुतों को नौकरी भी नहीं मिलती और भीख मांगनी पड़ती है। कितने ही लड़के

और लड़कियां ऐसी हैं जिनके तन पर पूरा वस्त्र भी नहीं है। जिन्होंने उपनिवेशों में धन उपार्जन कर अपने मकान बनवाये, किसी किसीने मन्दिर भी बनवाये, उन्हें यहां रहनेके लिये किराये की एक कोठरी भी नहीं है और वे राहके भिखारी हो गये हैं ! कितनी स्त्रियोंने इस हालत में अपनी इज्जत बेंच दी, कितने ही स्त्री-पुरुष मुसलमान या ईसाई हो गये । सैकड़ों प्रवासी भाई आज भी मट्रियाबुर्ज में कंगाल हालतमें मलेरिया आदि रोगों से जर्जर हो कर अपने भाग्य को रोते हुए मृत्यु की, या फिर उपनिवेशोंको ही लौट जाने की राह देख रहे हैं ।

मट्रियाबुर्ज इन लोगोंका प्रधान केन्द्र स्थान है। यहां ये लोग सैकड़ों की संख्यामें सदा ही रहते हैं। यहां से उपनिवेशों को जानेवाले जहाजोंको देखा करते हैं और तरसते हैं कि कोई जहाज हमें भी यहां से उठाकर ले जाता ! पर कैसे ले जाता ?

दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार को भारतीयोंके लौटानेकी नीति ऐसी है कि जिस तरहसे हो, भारतवासी दक्षिण अफ्रिका खाली कर दें। इसके लिये भारतवासी प्रोत्साहित किये जाते हैं कि वे हिन्दुस्थान लौट जायं। उन्हें पूरा सफर का खर्च दिया जाता है। ऊपर से बीस बीस पाँड इनाम भी दिया जाता है। यह बीस बीस पाँड लेकर ये लोग यहां आते हैं और यह रकम उनकी पास जबतक रहती है तब तक खूब

मजे में रहते हैं और फिर एक क्षण भी यहां नहीं रहना चाहते । जिस सुखमें ये लोग वहां रहते हैं उसके सामने यहां का जीवन उनके लिए असह्य हो जाता है और वे यहां रहना ही नहीं चाहते । पर जिस समय दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार इन्हें खर्च और इनाम देकर लौटाती है, उस समय उन से यह शर्त करा लेती है कि हम यदि फिर यहां लौटना चाहेंगे तो १ सालके बाद और तीन सालके अन्दर लौटेंगे और इसमें भी यह शर्त रहेगी कि हम अकेले नहीं आयेंगे, सब परिवारके साथ आयेंगे और यूनिजन सरकार ने हमें सपरिवार लौटाने में जितना खर्च किया होगा वह सब भी लौटा देंगे । इस शर्तका मतलब ही यह होता है कि न तो इतना रुपया इन लोगों के पास होगा और न ये लौट ही सकेंगे । श्री भवानी दयाल जी इस प्रत्यावर्तन ( रिपैट्रिप्शन ) स्कीम के शुरु से ही विरोधी हैं, इसके विरुद्ध गान्धी स्मट्स-समझौते समय से ही वह आन्दोलन करते रहे हैं । पर भारत सरकार ने उनकी आवाज नहीं सुनी और हजारों प्रवासी भाइयों को दुःखके महान् गर्तमें गिरानेका कारण बनी ।

हमारा देश ! और हमारे भाई ! इस लिये हमारे नामपर यह कलंक तो है ही कि हम इन उपनिवेश प्रवासी भारत-वासियोंके अधिकारों की, उपनिवेशों में रक्षा नहीं कर सके, और लौटे हुए भाइयोंको भी सम्भाल नहीं सके—पर इस

कलंक का कारण भी वही महाकलंक है कि हम अपने देश में स्वयं शासक नहीं हैं! इस लिये इसकी सारी जिम्मेदारी सरकार पर ही है। और आगे इनके लिये जो कुछ करना होगा, उसका भार भी सरकार पर ही है। सरकार के सामने यह जांच रिपोर्ट है और अब सरकार या तो इस जांच-रिपोर्टको मान ले और इसके अनुसार आगे अपनी नीति निर्धारित करे और उस नीतिको शीघ्र ही घोषित करे; अथवा लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयों की जांच स्वयं करा कर उस जांच की रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित करे, जिसके लिये उससे अनेक बार प्रार्थना की जा चुकी है और जिसके लिये ही चतुर्वेदी जी और भवानीदयालजीकी इस रिपोर्टका प्रकाशन एक साल तक स्थगित रखा गया था।

इस रिपोर्टको जो कोई पढ़ेगा उसको इसी सिद्धान्त पर आना होगा कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका से भारतीयों का लौटाया जाना तुरन्त बन्द किया जाय और लौटे हुए भारतीयोंमें से जो सैकड़ों आदमी मटियाबुर्ज में या मद्रास और कलकत्ते की सड़कों पर सड़ रहे हैं, वे उपनिवेशों को ही लौटा दिये जायें, जहाँ इनके घर हैं, जहाँ इनके नातेरिश्तेदार हैं, जहाँ इन्होंने अपने परिश्रम से स्वत्व उपार्जन किये हैं और जहाँ रहनेका उतना ही अधिकार है जितना कि वहाँ के डच, अङ्गरेज या अन्य गोरोंको है। और उपनिवेशों में रहने वाले भार-

तीयोंके बारे में रिपेटिप्रेशन जैसी कोई भी स्कीय तब तक स्थगित रहे जब तक भारत स्वराज्यशाली न हो ।



## स्वाधीन-भारत

बम्बई, २७ मई १९३१

गत वार जब महात्मा गांधी शिमले गये थे, तब उन्होंने अचि-कारियों से दक्षिण अफ्रिका के सम्बन्ध में बहुत देर तक बात चीत की । यद्यपि इस बातचीत का पता हमें नहीं, किन्तु फिर भी; इतना अनुमान किया जाता है, कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका में भारतीयों की स्थिति दिनोदिन अतीव शोचनीय होती जा रही है । डाक्टर मालान की सरकार का स्पष्ट इरादा है, कि भारतीय दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें न रहें और यदि रहें, तो सर्वथा कृन्दास होके रहें । अब से सौ पचास वर्ष पहले यह सम्भव था, कि भारतीय अपना सर्वस्व नाश कर; दक्षिण अफ्रिका के गोरोंके बूटों की ओर खोके और तो क्या, अपनी आंखों के सामने अपनी बहू बेटियों पर कुलाङ्गार गोरों द्वारा होने वालों अमानुषिक अत्याचार को देखके भी चुपचाप सहन कर सकते थे और सहन करते थे । वहां के गोरोंने भारतीयों पर कौन सा सितम नहीं ढाया, जिसे भारतीयोंने अपनी परवयता के कारण चुपचाप सहन किया और आज भी किसी न किसी रूप से उस अत्याचार को सहन कर रहे हैं । गोरोंके अनन्त अनाचारों को

माथे पर बिना शिकन आये भारतीय आज भी भाग रहे हैं, किन्तु अखिल विश्वकी उमड़ती हुई अग्रगामिनी सभ्यता की घोषणा है, कि संसारकी कोई जाति; किसी शक्ति के अधीन गुलाम बनके अवस्थान करना जीवन का कलंक मानती है। इस सिद्धान्तानुसार यदि अफ्रिका के प्रवासी भारतीयों में चांचल्य उपस्थित हो, तो कोई आश्चर्यकी बात नहीं। फलतः दक्षिण अफ्रिका तथा भारत में एक जोरदार आन्दोलन उठ खड़ा हुआ है। यह समाचार है, कि भारतीयों के अभाव अभियोगोंकी पूर्ण रीति से छलका देने के लिये दक्षिण-अफ्रिका में आगामी जून् में एक गोल-मेज़-सभा होनेवाली है। उधर केनया और उगाण्डामें भारतीयोंके स्वत्व रक्षा और जोरोंकी स्वार्थपरताके वैषम्यको मिटानेके लिये विलायत में एक जांच कमिटी बँठी हुई है, जिसके सामने अपना वक्तव्य पेश करने के लिये मिस्टर शास्त्री जी कबके वहाँ पहुँच गये हैं। उस दिन हमारे सामने स्वामी भवानी दयाल और कलकत्ते के मासिक पत्र "विशाल भारत" के सयोग्य सम्पादक श्रीयुत पण्डित बनारसी दास चतुर्वेदी द्वारा लिखित एक रिपोर्ट आई है। यह बताने की आवश्यकता नहीं, कि स्वामी भवानी दयालजी का दक्षिण अफ्रिका सम्बन्धी व्यक्तित्व अनुभव है। चतुर्वेदी जी को भी दक्षिण अफ्रिका से प्रत्यागत भारतीयों के छल-दुःखका बड़ाही कटु अनुभव है। वह कई बार जनसाधारण के सामने प्रवाससे प्रत्यागत भारतीयों के कष्टकी दर्दनाक कहानी रख चुके हैं। किसी अंशमें यह मानना पड़ेगा, कि भारत-सरकार प्रवासी भारतीयों के लिये कुछ न कुछ अवश्य कर रही है और इस प्रश्नको सम्यक् रीति से हल करने का भार सर फजले हुसैन के हाथ में दे रखा है। दक्षिण अफ्रिका की 'युनियन' सरकार तथा भारत-सरकार के बीच जाँरों पर लिखा पट्टी चल रही है। किन्तु हमारे सामने उक्त स्वामी जी तथा चतुर्वेदी की जो

रिपोर्ट मौजूद है, उसका प्रत्येक अंश तर्क युक्त और उल्लिखित है, प्रवासियोंकी दर्दभरी कहानी मनुष्य तो क्या ? पत्थर को भी मोम बनाने वाली है। इसमें स्पष्ट रीति से भारतीयोंके स्वत्व की बड़ी निरपेक्ष दृष्टि से विचार किया गया है; अतिशयोक्ति छोड़के प्रकृत बात पर अच्छी तरह विचार किया गया है। अब इसे पहले बर्तों की सरकार भारतीयों पर तरह-तरह के अत्याचार कर भारतीयोंको स्वदेश छोड़ाना चाहती थी इसके बाद उसने समस्त भारतीयोंको युनियन से निकाल देनेकी योजना की; अन्ततः इन उपायों से विफल होके उसने 'केपटाउन' में एक शर्त नामा निश्चित किया उसके अनुसार भारतीयोंका प्रत्यागमन उनकी इच्छा पर छोड़ा गया। किन्तु प्रत्येक बार युनियन सरकार की प्रवृत्ति इच्छा रहे, कि भारतीय यहाँ से निकल जाये। इस समझौते का भी कोई बड़ा फल नहीं हुआ। इस में सन्देह नहीं, कि यदि आज प्रवासी भारतीयों का भारत स्वतन्त्र होता तो यातो शान से वह स्वदेश लौट आते, अथवा जिस तरह स्वर्गीय साई किचन ने बोयर युद्ध में अफ्रीका वालोंको भारतीय शक्ति का दिग्दर्शन कराया था, उसी तरह वे सेनाध्यक्ष चेटउड की अध्यक्षता में भारतीय बोर दक्षिण अफ्रीका पहुँचते और युनियन सरकार को बता देते, कि प्रवासी भारतीय भी स्वतन्त्र हैं और एक स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्र को विदेश में अपनी मर्त्यांदा; साल और स्वत्व की रत्ना के लिये कुछ संज्ञायों और संज्ञायों की आवश्यकता होती है और इसे युनियन-सरकार को सर कुकाके मानना पड़ता। किन्तु आज प्रवासी भाइयों का स्वदेश गुलाम है। रिपोर्ट के लेखकोंने स्पष्ट शब्दों में कह दिया है, कि भारत सरकारने प्रवासियोंके 'प्रत्यागमन'के सिद्धान्त को स्वीकार कर बड़ी भूल की है, अतः इस भूलका प्रतिकार यही है कि सरकार लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयों की परिस्थिति को जाँच

कराये और उनको दीनावस्थाके सधारके लिये विशेष यत्नशील हो । साथ ही वह इतना और करे; कि भविष्यत्में यूनियन सरकारको प्रत्या-गमन-योजना स्वीकार न करे । इन मांगों पर गोरे पत्र "टाइम्स आफ इण्डियाके दिमागमें गम्भी पैदा हो गई है, उसने उक्त दोनों मांगोंको परस्पर विरोधी बतानेकी बुद्धिमानी दिखाई है । पत्रका कहना है,—“प्रवाससे लौटनेवाले भारतीयोंको भारतीय कहना नहीं चाहिये, क्योंकि उनका पालन-पोषण 'युनियन' में हुआ है, अतः वह भारतके लिये विदेशीय हैं ।” ठीक है । मान लिया जाय, कि प्रवासी भारतीयोंका भारतसे कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं, वह आजन्म यूनियनमें रहे हैं और वहींसे फले फूले हैं, अतः उन्हें भारत लौट आके भारत-सरकार भारतीयोंको कष्ट देनेका कोई हक नहीं । फिर, वह कहां जाय ? ऐसी अवस्थामें क्या वह यूनियनमें समुचित हक पानेके हकदार नहीं ? इससे तो स्पष्ट है, कि भारतीय सब तरह यूनियन सरकारसे अपने जन्मसिद्ध अधिकार मांगनेके अधिकारी हैं । किन्तु क्या यूनियन-सरकार यह मांगनेके लिये तय्यार है ? यदि हां, तो उसे चाहिये, कि प्रवासियोंको अपनी पूजा समझे और उनके अभाव अभियोगोंको मिटाये । यदि नहीं; तो उनकी खोज खबर भारत-सरकार से, क्योंकि वह भारत-सरकारकी पूजा है । यह तो हो नहीं सकता, कि वह गुलामोंकी तरह ( *Res nullius* ) अनाथ हैं, क्या भारत-सरकारसे तथा गोरे पत्रसे हम पूछ सकते हैं, कि जित समय अरकाटो भारतीयोंका सर्वस्व नाश कर और कोरे प्लोभनोंमें डालके उन्हें दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके खेतोंमें अधिक काम और सस्ती मजदूरी देनेके लिये घबाघड़ लेजा रहे थे, तो उस समय भारत-सरकारको क्या यह ध्यान नहीं रहा, गोरे तोते चरम हैं



वह अपने स्वार्थके आगे किसी विस्वास, किसी प्रतिज्ञा और किसी  
 धर्मनामके दुकारके स्वार्थपूर्तिमें संलग्न होते हैं। यदि भारत सरकार  
 गोरोंकी प्रकृति जानके अनजान न बनती, तो आज हजार हजार प्रवासी  
 भारतीय कटे हुए नाखून और डटे हुए सरके बालकी तरह समय और  
 सरकारोंके फुटबॉल न बनते। गोरें पत्रको अपनी छातोपर हाथ रखके  
 पूढना चाहिये, कि भारतको किसी तरहका भी औपनिवेशिक स्वराज्य  
 न मिलने पर भी गोरें अपनी रक्षा और अपने स्वायत्तके स्वरक्षाके  
 लिये जमीन और आसमानका कुलाबा एक करते हैं। तो क्या वह  
 सम्भव है, कि अशिक्षित, दीन और निहत्थे निरीह भारतीयोंको अन-  
 स्या युनियन सरकारके पत्रपाठपूर्व क्स्थानमें सुन्दर, सामयिक तथा  
 सहायुयति सूक्त होगी ? क्यापि नहीं, इसका स्वल्पतः प्रमाण स्वामी  
 जी तथा खुशेदीजीकी रिपोर्टें, प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी कश्च-दशा तथा  
 प्रवाससे लौटे हुए भाइयोंकी मार्मिक दुर्दशा है। अतः प्रत्येक उम्मा-  
 दाली, सम्पन्न मिल मालिक तथा साधारण मनुष्योक्ति दृष्ट रहने  
 वाले देयभार से प्रार्थना है, कि वह प्रवासी भाइयोंकी सहायताके लिये  
 आगे आये और उन्हें भी अपनेमें एक समयके परमात्मके नाम पर,  
 और मनुष्यत्वके नाम पर उनकी रक्षा करें। रही मानवीय धर्म  
 है। याद रखें, जो भावानकी सृष्टिकी सहायता करता है, उनकी वह  
 मदद आप करता है।



## केसरी

कलकत्ता, २५ जून, १९३१ ई० ।

खुदाताला बताओ मैं रहूँ कैसे कहा जाऊँ ।  
इधर यदि हाथ तोबा है उधर भी लात मुझे है ॥

हमें संन्यासी भवानी दयालजी द्वारा प्रकाशित “दक्षिण-अफ्रिकासे लौटे हुए हिन्दुस्तानियोंकी हालतकी स्वतंत्र जांच की संक्षिप्त रिपोर्ट” अंग्रेजी, हिन्दी और गुजरातीमें मिली । सर्वांश नहीं, किन्तु अधिकांश भागका अवलोकन किया । यद्यपि बहुत दिनोंसे अपने प्रवासी भाइयोंकी कष्ट कहानी सुनते पढ़ते आ रहे हैं, किन्तु इस रिपोर्टके पढ़नेसे अवश्य ही मार्मिक बेदना हुई और अपनी परतंत्रता एवं बिबशता पर लज्जित हुए ।

एक समय जब दक्षिण अफ्रिका आबाद नहीं हुआ था, जब कि वहाँ जंगल ही जंगल था, व्यापार, व्यवसाय और कल-कारखाने खुल नहीं पाये थे, तब भारतीय कुलियोंकी वहाँ बड़ी मांग थी, बहुतसे अड़काठिये नाना प्रकारके प्रलोभन दे, वहाँ फुसला कर भारतीयोंको वहाँ ले जाया करते थे । भोलेभाले अपढ़ भारतीको नौकरी देने दिलानेकी बातकह कर शर्तनामे पर हस्ताक्षर कराकर या अंगूठेकी छाप दिलाकर वे

भारतीयोंको अपने जालमें फँसा ले जाते थे। वह समय लगभग १८६० ई० का था। उनके बाद १८१५ ई० में ३५ वर्षके अन्दरही परिस्थिति बदल गयी। जब दक्षिण-अफ्रिकाके जंगल कट कर पुष्पित पल्लवित बागोंके रूपमें परिणत हो गये, जब उसर जमीन भारतीयोंके कठोर परिश्रम और पसीनेसे सिंचित हो उर्वरा हो गयी, बांस जैसी मोटी उँलें उगने लगी, चीनीके कलकारखाने खुल गये, हजारों एकड़ जमीन शस्य श्यामला हो गयी, आसानीसे जब जीवन निर्वाह होनेका समय आया, भारतीय मजदूरों का परिश्रम जब सुमधुर फल देने लगा, तबसे वहाँके निवासी गोरोंका दृष्टिकोण बदलना शुरु हुआ, वे भारतीयोंको किसी प्रकारसे वहाँसे निकाल बाहर करनेकी चेष्टामें लगे, नाना प्रकारके जो प्रलोभन पहले फँसा लेजाने के काममें लाये जाते थे अब उन्हें वहाँसे निकाल बाहर करनेके काममें उनका प्रयोग किया जाने लगा। वे भारतीयोंको अब फूटी भाँजो भी नहीं देख सकते थे। उन्हें परिवार समेत भारत छोड़ने का किराया खर्च, एवं २० पौ० तक यहाँ आकर बसनेकी सुविधाके लिये देने लगे।

उधर गोरों प्लैटरोँकी ऐसी मनोवृत्ति बदली। इधर भारत के शिक्षित समुदायको जब उन पीड़ित भाइयोंको अपने गोद में लेनेका, प्रेम, प्यार और आदर सत्कार करनेका सुभवसर

आया जब वे वहाँसे लौटने लगे तब भारतीयोंका व्योहार भी उनके प्रति बड़ा कटु हुआ । उनको बसनेके लिये स्थानादिकी सुविधा एवं आतिथ्य तो दूर रहा, सह भोजनादि के प्रश्नसे धृणा भाव प्रकट करने लगे । फल स्वरूप उन्हें अपनी पैतृक जन्म भूमिको छोड़ कर मद्रियाबुज आदि तिमिराच्छन्न नारकीय स्थानों में जीवन निर्वाह करने को बाध्य होना पड़ा । न तो सरकारने ही उनकी सहायता की, न भारतीयों ने ही उन्हें अपनाया । अशरण शरण की गोदके सिवाय उन्हें अन्य शरण स्थल ही नहीं रहा । वहाँ एक बार बस जाने पर तो उन्हें आराम था यहाँ की हालत और भी बदतर हो गयी ।

उनकी उक्त दुर्दशाका अनुभव जो रिपोर्टें में संन्यासीजी ने लिखा है वह इतना पक्का है कि वह अन्यथा हो ही नहीं सकता । इनकी कच्ची रिपोर्टें निकलने के बाद जो नटेसन-ग्रंथ कमीशन बैठा था उसने न तो इस कार्य के लिये समय ही लगाया, न परिश्रम ही किया । एक महीने के अन्दर अपना कार्य समाप्त कर एक रिपोर्ट पेश कर उलने अपने कार्य एवं कर्तव्य की इति श्री कर दी । सरकार की भी बला टल गयी; मनचाही रिपोर्टें उसे अपनी गौरव-रक्षा निमित्त मिल गयी ।

जब रक्षक ही भक्षक बन जाय तब ईश्वर ही रक्षा करें । भारत सरकार यदि चाहती तो सब प्रकार की सुविधायें यहाँ कर सकती थी, किन्तु जब तक बह कोइ काम टाल

सकती है तब तक तो आदत से लाचार हो वह टालेगी ही। यह कर्तव्य हो जाता है हम भारतीयों का कि अपने प्रवासी भाइयों को सब प्रकार की सुविधा दें।

श्री भवानी दयाल जी संन्यासी और पंडित बनारसीदास जी चतुर्वेदी जैसे प्रवासी भाइयोंके कल्याणार्थ निरन्तर प्रयत्न करने वाले सज्जन अवश्य ही हमारे धन्यवादके पात्र हैं। यह रिपोर्ट स्वाभाविक, सच्ची और प्रभावोत्पादक है। इससे घस्तुःस्थितिका ज्ञान हो सकता है।



## हिन्दी बंगवासी

कलकत्ता, १८ मई १९३१

भारतवासियों की संख्या इस साल की मर्दुमशुमारी के हिसाब से पैंतीस करोड़ से कुछ अधिक है। इसके अलावे कुछ ऐसे भी अभागे भारतवासी हैं, जो पेटकी ज्याला से पीड़ित होकर अपनी जननी जन्मभूमिकी पवित्र गोदको परित्याग कर गरजते और उमड़ते हुए सागर के भीषणावृत्ति बक्षस्थल को पार कर सुदूर टापुओं में हमसे इतनी अधिक

दूरपर जा बसे हैं, कि उनका शीघ्र समाचार मिलना भी मुश्किल है। इन प्रवासी भारतवासियों की भी संख्या सब मिला कर प्रायः बीस लाख से अधिक ही होगी। हमारे यह बीस लाख भाई मारिशस, फीजी, डमरेरा, केनिया, दक्षिण अफ्रिका तथा अन्यान्य विभिन्न टापुओंमें जाकर कायम मोकाम बस गये हैं। इनमें से कुछ तो व्यापार करने की गरज से गये हैं और बाकी अधिकांश संख्या उनकी है जो यहां से कुली होकर गये हैं और अपनी अग्रिमेट समाप्त हो जाने पर वहीं घर द्वार बनाके सदा के लिये बस गये हैं।

उन टापुओं में हमारे इन प्रवासी भाइयों को जो तकलीफें झेलनी पड़ती हैं, उनका अनुभव वही कर सकते हैं, जो एक बार उन टापुओं से हो आये हैं। यों तो सभी जगह हमारे प्रवासी भाइयों पर अत्याचार किये ही जाते हैं, किन्तु दक्षिण अफ्रिका में उनके साथ जैसा अमानुषिक दुर्व्यवहार किया जाता है, वैसा तो शायद दुनिया के किसी भी भागमें नहीं किया जाता होगा। वहां के गोरे अधिवासी प्रवासी भारतीयों को पशु से भी बदतर समझते हैं और उनको वहांसे निकाल बाहर करने के लिये अनेक तरह की तदवीरें काममें लाया करते हैं। उनकी ही कुटिल नीति के फन्दे में पड़ कर दक्षिण अफ्रिका से जो प्रवासी भारतीय यहां वापस लौट आये हैं,

उनकी हालत की जांच के लिये दक्षिण अफ्रिका प्रवासी भार्यों ने स्वामी भवानी दयालजीसे अनुरोध किया था और उनके इस कार्य में उन लोगों ने यथाशक्ति सहायता पहुंचानेका भी बचन दिया था। यहां आकर मद्र अवज्ञा आन्दोलन में भाग लेने के कारण उनको सजा हो गई और वह हजारीबाग जेल में भेज दिये गये। इस कारण तथा अन्य कई कारणोंसे उन्हें अपनी जांच की रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित करनेमें कुछ रुक जाना पड़ा। किन्तु अब उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित कर दी है। रिपोर्टका संक्षिप्त अर्थ अन्त्यत्र प्रकाशित किया जा रहा है, पाठक उसे अच्छी तरह पढ़ें और देखें, कि उम्निवेशों में हमारे प्रवासी भार्यों के साथ कैसा व्यवहार किया जा रहा है।

इस रिपोर्ट के पढ़ने से जान पड़ता है, कि दक्षिण अफ्रिका की सरकार अपने यहां से भारतीयोंको बिलकुल निकाल बाहर करना चांती है और इस काम के लिये चाहे जितना खर्च हो, वह करने पर तैयार है। गत सन् १९१३ ई० के पहले जो भारतवासी दक्षिण अफ्रिका में बसते थे, उन्हें तीन पाउण्ड टेक्स देना पड़ता था। किन्तु वहां पर जब गांधी जी ने इसके प्रतिवाद में सत्याग्रह-आन्दोलन शुरु किया, तब वह टेक्स बन्द हो गया। इसके बाद प्रवासी भार्यों को वहां से निकाल बाहर करने के लिये जो नया तरीका सोचा गया, वह उससे भी बहुत इतिकासक हुआ। गत सन् १९२० में वहां की सरकार द्वारा स्थापित एथिवाटिक-कमिश्नने एक ऐसा नियम बनाया, कि जो प्रवासी भारतको वापस जाना चाहेगा, उसे राह-खर्च के अलावा पांच पाउण्ड इनाम भी मिलेगा। यह प्रलोभन इसलिये दिया गया,

कि इनाम को लाजव से यहाँके सभी भारतवासी अपने देश चले जायेंगे और गौरे अधिवासी दक्षिण अफ्रिका में अपना निष्काण्डक राज्य स्थापित करेंगे। किन्तु इस प्रलोभन में भी जब वहाँ के प्रवासी भाई नहीं फँसे, तब इनाम की रकम बढ़ा कर बीस पाउण्ड तक कर दी गई। इस बार उनका उपाय कुछ कारगर हुआ और वहाँ से कई हजार प्रवासी भाई इनाम के प्रलोभन में पड़ कर फिर अपने देश को वापस आये। किन्तु यहाँ आने पर उनकी जो दुर्दशा हो रही है, वह इस रिपोर्ट को पढ़ने से साफ़ मालूम हो रहा है। यहाँ उनको हाज़त त्रिाङ्गु ली हो गई है। क्योंकि न तो अब उनके पास इतना धन ही है, जिसमें वह फिर खर्च करके दक्षिण अफ्रिका चले जायें और न तो उनकी परवरिश का ही यहाँ कोई प्रबन्ध है। इसके अतिरिक्त सामाजिक प्रतिबन्धों का इन्हें जो सामना करना पड़ता है, वह और भी मुश्किल है। रिपोर्ट से यह भी ज्ञात होता है; कि भारत सरकार ने केपटाउन अधिमण्ड के अनुसार यह क़ल किया था, कि जो प्रवासी दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे वापस आयेंगे, उन्हें नौकरी तथा अन्य कोई जीविकोपयोगी कार्य देनेका वह प्रबन्ध करेगी। किन्तु इस रिपोर्ट से मालूम पड़ता है, कि भारत सरकारने अपने वादे पर पूरा ध्यान नहीं दिया और उनको उदासिनता के कारण ही इन लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयों को इतनी दुर्दशा हो रही है। जो हो; सरकारकी इस उदासिनता की नीति प्रांसनीय नहीं कही जा सकती।

अस्तु, अब भारत सरकार को चाहिये कि वह अपने वादे को पूरा करके प्रवास से आये हुए भाइयों की जीविका का कोई उपाय करे अथवा उन्हें अपने खर्च से फिर दक्षिण



अफ्रिका पहुँचानेका प्रबन्ध करे, जिसमें इन मुसीबत के मारे हुए भाइयों का उद्धार हो सके। एसेम्बलीके मेम्बरों को भी चाहिये, कि वह इस सम्बन्ध में प्रस्ताव उपस्थित करें, जिसमें सरकार को इस तरफ ध्यान देने के लिये बाध्य होना पड़े। किन्तु सबसे बड़ कर इस बात की कोशिस करनी चाहिये, जिसमें दक्षिण अफ्रिका की युनियन सरकार अपनी प्रत्यागमन नीति (Repatriation Policy) को रद्द कर दे। क्योंकि दक्षिण अफ्रिका के प्रवासी भाइयोंके लिये यही नीति सबसे बड़ कर घातक है। इसमें तो कोई संदेह नहीं, कि यदि भारत सरकार और ब्रिटिश सरकार दोनों मिल कर युनियन सरकार पर दबाव डालें, तो उसे झुक मार कर भारतीयों के प्रति अपनी विद्वेषक नीतिको बदलना ही पड़ेगा। किन्तु आश्चर्य तो इस बात पर होता है, कि निष्पक्षपात का दम भरने वाली ब्रिटिश सरकार दक्षिण अफ्रिका के प्रवासी भारतीयों पर होते हुए अत्याचारों पर ध्यान क्यों नहीं देती? अन्त में भारतीय नेताओं से हमारा अनुरोध है, कि वह इस सम्बन्ध में काफ़ी आन्दोलन करके इन त्रिशङ्कु बने हुए प्रवासी भाइयों का उद्धार करें। यह समझ कर चुप बैठे रहना, कि जब स्वराज्य मिलेगा, तब उनका उद्धार करेंगे, यह नेताओं की भारी भूल है। क्योंकि स्वराज्य मिलने तक उनका अस्तित्व रहेगा या

नहीं, इसमें ही सन्देह है। इसलिये यथा शीघ्र उनके उद्धार का उद्योग करना ही उनके लिये श्रेयस्कर होगा।



## सुधा

लखनऊ, जुलाई, १९३१

आज बीस वर्षसे भारतमें प्रवासी भाइयोंकी विपत्ति पर निरंतर देशमें आन्दोलन होता रहा है, पर उनके कष्टोंका कोई अन्त होता नहीं दीख रहा। उन्हें घर-बाहर कहीं भी स्थान नहीं मिलता, उनके अपमानोंकी कोई सीमा नहीं है।

एक बार बारडोलीकी स्त्रियोंने भाई-दूजके अवसर पर सरदार पटेलको निमन्त्रित करके अपने उपहार उन्हें दिये, और कहा था कि भाई होनेके नाते हमलोग आपसे यह प्रार्थना करती हैं कि आप हमारे मर्दोंको समझावें कि वे हमारे साथ अन्याय न करें। हमारे पति लोग धनके लालचमें अफ्रिका जैसे देशोंमें जाते हैं और ४-५ वर्ष वहीं निता देते हैं। हमारी सुधि भी नहीं लेते। उनमेंसे कुछ लौटते भी नहीं। उन्हीं देशोंमें आचार-भ्रष्ट होकर रहते हैं, जब कि उनकी विवा-

हिता क्रियां सालोंको तिल-तिल करके काटती हैं। यदि वे हमें प्रदेशमें साथही लेजाया करें, तो हम और वे दोनों ही सुखी हों।

तब सरदार पटेलने आँसू गिराकर जवाब दिया था कि मैं उन्हें ऐसा करनेकी सम्मति नहीं दे सकता। क्योंकि मैं जानता हूँ कि तुम्हारे पति भेड़ और भंगियोंको भांति वहाँ जीवन व्यतीत करते हैं, और वहाँ बहन-बेटियों के सम्मानको वे सुरक्षित नहीं रख सकते।

ये शब्द कितने मार्मिक और दुःख पूर्ण हैं। गोरे लोगोंने किस चालाकी और अत्याचार से वहाँ के भारतीयों को कुचल रक्खा है, यह बात सब लोग नहीं जान पाते। हिन्दुस्तानी टैक्सों के बोझ से लदे हैं। फिर भी अछूत की भांति रहते हैं। उनके रहने के स्थान गोरों से दूर हैं उनका कोई अधिकार नहीं। न्याय की दशा यह है कि एक १३ वर्ष के बालक को इतना पीटा गया कि वह अघमरा हो गया। उसका अपराध यही था कि उसने पिता की मोटर-साइकिल चलाई थी। इससे कुछ प्रथम एक गोरे ने बिना पास मोटर पर चढ़ कर और बिना लाइसेंस की बंदुक से एक भारतीयको मार डाला था। उसे कुछ जुर्माना करके छोड़ दिया गया, और पुलिस को फटकार दिया गया कि ऐसे फालतू मामलों में वह अदालत का समय न नष्ट किया करे।

भारतीयोंको या तो कलकौं या कुलीगोरी सिर्फ दो ही जगह हैं। व्यापार की जगह तीसरी हैं । इससे आगे कोई भारतीय बढ़ ही नहीं सकता । काले गोरे का भेद इतना जबरदस्त है कि चोरी करते हुए गोरेको भारतीय पुलिस सब इंस्पेक्टर नहीं पकड़ सकता । उसका कर्तव्य है कि चोर को चोरी करते देख कर वह गोरे इंस्पेक्टर को तलाश करके उससे चोर पकड़ने को कहे । उधर भारतीयों को हवशी-पुलिस भी काफी हैरान कर सकती है ।

इस प्रकार गुलामोंसे बदतर रह कर प्रवासी भारतीय वहां दिन काट रहे हैं ।

दक्षिणी अफ्रिका, फीजी, ट्रिनिदाद, ब्रिटिश गायना आदि द्वीपोंसे लौट कर भारतमें आनेवाले प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी हालत खासतौर पर खराब देखनेमें आती है । 'सतलज' जहाज की अपमान-जनक घटना पर कितना हो-हल्ला मचा । मि० एंड्रूज तकने कितना प्रयास किया । पर परिणाम कुछ भी नहीं हुआ । अब उन अभागि भाइयोंकी दुखस्था प्रकट करनेके लिये श्रीबनारसीदासजी चतुर्वेदी और स्वामी भवानीदयालने एक रिपोर्ट तैयार की है । श्रीबनारसीदासजी चतुर्वेदीने यह मत स्थिर किया है—

(१) किसी भी परिस्थितिमें प्रवासी भारतवासियोंको भारतमें लौट आनेके लिये प्रोत्साहित नहीं करना चाहिये ।

(२) प्रवासियोंको भारत लौटने पर आनन्दपूर्वक रखने में कितनी कठिनाइयाँ होती हैं।

(३) उपनिवेशोंमें जो भारतीय पैदा हुए हैं, वे उपनिवेशसे भिन्न अन्यत्र कहीं सुखसे नहीं रह सकते। इस सम्बन्धमें महात्माजीका वक्तव्य बिल्कुल ठीक है, और किसी भी उप-निवेश-जात भारतीयको भारतमें बुलाना पाप है।

(४) जिन लोगोंने उपनिवेशोंमें विवाह कर लिया है, उन्हें भी भारतमें आकर बसेनेका विचार नहीं करना चाहिये। क्योंकि उनको फिरसे अपने समाजमें लिये जानेकी कुछभी आशा नहीं है। उनकी संतान-विवाहकी समस्या निकट हो जायगी।

(५) आर्थिक दृष्टिसे भी उपनिशोंके प्रवासी भारतीयों के लिये भारतमें आना हानिकर है। वहीं पर वे अधिक सुखसे हैं।

(६) जब तक भारत पूर्ण स्वतन्त्र न हो जाय, तब तक वह अपने प्रवासी भाइयोंकी यथावश्यक सहायता करनेमें असमर्थ हैं।

(७) किसी भी अवस्थामें भारतीय नेताओं अथवा भारत-सरकारको उस उपनिवेशसे समझौता नहीं करना चाहिये, जिसका उद्देश्य प्रवासी भारतीयोंको भारतमें भेजना है।

(८) मुझे पूर्ण रूपसे मालूम है कि बार-बार मना करने पर भी कुछ प्रवासी भारत-वासी स्वेच्छासे यहाँ लौट कर आयेंगे। उनके प्रति हमारा भी कुछ कर्तव्य है। दीनबन्धु एंड्रूजके कथनानुसार उन्हें कभी भी कलकत्ता तथा मद्रास की सड़कोंमें भटकते नहीं फिरने देना चाहिये।

स्वामी भवानीदयालका इस विषयमें निम्न प्रकार मत है—

(१) उपनिवेश-जात भारतियोंके भारतमें लौट आनेकी स्कीम एकदम ही असफल हो गयी है। और उन पर भीषण विपत्तियोंका पर्वत आ गिरा है। ऐसे भारतीयोंको संख्या ३३ फी सैकड़से भी ज्यादा है। उन लोगोंका रहन-सहन बिलकुल भिन्न हो गया है, और अपने पूर्वजोंकी भूमिके रहन-सहनको ग्रहण करनेमें उन्हें बड़ी कठिनाइयोंका सामना करना पड़ेगा। उपनिवेशोंके सिवा वे अन्यत्र कहीं भी सुखी नहीं रह सकते।

(२) निगन श्रेणीके सिवा अन्य उच्च जातिवाले प्रवासी भारतीयोंके लिये अपने समाजमें स्थान नहीं है। भारतमें अब भी जाति-पाँतिका बखेड़ा बड़ाही ज़बरदस्त है। उपनिवेश-जात व्यक्तियोंकी वैवाहिक समस्या तो और भी जटिल है, क्योंकि वे अंतर्जातीय विवाहोंसे उत्पन्न हुए हैं।

(३) भारत-सरकारने बहुत ही थोड़ेसे भारतीयोंको दक्षिण-भारतमें सहायता पहुंचाई है, जो उपनिवेशोंसे लौट आये हैं। किंतु जो लोग लौटकर उत्तर-भारतमें गए हैं। उनके लिये सरकारने कुछ भी नहीं किया है।

(४) अबसे तीस-चालीस वर्ष पहले भारतमें खाद्य पदार्थ की जो कीमत थी, उससे कई गुना अधिक आजकल हो गयी है। प्रवासी भारतीय यहाँ धालोंसे उपनिवेशोंमें ही अधिक सुखी हैं।

प्रवासी भारतीयोंको और खासकर पढ़े-लिखोंको लौटने पर भारतमें अनेक कठिनाइयोंका सामना करना पड़ता है। बहुतेरों प्रवासियोंने आवा-हवाकी खराबी तथा कम वेतन मिलनेके कारण यहाँके कार्योंको, जो उन्हें दिये जाते थे, अस्वीकार कर दिया है। मुझसे ऐसा कोई भारत प्रत्यागत प्रवासी नहीं मिला है, जो आवश्यक साधन मिलने पर दक्षिण-अफ्रिकामें लौट जानेके लिये तैयार न हो।

(६) युनियन सरकारके विचारानुसार भी यह योजना असफल ही सिद्ध हुई है।

(७) नैतिक दृष्टिसे भी नकली तरीकोंसे भारतीयों की आवादी घटाना अक्षम्य है। प्रवासी भारतीयों को भारतमें दुःख-पूर्ण जीवन व्यतीत करनेके लिये उत्साहित करना प्रवासी भारतीय नेताओंकी स्वार्थपूर्ण और नैतिकता

होन नीति समझी जायगी, और हमारे लिये भी यह नीति उली प्रकार अनुचित होगी, जब कि हममें इतना भी साहस नहीं है कि हम उन्हें अपने समाज और जातिमें ले सकें।

(८) प्रवासी भारतीयोंके भारतमें लौट आनेकी बातसे शिक्षित भारतीयोंके दिमागमें विषाक्त बातावरण प्रवेश कर गया है। दक्षिण-अफ्रिकाके अधिकारियोंके प्रति भारतीयों को ज़रा भी विश्वास नहीं रह गया है।

(९) दक्षिण-अफ्रिकाके भारतीयोंके साथ जैसा अपमान-जनक व्योहार होता है, इससे उनके हृदयमें अत्यधिक वेदना होती है। खास कर उस हालतमें, जब वे देखते हैं कि उन व्यक्तियोंके साथ अधिक अच्छा व्योहार होता है, जो साम्राज्य की प्रजा नहीं हैं।

अब समय है कि हमें इन भाइयोंके अधिकारोंके लिये मज़बूतीसे लड़ना होगा। इसके कोई माने नहीं होते कि गोरे लोग भारतमें ऐसी शान और अकड़ से रहते हैं, और भारतीय इन प्रदेशोंमें ऐसी दुरवस्था भोगते हैं। यदि हम अपनी जातीय प्रतिष्ठा को सुरक्षित नहीं रख सकेंगे, तो हम कभी भी राष्ट्रीय संगठनमें सफल नहीं हो सकेंगे। चाहे भी जैसे हो, हमें हर हालतमें अपने देशके बच्चोंके लिये पृथ्वी-भरके राष्ट्रों में मनुष्यत्वके अधिकारोंकी रक्षा करनी पड़ेगी।



और उनके मानापमान को अपना निज मानापमान समझना होगा।

आज जब प्रवासी बंधुओंका साथी कैदी—जिसने जेलमें मार खाई, और पाखाना साफ़ किया था—वाइसराय-भवनमें बड़े लाटके साथ बराबरीसे मिलता है, और साम्राज्यका गार्ड उसकी सलामी उतारता है—तब क्या कारण है कि संसारमें हमारे भारतीय अपमान सहें। हमें आत्मसम्मानके भाव और तेज़ीसे हृदय में भरने होंगे। और उन्हीं से हमारा उद्धार होगा।

x                      x                      x                      x

—००१०१००—

## विशाल भारत

कलकत्ता, शुक्रदि १९३१ ई०

‘एक आदमी आपके लिए नीचे बैठे हुए है। किसी कालोनीका है।’ आफिसके नौकरने आकर कहा।

“अच्छा, बैठे रहने दो। घर लौटते वक्त रास्तेमें बातचीत कर लूँगा। इनके मारे नाकों दम है।” मैंने झुँकलाकर जवाब दिया। उपनिवेशोंसे लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाई ‘विशाल-भारत’ आफिसमें इतनी बार आ चुके हैं—और दो-बार तो सत्तर-सत्तर आदमियोंने इकट्ठे होकर उसे घेर ही लिया था—कि उनकी

उपस्थिति कष्टप्रद प्रतीत होती है; कष्टप्रद इसलिए कि उन्हें कामकी जरूरत है, और उन्हें काम देना मेरी सामर्थ्यके बाहरकी बात है।

अपना कार्य करके आफिससे निकला, तो अपने पुराने परिचित गुलज़ार चमारको फाटकपर पाया। पूछा, क्या हाल-चाल है? बोला—“हालचाल क्या है, पंडितजी! हमारा प्राणी भी मर गया और लड़की भी।”

“स्त्री और लड़की दोनों मर गईं? क्या हुआ था?”

“कुछ नहीं, कै दस्त। चार घंटेकी बीमारीमें दोनों चल बसीं!”

चुपचाप मैं गुलज़ारके साथ चल दिया। बोलनेकी कुछ हिम्मत नहीं हुई। इस संकट-ग्रस्त परिवारका किस्सा मैं पहले ही सुन चुका था। मेरे दिमागमें वही घूम गया। सुन लीजिए।

चालीस वर्ष पहले धरौहरी ज़िला बस्तीमें गोपाल नामक एक चमार रहता था। दक्षिण-अफ्रिकाके गोरों को उन दिनों सस्ते काले मजदूरोंकी जरूरत थी। भारत-सरकारने उनके सहायतार्थ आरकाटो रख छोड़े थे। गोपाल अपनी स्त्री और छे महीनेके एक बच्चेके साथ नेटाल (दक्षिण-अफ्रिका) भेज दिया गया। इस बच्चेका ही नाम था गुलज़ार, जो आज अपनी कष्ट-कथा सुनाने मेरे पास आया था। गोपालने शर्तबन्दीकी

गुलामीमें पाँच वर्ष काम किया। वह उन हजारों मजदूरोंमें से था, जिन्होंने नेटालैंडे सुनसान रेगिस्तान को भावार्थ किया, सरसङ्ग किया और उसे बगीचा बना दिया। मेहनत-मज़दूरी और किफ़ायतशारीसे उसने कुछ पैसा बचाया, चौदह बीघा ज़मीन पट्टे पर ली, मक्का और तमाबूको खेती की और अपने कुटुम्बका पालन करने लगा। गोपालके कई लड़के हुए। उन लड़कोंने विवाह किया और उनके बच्चे हुए। बालीस वर्षमें बढ़कर यह कुटुम्ब अठारह आदमियोंका हो गया, पर सबको पेट-भर भोजन मिल जाता था।

सन् १६२८ में इस कुटुम्बपर पुर्भाग्यका चकर आया। दुइठे गोपालपर देश लौटनेकी—मातृभूमि भारत देखनेकी—शुन सञ्चार हुई। इत्बावस्थामें घाकी याद आई। उबर, बीस पौंड फ़ी—आदमीका प्रलोभन, यूनियन सरकारकी मोरसे दिया जा रहा था। यूनियन सरकारको बिन्ता थी किसी-न-किसी प्रकार भारतीयोंकी संख्या घटानेकी, और गोपालको बिन्ता थी अपनी मातृभूमि देखनेकी। इन दोनोंके संयोगका परिणाम हुआ, वह भी सुन लीजिए।

गोपाल अपने कुटुम्बके साथ आदमियोंके साथ भारतको लौटा। यूनियन सरकारने इन काले आदमियोंको निकाल बाहर करनेमें ४५७ पौंड खर्च कर दिये, जो उस सुवर्ण-भूमि ट्रान्सवालकी स्वामिनी सरकारके लिए कोई बड़ी रकम नहीं थी।

गोपाल अपने कुटुम्बको कानपुरमें छोड़कर बस्ती जिलेमें गया। वहाँ जाकर देखा, तो सारा हाल बदला हुआ पाया। चालीस वर्षमें सारा रंग-रंग बदल गया था। पुराने आदमी चल बसे थे। नये आदमियोंसे न तो कुछ परिचय था और न उनमें कुछ स्नेह। निराश होकर गोपाल कानपुर लौट आया। वह बीमार पड़ गया और पन्द्रह दिन बाद उसकी मृत्यु हो गई! मरते समय वह रोने लगा और अपने बेड़ोंसे बोला—“अब मुझे बचनेकी उम्मेद नहीं। फिक्र यही है कि मेरे मरनेके बाद तुम्हारा क्या होगा। तुम लोगोंको यहां लाकर मैंने बड़ी भूल की।” लड़कोंने समझाया—“कर्ममें जो लिखा होता है, वही होता है, इसमें तुम्हारा कोई कसूर नहीं। तुम सुख से अपने प्राण छोड़ो।”

गोपाल मर गया और उसके बाद उसके कुटुम्बकी जो दशा हुई, वह भी सुन लीजिए। तीन वर्ष पहले दक्षिण-अफ्रिकासे गोपालके कुटुम्बके अठारह आदमी लौटे थे, उनमें गोपालको छोड़कर और सबका जन्म दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें ही हुआ था। हां, गुलज़ार ज़रूर भारतमें जन्मा था, पर वह जाते समय कुल छे महीनेका ही था, इसलिए उसे भी साउथ-अफ्रिकन ही समझना चाहिए। उन आदमियोंमें बुढ़ा गोपाल अपने कुटुम्बको छोड़ कानपुरमें ही चल बसा। राजमती मर गई, मोतीलालका देहान्त हो गया, राजप्रणि अब इस संसार में नहीं है, रामलाल-

की जीवन-लीला समाप्त हो गई, मुनेसुरके प्राणपजेरु उड़ गये और ब्रजमोहन परलोक सिधारा ! गुलज़ारकी स्त्री सुखिनीके सांसारिक दुखोंका अन्त हा गया और अपने साथ वह अपनी लड़की सोनमतीको भी लेती गई ।

गुलज़ार रोता है और कहता—“अब जो बच रहे, उन्हींको अफ्रिका भिजवा दो।” इसमें ३५० पौंडका खर्च है, जिसका मिलना सम्भव नहीं ।

संक्षेपमें यह एक लौटे हुए प्रवासी कुटुम्बकी कहानी है । इसे आप कई सहस्र गुणा कर दीजिए, बस, आपको लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी अवस्थाका पता लग जायगा । सहृदय आदमियों को समझानेके लिए इतना ही पर्याप्त है, परन्तु शिक्षित आदमियों तथा हृदयहीन सरकारोंको समझानेके लिए अंकों तथा विवरणोंकी आवश्यकता होती है, और इसीलिए स्वामी भवानीदयालजीको यह रिपोर्ट लिखनी और प्रकाशित करनी पड़ी ।

‘ A Report on the emigrants repatriated to India under the Assisted Emigration Scheme from South Africa ’ की प्रति हमारे सम्मुख है । स्वामी भवानी-दयालजीसे हमारा इतना घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध है कि उनके विषय में लिखते हुए हमें संकोच होता है ।

रिपोर्ट पढ़कर हम इसी पारिणामपर पहुँचे कि प्रवासी

भारतीयोंका—खास तौरसे उपनिवेशोंमें उत्पन्न प्रवासी युवकोंका—भारतको लौटना बिल्कुल ठीक नहीं । इसमें उनकी जानको खतरा है । यदि इन लौटे हुए भारतीयोंकी दशाकी जाँच आजसे आठ-दस वर्ष पहले की गई होती और रिपोर्ट छपा दी गई होती, तो सैकड़ों प्रवासी कुटुम्बोंकी प्राण-रक्षा हो जाती । जिस कार्यको किसी संस्थाको करना चाहिए था, उसे भवानी दयालजीने अपने बल बृतेपर अकेले ही कर दिखलाया, इसलिए प्रवासी भारतीय उनके चिरकाल तक ऋणी रहेंगे ।

वैसे तो यह रिपोर्ट सभी प्रवासी भारतीयोंके लिए लाभदायक सिद्ध होगी, पर यह अधिक उपयोगी होगी दक्षिण-अफ्रिका-प्रवासी भारतीयोंके लिए । दक्षिण-अफ्रिकन सरकारकी अन्यायपूर्ण नीतिका नग्न चित्र इस रिपोर्टमें अच्छे प्रकार प्रदर्शित किया गया है । अपने स्वार्थके लिए मजदूरोंको गुजामीमें बाँध-बाँधकर उनके देशसे मँगाना, उनकी सहायतासे अपने धन-धान्यकी उन्नति करना, उनके पसीनेकी कमाईसे स्वयं समृद्ध बनना, और जब काम निकल जाय, तो चुसे हुए नीबुओंकी तरह उन्हें निकाल बाहर फेंकना, संक्षेपमें दक्षिण-अफ्रिकाकी सरकारकी निन्दनीय नीतिका यही निदर्शन है ।

अगली साल दक्षिण-अफ्रिकामें गोलमेज कानफरेंस फिर होनेवाली है । इसमें भारत-सरकारकी ओरसे जो प्रतिनिधि

( ८१ )

जायेंगे, यह रिपोर्ट उनके लिए भी कामकी चीज है।

प्रवासी भारतीयोंको तो यह रिपोर्ट अवश्य पढ़नी चाहिए। मूल रिपोर्ट अंगरेज़ीमें है, और उसका सारांश हिन्दी तथा गुजरातीमें अलग प्रकाशित किया है।

रिपोर्ट बिना मूल्य वितरित की गई है, और अब उसकी बहुत थोड़ी पतियाँ बची हैं, इसलिए वह केवल अधिकारी प्रवासी भारतीयोंको ही भेजी जा सकेंगी।



## कर्मक्षर

खण्डवा, ४ जुलाई १९३१।

( लेखक—श्री 'सत्सङ्घसत' बो० ए०, एल० एल० बो० )

हाल ही में, धीरुत भवानीदयाल जी संन्यासीने अफ्रिकासे लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारतीयोंको स्थिति की जाँच कर उनके सम्बन्धमें एक रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की है।

धीरुत भवानीदयालजी गत ३० वर्षोंसे दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके नागरिक हैं। अतएव इस विषयपर आपको जानकारी बहुत है और आपही इस प्रकारकी रिपोर्ट लिखनेके अधिकारी हैं। इसकी भूमिका ०० बनारसीदास जी चतुर्वेदीने लिखी है। धीरुत

बनारसीदास जी, लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारत-वासियों की स्थितिका विशेष अध्ययन, गत १० वर्षोंसे कर रहे हैं। श्रुत भवानीदयालजीको उनके कुछ मित्रोंने और दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके भारतीयोंने इन लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारत-वासियोंकी स्थिति की जांच करनेके लिये भेजा था। भारतमें आनेपर, आप इन लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारत-वासियोंके रहनेके स्थानों पर गये और आपने उनकी दर्दनाक स्थिति की जांच की। भवानीदयालजी गत आन्दोलनमें जेल गये थे। अतएव रिपोर्टको प्रकाशित होनेमें स्वभावतः ही देर होगई। रिपोर्ट कहती है, कि अगर कोई इसका कारण जानना चाहे कि ये लोग भारत वापस क्यों आगये तो उसे दूर जाने की जरूरत नहीं। महात्मा गांधीके शब्दोंमें इसके कारण थे—“मातृ-भूमिके दर्शन की इच्छा, और यह अफवाह कि भारतको स्वराज्य मिल गया है।” इन्हीं दो कारणोंसे उन्होंने अपना, पैदायशी मुल्क छोड़ा। दुसरा कारण था दक्षिण अफ्रिका के भारतीय विरोधी कायदे। बादमें १९१४ के गांधीस्मट्स सम्मेलनके अनुसार भारतीय रिलीफ बिल पास हुआ और ये सब कायदे स्थगित कर दिये गये, तथापि दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकारने भारतीयोंको वहांसे निकालनेका अपना कार्य बन्द नहीं किया।

भारतीय रिलीफ एक्टके पास होनेके पूर्व सन् १९०२ से



१९१३ तक ३२,५०६ मनुष्यों, स्त्रियों और बच्चोंको बाध्य होकर दक्षिण अफ्रिका छोड़ना पड़ा । इसके बाद २०३८४ भारतीयोंका स्वेच्छासे, और करीब ७५०० भारतीयोंका, देश-परिवर्तन-सहायक कार्यक्रम ( Assisted Emigration Scheme ) के अनुसार, दक्षिण अफ्रिका छोड़नाही हमें यह स्पष्ट रूपसे बतलाता है कि सरकारका देशको भारतीयोंसे खाली करानेमें कितना बड़ा हाथ था । यहां हम १९३० में दिये हुए डा० मैलनके भाषणका कुछ अंश देते हैं, “सर्वोत्तम मार्ग भारतीयोंका देशसे बाहर करना है । इसके अनुसार भारतीय सरकारसे मिल कर यह निश्चय किया गया है, जिसपर ५ वर्षों के बाद पुनर्विचार हो सकता है ” जनरल हार्टजोगने भी एक जगह कहा था—“सब कह लेने और कर चुकनेके बाद, जहां तक संभव है, हम भारतीयोंसे पीछा छोड़ना चाहते हैं । अतएव भारतीयोंको वापस भेजना ही हमारा सर्वप्रथम प्रयत्न होना चाहिये ” ।

तीसरा कारण है, दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकारकी निर्धन भारतीयोंको वापस भेजनेकी शरारत । अपने जीवनका सर्वोत्तम समय उपनिवेशोंमें बिता कर, ये अभाग्य लोग नैतिक और शारीरिक दृष्टिसे अयोग्य होकर अपनी मातृभूमिको लौटते हैं ! जब ये लोग भारत वापस भेजे जा रहे थे तब दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी सरकारने उन्हें एक छपा हुआ फार्म

दिया था, जिसमें लिखा था कि “हिन्दुस्थानकी सरकार हिन्दुस्थान जाने वाले हिन्दुओंका स्वागत करनेकी व्यवस्था करेगी और जो लोग काम करना चाहता होगा उन्हें काम दूँढ़ कर देगी।” भारत सरकारने इस प्रतिज्ञाका कहां तक पालन किया है? रिपोर्टमें भवानीदयाल जी कहते हैं, कि मैं कलकत्ता और उसके आस पास रहने वाले लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारतीयोंसे मिला और उनसे पूछा कि क्या सरकारने नौकरी दूँढ़नेमें तुम्हें सहायता दी? उन्होंने उत्तर दिया कि सरकारने इस विषयमें उनकी ज़रूरत भी सहायता नहीं की। भारत सरकारने मद्रासमें लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयोंकी स्थिति की जांच करनेके लिये एक कमीशन नियुक्त किया था। उस कमीशनके सदस्य, श्री० जी० ए० नटेशन और मि० जे० प्रे लिबने हैं, “अगस्त १९२७ से मार्च १९३० तक कुल ५३२६ प्रवासी भारतीय लौटे हैं, जिनमें २३२६ पुरुष, १२१६ स्त्रियां और १७८१ बच्चे हैं। २३२६ पुरुषोंमेंसे केवल १८६८ ही ऐसे थे जो काम करनेके योग्य हों। बाकीके लोग काम करने लायक बिलकुल नहीं थे। १८६८ में से केवल २०३ आदमियोंने ही नौकरीके लिये विशेष अफसरकी सहायता चाही।”

११ सितम्बर १९२८ में सर मानक जी दादा भाईने कौन्सिल आफ स्टेटमें निम्न लिखित प्रस्ताव पेश किया था, “धार्मिक

और दान देने वाली संस्थाओंकी सहायतासे इस बातका प्रयत्न करना एक दम आरम्भ कर देना चाहिये कि लीटे हुए भारतीय पुनः समाजमें धापस ले लिये जायँ और जो लोग समाजमें न लिये जायँ उनके लिये जहाँ सम्भव हो वहाँ एक या उससे अधिक उपनिवेश स्थापित किये जायँ।' इसका उत्तर माननीय शर्मा ने यह दिया था, "भारत सरकार उपनिवेश स्थापित नहीं कर सकती क्योंकि यह प्रान्तीय प्रश्न है। पर हम प्रान्तीय सरकारोंसे यह सिफारिश करेंगे कि वह जहाँ कहीं आवश्यक हो, वहाँ, उपनिवेश स्थापित करने या अन्य प्रकार की सहायता देनेके सम्बन्धमें विचार करें।"

बनारसी दास जी लिखते हैं, "जहाँ तक मुझे मालूम है प्रान्तीय सरकारोंने इस दिशामें कोई कार्य नहीं किया।" वापस आये हुए प्रवासी भाइयोंकी दुर्दशाका वर्णन करते हुए आगे आप लिखते हैं, "गत ३१ वर्ष से मैं सिडियाबुर्ज (कलकत्ते के पास) अक्सर जाया करता हूँ। वहाँ जिस प्रकार का दर्दनाक दृश्य इस साल देखा है वंसा मैंने पहिले कभी नहीं देखा। पहिले तो लोगों को नौकरियाँ मिल जाती थी और वे किसी न किसी प्रकार अपना जीवन निर्वाह कर ही लेते थे; पर आज बल उपादा तर लोग बेकार हैं और इसी बेकारी के कारण वे भूखों मरनेके निकट आ पहुँचे हैं। उनमेंसे कुछ

लोग अपने घरोंसे (अगर टूटे-फूटे भोपड़ोंको घर कहा जा सके) निकाल दिये गये हैं और बरसातमें उनको अपने दिन और रात पेड़ों के नीचे काटनी पड़ती है।”

रिपोर्टके उपरोक्त उद्धरणसे यह बात स्पष्ट है कि भारत सरकारने इन वापस आये हुए भारतीयोंके प्रति अपने कर्तव्यों का ज़रा भी पालन नहीं किया। रिपोर्टमें आगे यह दिखाया गया है कि किस प्रकार भारत सरकार की ही सलाह से पहले यहाँ से मजदूर अफ्रिका भेजे गये। इसके लिये रिपोर्ट का एक ही उद्धरण काफ़ी होगा।

“मध्य प्रान्त के भू० पू० चोफ कमिश्नर सर बेंजामिन राबर्टसन ने भारत सरकार के प्रतिनिधि की हैसियत से १९२१ की ‘एशियाटिक इनकायरी कमीटी’ के सम्मुख गवाही देते हुए कहा था,—“इस बात पर ज़ोर देनेकी ज़रूरत है कि भारतके मजदूर स्वेच्छासे अफ्रिका नहीं गये। इन लोगों के भरती करने में बड़ी कठिनाई पड़ती थी और अक्सर ये लोग उसी रीतिसे भरती किये गये, जिसे भारतमें ‘कुलियोंकी पकड़’ कहते हैं।”

भारतीय कुलियोंकी उपयोगिता ‘नेटाल मर्करी’ नामक अखबार के १९ जनवरी १८६५ के अंक के निम्न लिखित उद्धरणसे स्पष्ट होगी, “अगर भारतीय कुली न होते तो शक्कर का हमारा निर्यात, जो १८६३ में २६,००० पौण्ड था, १८६४ में १,००००० पौंड तक कदापि न बढ़ता। भविष्य में उसके बढ़नेकी पूर्ण

आशा है ।” १९०६ में क्लेटन कमीशनने दक्षिण अफ्रिका के राष्ट्रीय जीवन पर भारतीयोंके प्रभाव के सम्बन्ध में लिखा था, “गवाहियोंसे यह स्पष्ट होता है कि भारतीय लोग न गोरे लोगों से और न वहां के मूल निवासियोंसे मिल कर रहते हैं । पर वे अपना जीवन अलग बिताते हैं । उनका जीवन उच्च तो नहीं कहा जा सकता । पर वे परिश्रमी, मितव्ययी, न्याय-पालक और उनकी आदतें बहुत ही संयमित रहती हैं । यह बात अभी तक सिद्ध नहीं हो पाई है कि इनके वहां रहने से गोरे अथवा वहां के मूल निवासियों के नैतिक चरित्र पर कुछ प्रभाव पड़ा है ।” भारत सरकार अपने महत्व-पूर्ण कर्तव्य की अवहेलना कर हजारों भारतीयों को दुर्दशा की ओर ढकेल रही है । श्रीयुत भवानीदयाल जी की रिपोर्ट से सरकार के सामने सब बातें स्पष्ट हो जायेंगी । यह आशा की जाती है कि सरकार इन लोगोंकी दशा सुधारने के प्रयत्न करने में देर न लगायगी ।



## आज

बनारस, २४ जुलाई १९३१

श्री भवानीदयाल संन्यासीने दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे लौटे हुए भारतीयों की स्थितिके सम्बन्धमें जांच की है और एक रिपोर्ट तैयार की है । इसमें श्री भवानीदयालकी जांचकी बातोंके सिवा श्री बनारसीदास धनुवंदीके

भी अनुभवकी बातें लिखी हैं। श्री बनारसीदास बहुदेदीको प्रवासी भारतीयोंके मामलेमें कितनी दिलचस्पी है, उनकी स्थितिके सुधारकी उन्हे कितनी चिन्ता रहती है और इस सम्बन्धमें वे कितना काम करते रहते हैं यह हमारे पाठकोंसे छिपा न होना चाहिये। स्वामी भवानी दयालका जन्म दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें हुआ है, वहां गये हुए भारतीयोंमें आपने बहुत कुछ काम किया है। ऐसी स्थितिमें इन दो सज्जनों द्वारा तैयार हुई रिपोर्टका विशेष महत्व है। अक्सर प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी स्थितिके सुधारकी ओर उचित ध्यान नहीं दिया जाता। अक्सर कांग्रेसके नेता यह कह दिया करते हैं कि भारतमें स्वराज्य नहीं है, इसलिये भारतीयों की भारत में भी दुर्दशा है और भारतसे बाहर भी उनकी दुर्दशा की जाती है। यद्यपि यह सिद्धान्तः ठीक है लेकिन हम यह कह कर अपने कर्तव्यसे छुटकारा नहीं पा सकते। यह ठीक है कि स्वराज्याधिकार मिलनेपर हम अपने देशके भाइयों और प्रवासी भाइयोंकी स्थितिका सुधार करने और उनके अधिकारोंकी रक्षा करनेमें समर्थ हो सकेंगे लेकिन इसके साथ यह भी ठीक है कि स्वराज्याधिकार मिलनेके पूर्वतक हम चुपचाप बैठे भी नहीं रह सकते। हमें अपने देशमें और दूसरे देशोंमें भी अनाचारोंके प्रतिकारके लिये, अपने अधिकारोंकी रक्षाके लिये बराबर लड़ते जाना चाहिये। हमें स्मरण रखना चाहिये कि स्वराज्य होनेपर वर्तमान अनाचारोंका प्रतिकार “छूमत्तर” से न हो जायगा। स्वराज्य होनेपर भी भारतमें और दूसरे देशोंमें भारतीयोंके साथ होनेवाले अनाचारोंके प्रतिकारके लिये यत्न करना पड़ेगा। इस समय हम बहुत शोर मचाते हैं पर वर्तमान अनुत्तरदायी सरकार बहुत थोड़ा ही ध्यान देती है। स्वराज्य सरकार जनताके प्रति जिम्मेदार होगी और उसे जनताकी बातोंकी ओर उचित ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। इसलिये इसका यह मतलब

नहीं होता कि हम स्वराज्य मिलने तक कुछ करें ही नहीं। बल्कुल: वर्तमान अनाचारोंके प्रतिकारके लिये लड़ते रहनेसे हमारी शक्ति बढ़ेगी, अनाचारो दबने लगेंगे और स्वराज्याधिकार मिलनेमें सहायता मिलेगी।

स्वामी भवानीदयालने इस रिपोर्टमें दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके प्रवासी भारतीयोंका इतिहास दिया है। इसे पढ़नेसे स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि पहले तो गरीब भारतवासी कुली प्रयाके अनुसार दक्षिण अफ्रिका बुलाये गये, भारतीयोंको दक्षिण अफ्रिका जानेके लिये नाना प्रकार के प्रलोभन दिये गये, उन्हें बहकाया गया और उन्हें छोड़ा दिया गया। जब भारतीयों के परिश्रमसे दक्षिण अफ्रिका समृद्धिशाली हो गया तो भारतीयोंको उस देशसे निकालनेका प्रयत्न किया जा रहा है।

सन् १९०१ से कानूनोंके द्वारा प्रवासी भारतीयोंको दक्षिण अफ्रिका लुडानेके लिये हर तरहकी कोशिश की जा रही है। इन सारी कोशिशोंका नतीजा यह हुआ है कि अब तक साठ हजारसे ऊपर भारतीयोंने दक्षिण अफ्रीका छोड़ दिया है। इस संबन्धका वर्तमान कानून 'असिसटेड एमिग्रेशन स्कोम' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध है। १९२७के केपटाउन समझौतेके अनुसार यह कानून बना है। इसके अनुसार दक्षिण अफ्रीका प्रवासी भारतीयको वह देश छोड़ने पर बीस पाँड योनस मिलता है और भारत तक का किराया भी मिलता है। इस कानून के अनुसार भारतीयको तीन बरसके अन्दर दक्षिण अफ्रिका लौटनेका अधिकार रहता है लेकिन उसे योनस और किराया वापस करना पड़ता

है। ऊपरसे यह कानून दोष रहित प्रकट होता है लेकिन व्यवहारमें इसका परिणाम बुरा हो रहा है। वर्तमान कानूनको बने तीन बरस हो गये हैं। अकेले इसी कानूनसे ७५०० दक्षिण अफ्रीका प्रवासी भारतीय भारत लौट आये हैं। श्री भवानीदयाल की जांचकी रिपोर्टसे प्रकट होता है कि जो प्रवासी भारतीय भारत लौटते हैं उन्हें भारतकी स्थितिका ज्ञान नहीं रहता और वे प्रलोभनमें आकर भारत लौटनेको राजी होते हैं। भारत आनेपर वे जैसी विपत्तियों पड़ते हैं, यह उन्हें दक्षिण अफ्रीकामें मालूम रहे तो वे भारत आनेका नाम कदापि न ले। बात यह है कि प्रवासी भारतीय इतने समयसे दक्षिण अफ्रीकामें रहते हैं कि वही देश उनकी जन्मभूमि हो गयी है। अब वे इस देशमें आते हैं, तो वे अपने को गृहहीन और मित्रहीन पाते हैं। उनका यहां घर नहीं है, उनके सम्बन्धों उन्हें बिराद्रीमें लेनेके लिये तैयार नहीं हैं, वे इस देशको विदेशसा पाते हैं। उन्हें यहां नौकरी नहीं मिलती, यहांकी जलवायु उनके अनुकूल नहीं पड़ती, वे दरिद्र हो जाते हैं, बीमारियोंके शिकार हो जाते हैं और दर दर घूमते रहते हैं। उनके बोनस का खयाल खतम हो जाता है और दक्षिण अफ्रीका लौटना तो उनके लिये असम्भव हो जाता है। जब उनके खाने और पहननेका ही सहारा नहीं तो वे बोनस का बीस पाँड और आनेका किराया और फिर जानेका किराया



कहांसे ले आवें । समझा यह गया था कि इस कानूनके कारण बहुतसे प्रवासी भारतीय भारत लौट आवेंगे और दक्षिण अफरोकाके श्वेतोंकी ओरसे भारतीयोंके साथ जो दुर्घटवहार होता है उसमें बहुत कमी हो जायगी । अवश्य ही काफ़ी प्रवासी भारतीय भारत लौट आये हैं और दक्षिण अफरोकामें प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी संख्यामें कमी हो गयी है लेकिन श्वेतोंकी मनोवृत्ति और व्यवहारमें परिवर्तन नहीं हुआ है ।

पंडित बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदीसे प्रत्यागत प्रवासियोंकी त्रिपत्तियोंका वर्णन करनेके बाद लिखते हैं कि मैं पिछले सत्रह वर्षोंसे प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी सेवा कर रहा हूँ, मैंने सैकड़ों प्रत्यागत प्रवासियोंसे बातें की हैं और मैं इसी नतीजेपर पहुँचा हूँ कि किसी भी देशमें प्रवासी भारतीयोंको भारत लौटनेको न कहा जाय, वे इस देशमें सुखका जीवन नहीं बिता सकते, उनकी दृष्टिसे यह कहीं अच्छा है कि वे इस देश में आने का विचार न करें । स्वामी भवानीदयाल भी पूर्ण अनुसन्धानके बाद इसी नतीजेपर पहुँचे हैं । इस लिये आवश्यक है कि ऐसा प्रबल आन्दोलन किया जाय जिससे भारतीयोंके संबन्धका वर्तमान कानून रद्द हो और ऐसी व्यवस्था की जाय जिससे प्रत्यागत भारतीय फिर दक्षिण अफरोका जा सकें । जिस मनुष्यने अपने जीवनका अधिकांश समय दक्षिण अफरोकामें बिताया हो, जो वहीं बस गया हो,

या जिसका वहीं जन्म हुआ हो, उसका वहीं देश है, उसकी वहीं जन्म भूमि है और उसे वहां रहनेका जन्म सिद्ध अधिकार होना चाहिये । दक्षिण अफ्रीकामें प्रवासी भारतीयोंको रहनेका उसी तरह अधिकार होना चाहिये जिस तरह वहांके श्वेतों और अन्य लोगोंको है । भारत सरकार का कर्तव्य है कि वह प्रवासी भारतीयोंके अधिकारोंकी रक्षाका यत्न करे । इसके साथ ही उसे प्रत्यागत प्रवासियों की स्थिति की जांच करके उनके जीवन-निर्वाहका उचित प्रबन्ध करना चाहिये । वर्तमान कानून बननेके समय भारत सरकारकी ओर से कहा गया था कि प्रत्यागत भारतीयोंको भारतमें बसने और उन्हें काम दिलाने में सहायता दी जायगी । सरकारको अपने इस कर्तव्यका पालन करना चाहिये । कांग्रेसका कर्तव्य है कि वह प्रत्यागत भारतीयों की स्थितिके सुधारके लिये उचित कार्य करे, जो हम जानते हैं कि इस समय इधर विशेष ध्यान देना उसके लिये असम्भव है । स्वराज्य होने तक प्रत्यागत भारतीयोंकी विपत्तिके सुधारका यत्न स्थगित नहीं रखा जा सकता । इसके साथ ही दक्षिण अफ्रीका की सरकार और वहांकी गोरी जनताको भी सावधान हो जाना चाहिये । स्वतंत्र भारत अपनी प्रवासी सन्तानकी दुःखगाथाको उस प्रकार सहन न करेगा जिस प्रकार आज परतंत्र भारत कर रहा है । उसके पास प्रतिकारके साधन होंगे और वह उनसे पूरा पूरा काम लेगा ।

# महाधीर

पटना, २० जुलाई १९३१

पराधीनता बड़ी ही दयनीय होती है । पराधीन भारतकी संताने जो किसी कारण भिन्न भिन्न उपनिवेशों में जा बसीं, या जिन्हें फुसला मतला कर, बड़ी बड़ी झूठी लालचें दिखाकर दूसरे देशोंमें गोरे पूंजीपतियों का भण्डार भरनेके लिए भेजा गया, उनके साथ जो अन्याय और अग्रमान हुए हैं, उन्हे याद कर स्वाभाविक रोष के साथ ही अपनी गुलामी-बेवसी पर आपही दया आने लगती है । आज उन्हीं प्रवासी भाइयोंकी महती समस्याका विचित्र अंश हमारे सामने उपस्थित हुआ है ।

वह समस्या है, उन भारतीयोंकी, जो अफ्रिका तथा अन्य विदेशों से जहां वे प्रायः बस से गये थे और अब उन्हे घूममें डालकर तथा इसी प्रकारके अन्य हथकंडों द्वारा फिर भारत पहुंचाया गया है और अभाग्यवश कवोन्द्र रवीन्द्रकी उस अमर कविता के शब्दों में “ निजवास भूमि, परवासी होलो ”, अपनी मातृभूमि ही उनके लिए प्रवास हो रही है । इस कठिन समस्या पर महात्मा गांधी, दीन बन्यु एण्ड्रूज तथा अन्यान्य बड़े बड़े भारतीय नेताओं का ध्यान गया है । स्वामी भवानीदयालजी जिनका जन्म-कर्म अफ्रिका में ही हुआ और जिन्होंने प्रवासी भारतीयोंके हितोंको ही अपना एक तरह से जीवनोद्देश्य बना

लिया है, उन्होंने “विशाल भारत” सम्पादक श्री बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदी के साथ, जिनको सेवार्य भी इस दिशामें नगण्य नहीं हैं भारतमें बिड़कुड़ बनावटो परिस्थिति में लौटनेवाले उन प्रवासी भाइयोंकी दुर्दशा को निष्पक्ष और गहरी जांच की है जिसकी रिपोर्ट अभी हमारे सामने है। इस विद्वतापूर्ण और दुर्लभ रिपोर्टके लेखकोंने आदिसे अन्त तक यह दिखलाया है कि किल प्रकार दक्षिण अफ्रिका तथा अन्य उपनिवेशों के स्वामी अङ्गरेजों की अर्थ-लोलुप महत्वाकांक्षाओं की तृप्तिके लिए दूसरा उपाय न मिलने पर १९ वीं सदी में ही भारतीय कुड़ी जानवरों की तरह बन्धा बन्धा कर उन उपनिवेशों में ५ वर्ष की शर्त-बन्दी पर भेजे जाते थे। इन्हीं भारतीयोंने अपने कार्य-दक्षता, परिश्रम और अध्यवसायसे दक्षिण अफ्रिकाको “एक सुन्दर और सुरम्य वाटिका” में परिणत कर दिया। अङ्गरेजों की जानमें जान आई और उनके भाग्य चमक गये। मगर आगे चलकर ये लोग अपने त्राण-दाता इन्हीं भारतीयोंसे स्पर्धा करने लगे। जब अङ्गरेजोंने देखा कि ये भारतीय प्रवासी, बुद्धि, व्यवसाय और परिश्रम में कितो से कम नहीं है, जब उन्होंने देखा कि बुदुतेरे प्रवासी भारतीयोंने अपने कार्य कोशकसे जीवनके के भिन्न भिन्न विभागों में बड़ो सफलता प्राप्त करली है, तब उनको पिढ्ढो चमको। और तब से भारतीयों को, जिन्होंने अपने जीवनसे “अफ्रिकाकी वाटिका” को सौंचा

था, निकाल भगानेके वेध और अवैध उपाय सोचे जाने लगे। इस तरह के एक दो नहीं, सैकड़ों कानून बनाये जाने लगे जिससे भारतीयोंके सम्मानपूर्ण अधिकारोंको असह्य अगहेल-नार्ये हुईं। आज यह बात सब पर विदित है कि अपने प्रचानो भाइयोंकी इन्हीं गडौली समस्याओं को सुठरानेके लिए महा-त्मा गांधीने दक्षिण अफ्रिकाको अपना जीवन अर्पण किया था और वहाँ सत्याग्रह महात्त का आविष्कार हुआ जो बीनवीं सदीमें सारे संसार को चकत्कृत कर रहा है। दक्षिण अफ्रिका में भारतीय प्रवासी स्थायो सन्पत्ति न रख सकें, बड़ो संख्यामें नये प्रवासी आ न सकें, और बसने न पावें, इसके लिये सिरतोड़ कोशिशें होती रहीं और अभाग्यवश भारतीय सर-कार विदेशी होनेके कारण दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके प्रवासी भारतीयों की रक्षाके मोमलोंमें भयङ्कर जाति-पक्ष-पात दिखाती गया जिस कारण वहाँके गोरोंकी और भी हिम्मत बढ़ती गयी। भारतीयोंको जबरदस्ती वहाँसे निकालनेको एक नीति यह भी अख्तियार की गयी कि वहाँके भारतीयोंपर एक पेना टैक्स लगाया जिसके कारण बहुतसे प्रवासियोंने हिन्दु-स्तान आना ही उचित समझा। इस तरह कुल ३२५०६ प्रवासी अपने देशको लौट आनेको बाध्य हुए। फिर दूसरो योजना निकाली गई। वह यह थी कि वहाँकी सरकारने यह घोषित किया कि जो भारतीय अपने देशको वापस जाना चाहें, उन्हें सरकारकी ओरसे जानेका खर्च दिया जायगा,

परन्तु उन्हें यह शर्त माननी होगी कि वे फिर इस देशमें न लौटेंगे । इस योजनासे भी १९१४ से १९२६ तक कुल २०,३८४ भारतीय लौट आये । उसके बाद भी भारतीय प्रवासियोंको वहांसे निकाल बाहर करनेकी कोशिशें जारी रहीं और दक्षिण अफ्रिका छोड़ कर आने वाले भारतीयोंको २० पाँड फी आदमीके हिसाब से पुरस्कार भी दिया जाने लगा और इस नई आयोजनाके अनुसार अब तक साढ़े सात हजार आदमी स्वदेश लौट चुके हैं । ये सीधे सादे भारतीय मज़दूर और किसान अपनी मातृभूमिके दर्शन और प्रिय सज्जनों के सहवासके लिये अपने गाढ़े परिश्रमकी कमाई और अपने प्रयत्नोंके होनहार फलोंको छोड़ कर बड़ी संख्यामें भारतके भिन्न भिन्न बन्दरगाहोंमें आने लगे । परन्तु स्वदेश पहुँचने पर इन लौटे हुए प्रवासियोंने देखा कि दुनिया बिलकुल बदली हुई है । उनकी आंखोंके सामने वास्तविकताका विकट दृश्य दीखने लगा । हिन्दूसमाजके वर्तमान संगठनमें इन अभागों के लिए अछूत बननेके अलावे दूसरी जगह ही नहीं है । उन के भाई बन्धोंने उन्हें समाजकी गोदीमें लेनेसे इन्कार कर दिया । इसके अलावे आर्थिक दृष्टि कोणसे भी उन्हें दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी अपेक्षा कम मज़दूरी मिलने लगी । बहुतांशको तो काम ही नहीं मिलता । इस प्रकार ये अभागे भारतीय मद्रास, बम्बई और कलकत्तेके पास मद्रियाबुर्ज स्थानोंमें हजारोंकी संख्यामें वृत्त काट रहे हैं । उनका जीवन दयनीय हो रहा

है। न खानेका ठिकाना, न रहनेका ठिकाना और न लाज ढकने को चख। जिन्होंने इन दृश्योंको अपनी आंखों देखा है, उनके वर्णनोंसे हृदय टूक टूक हो जाता है। जो लोग उन उपनिवेशोंमें मौजकी जिन्दगी बिताते थे, वेहो इस अमागे देशमें आकर मिखमंगोंकेसे दीखते है।

हम स्वामी भवानोदयालजीको इस रिपोर्टपर धन्यवाद दिये बिना नहीं रह सकते। उन्होंने स्वदेशको लौटनेको वाध्य किये जाने वाले भारतीयोंका चित्र चित्रण कर बड़ी भारी सेवा की है और हमारी जोरदार राय है कि भारत सरकारकी अकर्मण्यताके कारण यह अन्याय सम्भव हो रहा है। भारतीय लोकमतपर ध्यान रखते हुए विदेशी भारत सरकारका भी यह धर्म है कि वह कमसे कम युनियन सरकारको उसकी नीतिके भयंकर परिणामोंको चेतावनी दे दे और ऐसा कोई समझौता न माने जिसमें प्रवासी भारतीयोंके लौटाये जानेकी योजना हो। इतना ही नहीं, हम यह भी कहेंगे कि अगर दक्षिण अफ्रिकाकी युनियन सरकारको यही नीति रहे तो हमें वाध्य होकर अपने स्वाभिमानको रक्षा करनेके लिए दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे आनेवाले बहुतसी चीजों का वहिष्कार भी करना पड़ेगा। दक्षिण अफ्रिका का सस्ता कोयला, वहां की खानोंसे निकाले गये सोनेकी खपत सब से ज्यादा इसी देशमें है और हम वहांके अङ्गरेजोंको बतला देंगे कि सोनेके

प्यार और कोयले की सस्तोसे हमारे अपने भाइयोंकी रक्षा और स्वाभिमान हमें अधिक प्यारे हैं ।

साथ ही इस बातकी भी अत्यधिक आवश्यकता है कि जो प्रवासी भाई इस देशमें अपना भूलोंसे आही गये हैं उनकी रक्षा और भरण पोषणके लिए समुचित प्रवन्ध होना चाहिए । इस सम्बन्ध में बिहार और युक्त प्रान्तके हिन्दुओंसे भी यह कहे बिना नहीं रहा जा सकता कि उन्होंने अपने बिलुड्डे भाइयोंको फिर अपनी जाति में न लेकर हिन्दू जाति को भयंकर हानि पहुंचाई है । याद रहे, हिन्दुओंके इसी कट्टरपन ने हमें रसातल पहुंचाया और फलतः हमारी ही समाधि पर दूसरी जातियों के उत्कर्षके पौधे निकल रहे हैं । यह सब देखते हुए भी अपने भाइयों और बेरादरी वालोंको गर्दनिया देकर निकालना हृदय होनताका प्रमाण होनेके साथही हिन्दू धर्मके उच्च सिद्धान्तोंके सर्वथा विपरीत भी है । हम चाहते हैं कि इस कठिनाई को सुलझाने के लिए इन दो प्रान्तोंमें ऐसी कमीटियोंके संगठनकी आवश्यकता है जो इस तरहके लौटे हुए प्रवासियोंके बेरादरी वालोंसे मिलकर उन्हें अपनी जातिमें मिला लेनेको वाश्य करे । इस काममें हिन्दू समाजोंको भी पूर्ण सहयोग देना चाहिए । हमें आशा है जो लोग इन भाइयों की सेवा में संलग्न हैं वे इन सलाहों पर अवश्य ध्यान देंगे ।





## गृहस्थ

गया, ६ अगस्त १९३१

स्वामी भवानीदयाल संन्यासी पहली अक्टूबर १९२६ के प्रथम सप्ताहमें दक्षिण अफ्रिका से रवाने होकर उसी मासके अन्तमें भारतभूमि में पधारे। यहां आने पर आपने दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके लौटे हुए हिन्दुस्थानियोंकी हालतकी जांच करने का कार्य, जो आपको सौंपा गया था, आरम्भ किया। आपने प्रवासी भाइयोंकी दशाका निरीक्षण बम्बई, कलकत्ता, मद्रास, युक्तप्रान्त और बिहारके जिलोंमें घूम घूम कर किया। इस जांचकी जो रिपोर्ट आपने प्रकाशित की है उसे पढ़ कर हृदय व्यथित और शरीर कम्पित हो जाता है।

जिस समय नेटालको आबाद करनेकी जरूरत थी उस समय हिन्दुस्थानी मजदूरोंकी बड़ी मांग थी किन्तु भारतीयों को मेहनतसे बह दैश फूल-फल जाने पर, आज गोरे साहब उनको काला समझ कर सता रहे हैं और केपटाउन समझौतेके अनुसार २० पौण्ड इनामका लालच देकर उनको दक्षिण अफ्रिका से निकाल रहे हैं। यहां आने पर उन अमागों की दशा अत्यन्त चिन्तनीय हो जाती है। वे दाने दानेके लिये तरस रहे हैं, कपड़के बिना नंगे फिरते हुए दिखाई

पड़ते हैं। भारत सरकारने अभी तक इनकी ओर कुछ भी ध्यान नहीं दिया है जिसके फल स्वरूप नौकरी न मिलने के कारण—इनकी अवस्था चिन्ताजनक हो गई है। जितने लोग स्वदेश लोटे हैं उनमें से किसीकी आर्थिक - अवस्था अच्छी नहीं मालूम पड़ती है—वह इतनी दुःखदायी है कि उसे देख कर ही अनुभव किया जा सकता है। इसका कारण यह है कि जो मजदूर नेटालमें असानीसे तीन चार पौंड माहवारी कमा कर चाय बिस्कुट दाल भात और रोटी तरकारी खा सकते थे आज यहां आने पर उन्हें सब चीजें स्वप्नवत हो रही हैं बड़ी बड़ी कठिनाइयां उठाने पर भी दस पन्द्रह रुपयेकी नौकरी नहीं मिलती है। आज वे ही मजदूर साग-सत्तू और चना-चबेना खाकर दिन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं। इस समय देशमें बेकारी बढ़ी हुई है और लाखों आदमी बेकार हैं। ऐसी हालतमें लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयोंको नौकरी मिले तो कैसे ? जो मजदूर नेटालमें हट्टे-कट्टे मजबूत और धन संचय करने में निपुण थे वे ही आज फलकत्ता और मद्रासके गन्दे मुहल्लोंमें धनहीन और बलहीन बनकर दिन काट रहे हैं। इस भयंकर स्थितिका एक मात्र कारण हमारी भारतीय सरकार है क्योंकि उसने क्रेप्टाउन एग्रिमेन्टमें यह वायदा किया था कि जो प्रवासी नेटालसे लौटेंगे उनको बसाने

और नौकरी दिलाने में भारत सरकार सहायता करेगी, किन्तु सरकारने इस ओरसे अपना दख फेर लिया है, जिस का परिणाम यह हुआ है कि सैकड़ों लग भग ३० आदमी मलाया और सिलोनमें जाकर जीवन व्यतीत कर रहे हैं। न तो इन प्रवासियोंके पास धन है कि मकानका किराया चुका सकें और कपड़े खरीद कर अपनी स्त्री और बच्चोंके अंगोंको ढांप सकें और न भारतीय समाजमें इनके लिये कोई स्थान है। स्वामीजी की रिपोर्टसे यही ज्ञात होता है कि भारतीयों ने अपने प्रवासी भाइयोंके साथ बड़ा ही अन्याय किया है। आज विदेशोंसे लौटने पर जातमें उनके लिये कोई जगह नहीं रही है। आर्थिक दुरावस्थाके कारण कितने प्रवासी अपने छोटे छोटे बच्चोंको विधर्मियों के हाथ बेच चुके और सामाजिक विभ्रमता के कारण कितने विधर्मियोंके चंगुलमें फंस रहे हैं, किन्तु हमारे धर्मके ढोंग रचने वाले उनको समाजमें शरण नहीं देते। इसके लिये हिन्दुओं को लज्जित होना चाहिये। कई वर्षों हुए पं० बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदीने हिन्दू महासभाके सम्मुख इस आशयका एक प्रस्ताव रखा था कि प्रवासियोंको जातिमें जगह दिलानेके लिये महासभा पूरी कोशिश करे किन्तु खेद है कि हिन्दू महासभा भी इस ओरसे विमुख है। हां, वर्तमान हिन्दू धर्मके उदारक आर्यसमाजने इस ओर ध्यान दिया और कुछ सहायता

( १०२ )

पहुँचाई किन्तु वह भी दालमें नमकके बराबर है । केप्टीन एग्रिमेण्टपर पुनर्विचार करनेके लिये दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें जो राउण्ड टेबल कान्फ्रेन्स होने वाली है उसमें देश लौटनेकी योजनाको भारत सरकार कदापि स्वीकार न करे अन्यथा और भी अनेकों अभागोंका जीवन नष्ट होगा ।



## आनन्द बाजार पत्रिका

कलकत्ता, मई १९३१

स्वामी भवानीदयाल संन्यासी और श्रीयुत् बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदीने स्वदेशमें आये हुए प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी शोचनीय दुदशाके विषयमें हालमें जो रिपोटें प्रकाशित की हैं, उसे पढ़कर प्रत्येक देशहितैषी भारतवासीको इस गम्भीर विषयमें सावधान हो जाना चाहिये । फिजी, ब्रिटिश गायना, ट्रिनीडाड, नेटाल, दक्षिण अफ्रिका आदि ब्रिटिश उपनिवेशोंसे गत कई बर्षों में जितने भी प्रवासी भारतीय भारतमें लौटे हैं उनमें से अधिकांश कलकत्ता के किनारे मटियाबुर्ज नामक स्थानमें ठहरे हुए हैं । यह मटियाबुर्ज स्थान गंदा और अस्वास्थ्यकर होने से लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयों की ऐसी शोचनीय दशा है कि कितने ही भाई अपनी जिन्दगी से हाथ धो बैठे । चारों तरफ,

गन्दे पानीके नाले, गन्दी घनी बस्तियां, दुर्गन्धमय मोरियो और गन्दै रास्ते है तथा पीनेके स्वच्छ पानीका अभाव है, जिससे बहू स्थान मलेरिया, टाइफाइड आदि नाना रोगोंका केन्द्र बन गया है। यहाँ तक कि कलकत्ता म्युनिसिपैलिटी के लिये भी मडियाबुजें एक पूत्यक्ष कलंक-स्वरूप है।

एक तो इस तरहके अत्यास्थकर स्थानमें—गन्दो बस्तोंमें रहना फिर बेकार अवस्था,—इस परसे समझ सकते हैं कि उन आइरोंकी केंब्री भोरब अवस्था है। प्रवासी आइरोंकी सहायताके लिये समितिकें मन्त्री भी एक० ई० जेम्सने इस विषय पर लिखा था—“प्रवासी भारतीयोंमेंसे बहुतेरे आई अपने देयमें लौटनेके बाद अपने अपने ग्रामोंमें पहुँचे थे, परन्तु ग्रामोंके समाजने उनको बहिष्कृत कर दिया, क्योंकि समाजके साथ इनकी जीवन प्रणाली मिलती नहीं। आखिर बेचारे इलाय होकर काम घन्थेको आशा से कलकत्ता आकर मडियाबुजेंमें रहने लगे परन्तु यहाँ उन्हें कोई काम नहीं मिला, और इस तरह अब वे निकलताह होकर किसी तरह मरते गिने अपने दिन काट रहे हैं। किसी किसीके मनमें अब भी जीव आशा लगी हुई है कि किसी तरह अगर वे फिर प्रवास में लौट जायं तो अपनी गुजर कर लें। मगर वह आशा आकाश-मुसम-सी है, इसमें कहना ही क्या ?”

ये सब स्वास्थ्यहीन, अनसूदय, बेकार लोग अगर घेरें घेरि दुनीतिगर उतारु होकर अपना निर्वाह करने लग जायं तो आश्चर्य नहीं। अब इनकी रत्नाका एक मात्र यही उपाय है कि इन्हें फिरसे किसी तरह उन्हीं उपनिवेशोंमें भेजने की व्यवस्था की जाय, जहाँ ये पहले काम करके आराम से अपनी जिन्दगी बिताते थे। इनमें बहुतेरे ऐसे हैं जो वहाँ

पैदा हुए हैं और वहीं पल कर बड़े हुए हैं, इस लिये वहीं इनकी बेकारी का प्रश्न आसानीसे हल हो सकता है। भारतमें आकर अपनी आजीविकासे बंचित हो जाने और भिन्न प्रकार की आवश्यकताओं से आ जानेसे इनके लिये यहाँ जिन्दगी बिताना मुश्किल हो गया है। महात्मा गान्धी ने भी फिलहाल यही मन्तव्य प्रकट किया है। प्रवासी भाइयोंका दुःख उनसे अधिक और कौन समझ सकता है ?

कहनेका तात्पर्य यह है कि गत कई वर्षोंके अनुभवसे मालूम होता है कि उपनिवेशोंसे प्रवासी भारतीयोंको हिन्दुस्थान भेजे जानेकी नीति अत्यन्त भ्रान्त है। इसका नतीजा यह हुआ कि प्रवासी भारतीयोंका प्रश्न किसी भी तरह से हल तो हुआ ही नहीं, बल्कि वह और भी जटिल होता जा रहा है। भारत-सरकारको इस बातकी कोशिश करनी चाहिये कि जिससे भ्रान्त नीतिका शीघ्र ही अन्त आ जाय। इस भ्रान्त नीतिके कारण हिन्दुस्थानमें आये हुए प्रवासी भाइयोंकी जो यह असह्य दुर्दशा हो रही है उसके लिये क्या सरकार ही मुख्यतः ज़ुम्मेवार नहीं है ? इसके सिवा मंटियाबुजं नरक कुण्डके संस्कार के लिये भी सरकार और कलकता म्युनिसिपालिटी दोनोंको एक साथ उद्योग करना चाहिये, नहीं तो सभ्य जगतके सामने उनकी काफी बदनामी होगी—[ बंगालसे अनुवाद ]



## बंगलादेश

कलकत्ता मई, १९३१।

पराधीन भारतकी समस्या केवल भारतमें हो सोमावद्ध नहीं है, समुद्र-पार सुदूर दक्षिण अफ्रिका, वृष्टिया गायना और फिजी तक इस अभागे देशकी समस्या फैली हुई है। समुद्र-पारके इन भारतीयोंका भाग्याकाश औपनिवेशिक श्वेताङ्गोंके सम्मिलित विरुद्ध प्रयत्नोंके कारण आज दुःख और दुर्दशाके काले बादलोंसे घटाटोप हो रहा है। श्वेताङ्ग औपनिवेशिक और वहांकी सरकारी आवश्यकताओंको पूर्ति के लिये ये भारतवासी जब अपना घर द्वार छोड़ कर वहां गये थे, तब परोक्ष रूपमें अनेक आशाएँ दी गयी थीं। आज जब उन्होंने जङ्गल काट कर नगर बना दिये, तब उनकी आवश्यकता मिट गयी, और इसीलिये हर तरहसे उन्हें तङ्ग करके वहां से भगानेकी तैयारियां और पड़यन्त्र हो रहे हैं। गत दस वर्षोंसे प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी आलोचना और प्रतिवाद आदि हो रहे हैं, भारतबन्धु पण्डूज, श्रीमती सरोजिनी नायडू आदि अनेक निरपेक्ष महानुभाव गेर सरकारी तौरपर इस समस्याको हल करनेके लिये फिजी और दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें गये थे। इससे बहुत सा काम हुआ है, परन्तु अबभी

बहुत बाकी है । खास कर प्रत्यागमन योजनाके अनुसार जो प्रवासी भाई भारतको लौटे हैं; उनके कष्टों और दुर्दशाओंका दूर होना तो अलग, बल्कि वृद्धि ही हुई है ।

इस विषयमें हमें सावधान करनेके लिये तथा प्रवासी भाइयोंकी सारी हालत सबको जतलानेके लिये श्रीयुत भवानीदयाल संन्यासी और पं० बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदीने लम्बी रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की है, वह अत्यन्त समयोचित हुई है । श्रीयुत बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदी लगभग दस वर्षोंसे प्रवासी भारतीयोंके विषयमें आन्दोलन कर रहे हैं । आपने भारत-बन्धु एण्ड्रूजके साथ प्रवासी भारतीयोंके सहायतार्थ संगठित सभामें काम भी किया है । श्रीयुत भवानीदयाल संन्यासी ने दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें ही जन्म ग्रहण किया है और वहीं जीवनका अधिकांश समय बिताया है । इस लिये रिपोर्ट जहां तक संभव है प्रमाणिक है और प्रयोजनीय तथ्योंसे परिपूर्ण है, इसमें कहना ही क्या ?

उक्त दोनों महानुभावोंकी पृथक पृथक विवृति रिपोर्टमें मौजूद है । चतुर्वेदीजीने समस्त उपनिवेशोंके लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयोंके विषयमें अपना अनुभव लिखा है । और संन्यासी जीने खासकर दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके सम्बन्धमें लिखा है । परन्तु अन्तमें जाकर दोनोंका सिद्धान्त लगभग एक ही रूपमें परिणत हो गया है ।



सन् १९२० में पहले पहले लगभग ६०० प्रवासी भारतीयोंका एक दल प्रत्यागमन नीतिके अनुसार भारतमें आया था, तब से लेकर आज तक वे मटियाबुर्जमें ही उतरे हैं, और उन सबको वहाँ अनेक असुविधाएँ और महान कष्ट मिलते रहे हैं। चतुर्वेदीजीके वक्तव्यमें उन्हीं सभका विस्तृत वर्णन है। श्रीयुत भवानीदयाल संन्यासीने दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें भारतीय प्रवास आदिके कारणोंके विषयमें आलोचना करते हुए कहा है कि इसके लिये भारतीय सरकार और यूनियन गवर्नमेण्ट समान रूपसे जिम्मेवार है। मज़दूरोंके विषयमें यदि "शर्तबन्दी" की अवस्था न की जाती तो आज दक्षिण अफ्रिका और अन्यान्य उपनिवेशोंकी जो समस्या उठ खड़ी हुई है वह हर्गिज देखनेमें न आती। सन् १९१४ में गांधी-स्मटस् सन्धिके बाद ऐसा प्रतीत हुआ था कि शायद दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके प्रवासी भारतीयोंको कुछ दिनोंके लिये शांति मिलेगी। परन्तु पीछे अनुभव हुआ कि यह आशा दुराशा मात्र है।

दोनों महाशयोंने उपसंहारमें अपनी यह राय प्रकट की है कि उपनिवेशोंसे भारतीयोंका वापस आना किसी तरह भी बाँझनीय नहीं और न समर्थन करने ही योग्य है। कारण जो लोग अबतक यहाँ वापस आये हैं, वे अनेक कष्ट सहनेके बाद अपने अपने उपनिवेशोंको लौट जाना चाहते हैं। वहाँ

( १०८ )

की अपेक्षा यहां मजदूरी कम मिलती है । इसके अतिरिक्त सामाजिक ज्यादतियों के कारण वे अपने गांवोंमें जाकर बसने नहीं पाते—गांववाले उन्हें जातिमें शामिल करना नहीं चाहते । महात्मा जी का यह कथन कि “ उपनिवेशोंमें जो पैदा हुए हैं, वे उपनिवेशों के सिवा अन्यत्र कहीं भी सुखपूर्वक रह नहीं सकते ” बिल्कुल अक्षरशः सत्य है—( बंगभाषासे अनुवाद )



## फिजी-समाचार

सूवा, ११ जुलाई १९३१

दक्षिण अफ्रिका से लौटे भारतीयोंकी वास्तविक अवस्था जांचकर श्री स्वामी भवानीदयालजी तथा श्री पं० बनासीदास जी चतुर्वेदीने जो रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित की हैं वह हमारे सामने है । रिपोर्ट का सम्बन्ध यद्यपि विशेषरूप से दक्षिण अफ्रिका से है परन्तु लगभग सभी उपनिवेशों में भारतीयोंकी एक सी ही परिस्थिति होनेके कारण उन सबकी अवस्था का अनुमान इससे किया जा सकता है ।

उपर्युक्त दोनों सज्जनों के जीवन का अधिकांशभाग प्रवासी भारतवासियोंकी सेवा में ही व्यतीत हुआ है । उनकी सदा-शयता, उनकी लगन, उनकी हितचिन्तकता, तथा प्रवासी भार-

तीयोंके दुःखमें उनकी समवेदना किस भारतप्रवासी से छिपी है। दोनों ही सज्जनोंने प्रवाससे लौटे भारतीयोंके लिए भान्दोलन करनेमें ज़मीन आसमान एक कर दिया। सरकार तकके दरवाजे खटखटाये, सरकारी कमीशन भी जांचके लिए बैठे पर उसकी जांचसे भारतीयोंका कुछ लाभ न हो सका।

स्वामी जी के जेल चले जाने तथा अन्य अनेक कारणों के उपस्थित होनेके कारण रिपोर्ट प्रकाशित करनेमें एक वर्ष से भी अधिक का विलम्ब होगया।

रिपोर्ट को आद्योपान्त पढ़ जाने पर पाठक की आंख खुल जाती है और उसे पता लगता है कि भारतीयों में साक्षरता न होनेके कारण उन्हें लोग किस प्रकार अनेक प्रकारके मोहक तथा आकर्षक जाल फैला उनमें फँसाते हैं। जब भारतीय मजदूरों की आवश्यकता थी तबतो आरकाटो हिन्दुस्तानमें जाल बिछा बिछा उन्हें फँसा, उपनिवेशोंमें ले जाते थे। जब उपनिवेशोंके बीहड़ बियाबान खूँखार जानवरोंसे भरे जंगल साफ होगये, जमीन चौरस तथा उपजाऊ होगई, तब वही भारतीय दक्षिण अफ्रीकाके मोरोंकी आंखोंमें खटकने लगे और उन्हें घता बताया जाने लगा और तो और धन तक देकर उन्हें भारत भेज दिया गया। वहां वे एक एक कौरके लिए तरस रहे हैं, रातको सोनेके लिए किराया पास न होनेके कारण पेड़ों की जड़ों का सहारा ले रहे हैं।

प्रवासियों के भारतीय भारतको अपना माता समझ वहाँ जाते हैं परन्तु देखा जाता है कि हिन्दू विराद्री धर्म का नाम लेकर उन्हें अपने अन्दर मिळाना नहीं चाहती । उनके साथ शादी विवाहका रिश्ता नहीं किया जाता और तो और हुक्का पानी तक उनका बन्द रहता है ।

विदेशोंमें भारतीय चाहे सनातनधर्मों भो क्यों न हों परन्तु भारतमें हिन्दुओंकी विराद्रीका बहिष्कार, हुक्केपानी की रुकावट उन्हें जब वे हिन्दुस्तान जाते हैं तब दूधकी मक्खीकी तरह बाहर निकाल फेंकती है । यही कारण है कि अपनी विराद्रीको खुश करनेके लिये अपना सर्वस्व धन दौलत व्यय करनेके बाद भो वे विराद्रीसे ठुकराये जाकर अपमान और ग्लानीसे मनमलीन तनक्षीण मट्टिगबुर्जमें पड़े पड़े अफ्रिका और फोजी आदि स्थानोंको याद किया करते हैं ।

इनकी दशाका जो वर्णन इस रिपोर्टमें किया गया है, उसे पढ़ बरबस आंखोंसे आंसू भरने लगते हैं । हम अपने किसी अगले अङ्कमें रिपोर्टके कुछ अंश प्रकाशित करेंगे जिससे प्रवासी भारतवासियोंकी अपने ही देशमें होनेवाली दुरवस्थाका चित्र सामने आ सकेगा ।

स्वतन्त्र अन्वेषण कर दोनों ही महानुभावोंने प्रवासी भारतवासियोंकी जो अमूल्य सेवा की है उसके लिये प्रवासी

भारतीय उनके हृदयसे वृत्तज्ञ रहेंगे और हमेशा उनका उपकार मानेंगे कि उन्होंने समयपर प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी इस दुरवस्थाका ज्ञान कराके उनकी आंखें खोल दीं।

रिपोर्टसे पता चलता है कि-हिन्दुस्तानमें सरकारके द्वारा भी विशेष सहायता नहीं मिल रही है। हिन्दू विरादरी उन्हें धर्मके नामपर मिलानेको तैयार नहीं है। जातपातसे तंग आकर कितने ही प्रवासी हिन्दू जो प्रवासमें भी अपने आपको हिन्दू कहते थे भारतमें जाकर ईसाई बन गये। आर्यसमाजोंने प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी सहायता अवश्य की है लेकिन वह भी सन्तोषजनक नहीं। ऐसी अवस्थामें रिपोर्ट में दी गयी सलाहके अनुसार यह उचित ही प्रतीत होता है कि प्रवासी भारतीय अगर मातृभूमिके दर्शन करने जाना चाहें तो दोनों ओरके भाड़ेका प्रबन्ध करके जा सकें तो ज़ायं अन्यथा नहीं और बसनेके इरादेसे हिन्दुस्तान जाना चाहते हों तो उन्हें यह इरादा छोड़ प्रवासमें ही रहना चाहिये।

रिपोर्ट प्रारम्भसे अन्ततक पठनीय है बिना पूरा पढ़े उसके वास्तविक रूपका ज्ञान नहीं हो सकता। हम अपने पाठकोंसे अनुरोध करेंगे कि वे इसे आद्योपान्त पढ़ें और फिर अपना विचार निश्चित करें। जो आद्योपान्त पढ़नेमें असमर्थ हैं उनके लामके लिये हम उसके अंश अपने अगले अङ्कमें प्रकाशित करेंगे।



## इन्डियन व्यूज

दरबन-नेटाल, १० जुलाई १९३१

मि० भवानीदयाल संन्यासीने यहांसे सरकारी खर्चसे स्वदेश लौटे हुए हिन्दुस्थानियोंकी दुर्दशाका अच्छा विवरण हिन्दुस्थानमें प्रकाशित किया है जिसके उद्धरण क्रमशः अंग्रेजी-विभागमें छप रहे हैं। श्रीयुत संन्यासीने स्पष्ट रूप से प्रकट किया है कि दक्षिण अफ्रिकासे लौटे हुए हिन्दुस्थानियोंको पेट भर भोजन नहीं मिलता है, रहनेके लिये घर नहीं मिलता है, दिलासा देनेवाला कोई सगा-स्नेही नहीं मिलता है। उनकी दशा दुर्भाग्यवश बिना बुलाये हुए कंगाल भिक्षुककी भांति है। वे सत्य कहते हैं कि हिन्दुस्थानकी सरकार या हिन्दुस्थानके प्रतिनिधि दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें जन्मे हुए हिन्दुस्थानियोंके प्रत्यागमनके लिये पक्षपोषक बन हीं नहीं सकते। आज श्री संन्यासी जी कह रहे हैं वह हम वर्षोंसे कहते आये हैं। केपटाउन समझौतेके हिमायती श्री संन्यासीकी यह प्रवृत्ति उल्लेख योग्य है। उनके हृदय परिवर्तन के लिये अभिनन्दन है।

उन्होंने अपनी रिपोर्टमें एक बिचारनीय बात कही है और वह यह कि—“केपटाउन समझौते पर पुनर्विचार करनेके लिये जो राउन्ड टेबल कान्फ्रेसकी योजना हो रही है उसको रोकने

के लिये हिन्दुस्थानमें जबरदस्त आन्दोलन करना चाहिये और जब तक हिन्दुस्थानमें फेडरल पार्लियामेन्टकी स्थापना न हो जावे तब तक इस परिषद् को स्थगित रखनेके लिये हिन्द-सरकारपर दबाव डाला जाना चाहिये । इस समय जो प्रतिनिधि जायंगे, वे वर्तमान परिस्थितिके कारण इतने दबे हुए होंगे कि जनरल हर्ट्जोग और डाक्टर मलानके सामने टिक नहीं सकेंगे, परन्तु हमारी फेडरल पार्लियामेन्ट की ओर से जो प्रतिनिधि जायंगे, वे हिन्दुस्थान की ओर से स्वराज प्राप्त दक्षिण अफ्रिका के साथ समझौता करनेमें समर्थ होंगे” ।

साउथ अफ्रिकन इन्डियन कांग्रेस इस बात पर ज़रूर विचार करेगी, ऐसी हमारी इच्छा है । क्योंकि कांग्रेसके एक प्रतिष्ठित अधिकारी संन्यासी भवानीदास इस निर्णयपर पहुँचे हुए जान पड़ते हैं कि हालमें हिन्दसे जो प्रतिनिधि आवेंगे, वे दबे हुए होनेके कारण जनरल हर्ट्जोग एवं डाक्टर मलानके सामने टिक नहीं सकेंगे । इस मतको साउथ अफ्रिकन इन्डियन कांग्रेस स्वीकार करती है क्या ? जो यह बात स्वीकार कर ली जाय तो क्या वह कह सकती है कि मि० शास्त्री दबे हुए रहेंगे और वे दक्षिण अफ्रिकाके प्रधान मंत्री एवं आन्तरिक विभागके मंत्रोंके सामने टिक नहीं सकेंगे । यह बात बहुत चौंकाने वाली है । हमारा मत तो यह है कि हिन्दसे आनेवाले डिपुटेशनमें यदि देशकी प्रतिष्ठाके लिये

तमन्ना होगी तो वे जरूर टिक सकेंगे, परन्तु यदि वे गोरों के तेजसे चौंधिया गये तो अवश्य लक्ष्य भ्रष्ट हो जायेंगे ।

यह बात तो निश्चित है कि स्वतन्त्र भारतके प्रतिनिधियों का अधिक प्रभाव पड़ेगा लेकिन साथ ही यह भी निश्चित है कि यदि स्वतंत्र भारतने अपनी अन्तर्राष्ट्रीय प्रतिष्ठाका सूत्र निर्बल मनुष्योंके हाथ में सौंपा तो वे अवश्य सब कुछ खो बैठेंगे । आजकी हालतको देखते हुए हमें यह प्रतीत होता है कि हिन्दमें फेडरेल पार्लियामेन्ट की स्थापनामें जरूर देर लगेगी तबतक यहां की कान्फ्रेंस स्थगित नहीं रखी जा सकती । यूनियन एवं हिन्दकी सरकार इस बातको मंजूर नहीं करेगी । परन्तु आज हम इतना कर सकते हैं कि हिन्द-सरकार पर दबाव डालकर राष्ट्राभिमानी मजबूत डेपुटेशन यहां भेजनेके लिये मांग करे—( गुजरातीसे अनुवाद )



## दैनिक बसुमति

कलकत्ता, मई १९३१

यह बात किसीसे छिपी नहीं है कि भारतसे जो मजदूर विदेशोंमें काम करने गये थे और वहां जाकर स्थायी रूपसे बस रहे थे, वे या उनके वंशधर भारतमें आकर बड़ी मुसीबतें उठा रहे हैं । उनके कष्टोंका वर्णन नहीं किया जा सकता ।



उन्हें समाजमें स्थान नहीं मिला—उनकी जाति, कुटुम्ब या आत्मीयस्वजन आदि ने उन्हें अपनाया नहीं—इसलिये बेचारे इतोनष्टस्ततोभ्रष्ट अवस्थामें चारों ओर मारे मारे फिरते हैं। समाजमें स्थान न मिलनेसे मनुष्यकी कौतो दुर्गति होती है, विचार कर देखनेसे सभी कोई उसका अनुमान कर सकते हैं। बिना स्वामीके जंगलमें धरने वाले पशुओंकी, बस्तोमें आनेसे जैसी दशा होती है, इन प्रवासी भारतीयोंकी भी उपनिवेशोंसे देश लौट कर वही दशा होती है। इस तरहके प्रवासी-मजदूरोंको ठीक भारतवासी नहीं कहा जा सकता। कारण, वे भारतमें अधिक दिन नहीं बसे, कितने ही तो भारतसे बाहर किसी बृटिश उपनिवेश में उत्पन्न हुए हैं और वहीं पल-पोस कर बड़े हुए हैं। इसलिये भारतीय समाजके साथ वे अपना सामंजस्य रखते हुए नहीं चल सकते। यही वजह है कि उनके जाति भाई उन्हें अपनेमें मिलाना नहीं चाहते। कभी कभी उनमेंसे किसी किसीके कष्ट इतने वेदनापूर्ण होते हैं कि उन्हें सुनतेही निर्दयीका भी मन पसीजे बिना नहीं रह सकता। एक घटनाका हम यहाँ उल्लेख करते हैं—

एक बिहारी ब्राह्मणके दो पुत्र अपने पिता माताके साथ बृटिश गायनासे भारत लौटे थे। आनेके बाद वे जब 'विशाल-भारत' कार्यालयमें आये थे तब उन्हें खूब तन्दुस्त पाया गया था। बड़ा लड़का अंग्रेजी खूब बोल लेता था। उनके चेहरे पर औपनिवेशिक भाव स्पष्ट झलकता था।

इन्हें देखकर स्पष्ट मालूम हो जाता था कि ये बृटिश गायनामें किसी अच्छे विद्यालयमें पढ़ते थे । श्रीयुत बनारसीदास चतुर्वेदीने बालकोंके पिताको सलाह दी कि वे लड़कोंको काशी विद्यालयमें भरती कर दें, और साथही कई महानुभावोंके नाम सिफारशी चिट्ठियां लिख दीं किन्तु फिर भी वह अनागा पिता अपने लड़कोंको कहीं भरती नहीं करा सका । लड़कोंको निःशुल्क पढ़ानेके सिवा कहीं भी उनके भरण-पोषणकी व्यवस्था न हो सकी । इसलिये लड़कोंका पढ़ना लिखना बन्द हो गया । अगर वे भारतमें न आकर वहीं रहते, तो वहां उनका अनायास ही विद्याध्ययन होता रहता । अब बड़ा लड़का एक दियासलाईके कारखाने में तीन-चार आना रोजपर काम करता है । उसका स्वास्थ्य नष्ट हो चुका है और शरीरमें केवल हड्डियां ही रह गई हैं । जिन्होंने उसे जहाज से उतरते समय कलकत्तेमें देखा था, वे अब उसे पहिचान ही नहीं सकेंगे । चतुर्वेदीजीने उससे पूछा कि “यह देश तुम्हें कैसा लगता है ? क्या तुम डमरारा उपनिवेश लौट जाना नहीं चाहते ?” इस प्रश्नको सुनकर बालककी आंखोंमें आंसू भर आये । इस तरह सैकड़ों प्रवासी भाई भारतमें आ फंसे हैं, जो अत्यन्त दुःख-कष्टमें पड़े हुए किसी तरह जिन्दगीके दिन काट रहे हैं । उनके कष्टोंका अन्त नहीं । उनकी दुर्दशाके विषयमें विचार करते ही फलेजा फटता है ।

हालमें स्वामी भवानोदयाल संन्यासी और श्रोयुत बनारसी दास चतुर्वेदी ने फिजो, नेटाल, ब्रिटिश गायना आदि उपनिवेशों से लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाइयोंको दुर्दशाका वर्णन अपने रिपोर्टमें प्रकाशित करके बड़ाही लोकोपकारी कार्य किया है, इसके लिये उन्हें धन्यवाद है। भिन्न भिन्न उपनिवेशों से लौटे हुए प्रवासी भाई आज कलकत्ते की दक्षिण सोमामें मटियाबुर्ज, गार्डेनरीच आदि स्थानोंमें बसे हुए हैं। इनको दुर्दशा को बह नहीं, इस बातको बहुतसे लोग नहीं जानते होंगे। मटियाबुर्ज बहुत गन्दा और अस्वास्थ्यकर स्थान है। गत दस वर्षोंसे लौटे हुए प्रवासी भारतीय वहाँ रहते हैं। उनमेंसे कितने ही बीमार पड़कर दुनियांसे ह्येशाके लिये कूच कर गये, जिनका पता नहीं। मटियाबुर्ज स्थान इतना गलीच और अस्वास्थ्यकर है कि कलकत्ता यूनिसिपैलिटीकी निन्दा किये बिना रहा नहीं जाता। वहाँ मलेरियाका प्रकोप भी बहुत ज्यादा है। कभी कभी महामारी फैल कर सैकड़ोंकी संख्यामें मृत्यु हो जाया करती है। इसके सिवा और भी अनेक विपत्तियां हैं, कलकत्तेके बदमाश-गुन्डे उन्हे घोकेंमें डाल कर टग लिया करते हैं। इनमें बहुतसे ऐसे भी हैं जिन्होंने अपने जन्मस्थानमें जाकर रहनेकी कोशिश की थी, मगर वहाँ सामाजिक कारणोंसे स्थान न मिलनेके कारण फिर वे इसी गलीजबानेमें रहनेके लिये

मजबूर हुए। वे इस निर्बान्धव देशमें आकर समझ सके हैं कि उपनिवेशको छोड़ कर उन्होंने गहरी भूल की है। तब फिर उनका हृदय उपनिवेशोंको लौट जानेके लिये व्याकुल हो उठता है। गड्ढासे जब जहाज आते-जाते हैं, तब उनके हृदयमें यह भाव स्वतः ही उत्पन्न होता है कि अगर ये जहाज उन्हें उठाकर वहीं, उन्हीं उपनिवेशोंमें पहुँचा दें जहांसे वे अपनी मातृभूमिके दर्शनके लिये दौड़ आये थे, तो फिर वे मजेसे अपनी जिन्दगी बसर करने लगे। परन्तु हाय, रुपयेके बिना जहाज उन्हें कैसे चढ़ा सकता है? इस तरह बार बार उपनिवेशोंकी याद करते करते कितने ही हमारे प्रवासी भाई बीमार पड़ कर दुनियासे ही कूच करते जा रहे हैं। इसलिये सरकारका यह कर्तव्य है कि उपनिवेशोंसे भारतीय मजदूरोंको भारतमें आनेके लिये वाध्य न करे और न उन्हें किसी प्रकारका लोभ ही दिखावे

जबकि भारतमें उनके लिये स्थान नहीं है, तो उन्हें उन उपनिवेशोंमें रहने देना चाहिये, जहाँके लिये उन्होंने जी जानसे परिश्रम किया है। क्योंकि उपनिवेशोंमें जाकर नई आव-हवा में रहन-सहन करने के कारण यहांका वातावरण अब उनके अनुकूल नहीं पड़ता। वे उपनिवेशों को अपने मतलबसे नहीं गये थे, बल्कि उपनिवेशोंने अपने स्वार्थके लिये उन्हें डुलाया था, और हर तरहसे बेचारे वहां पहुँचाये, गये थे। नेटालमें जब श्वेताङ्ग किसानोंको ज़रूरत पड़ी थी

तब भारतसे कुली (१) ले जानेके लिये उन्होंने प्रयत्न और आग्रह किया था,—इस बातको वे अच्छी तरह जानते हैं जिन्होंने उस समय का इतिहास पढ़ा है। भारतीय मजदूर उपनिवेशोंकी आवश्यकतापर वहां जाकर बसे, अपने पसीनेसे वहांकी जमीन सींच कर नन्दन-वनका सौन्दर्य उत्पन्न किया, और अब मतलब निकल जानेपर तीन पीढ़ीसे बसे हुए प्रवासी भारतीयों को स्वदेश वापस भेजना, कितनी बड़ी नृशंसता और स्वार्थपरता का परिचय देना है, इस बातको सभी समझ सकते हैं। परन्तु दक्षिण अफ्रीकाकी यूनियन सरकारने नीतिवर्गको मर्यादा उल्लंघन करके कैंपटाउन-समझौतेमें वहां के प्रवासियोंको स्वदेश भेजनेकी शर्त लगा दी है। यह शर्त अत्यन्त अन्याययुक्त है—जरा विचार कर देखने हो से पता लग सकता है। बहुत दिनों तक विदेशोंमें रहने के कारण जिनका भारतीय भाव जाता रहा है, उनके लिये देशमें आकर समाजसे बहिष्कृत होकर जीवन बिताना कितना कठिन है, इस बातको भुक्त भोगी ही जान सकता है। परन्तु उपनिवेशके गोरी-चमड़ीवालोंका उनसे अब मतलब निकल चुका है, इसीसे वे उन्हें दूध में से मक्खीको तरह अलग निकाल देनेके लिये व्यस्त हो उठे हैं—किजो भी तरह उन्हें हिन्दु-स्थान भेज देना ही उनका उद्देश्य हो रहा है। सन् १९२० से लेकर आजतक उनलोगोंने साढ़े सात हजार प्रवासी भारतीयों और उनके औपनिवेशिक बंधुवरोंको निर्वासित किया है। देशमें आकर उनकी कैसी दुर्दशा होगी, इस बातपर उन्होंने एक बार विचार भी नहीं किया। मि० एरडूज साहबने किजो समय प्रवासी भारतीयों को स्वदेश लौटानेके पक्षमें अपना मत दिया था। बादमें अपनी भूल मालूम होते ही उन्होंने पाश्चाताप किया, परन्तु दक्षिण अफ्रीकाके

जनरल हार्ट जोग, डाक्टर मलान आदि उक्त योजनाकी सफलता देखकर आनन्दसे नाच रहे हैं।

प्रवासियों को भारत वापस भेजनेकी योजनाने दक्षिण अफ्रिका और यहांके भारतीयोंके हृदय में तीव्र असन्तोष पैदा कर दिया है। इस योजना के द्वारा भारतीयों के स्वार्थकी विशेष हानि हुई है और हो रही है, इस विषयमें कुछ भी सन्देह नहीं है। हां, एक बात अवश्य है, हर पांचवें साल इस समझौतेके विषयमें बिचार किया जायगा। इसलिये भारत सरकारको ऐसा प्रयत्न करना चाहिये कि जिससे समझौते में से यह शर्त निकाल दी जाय। यदि ऐसा न हुआ तो भारतीयोंका यह असन्तोष पुंजीभूत हो उठेगा—( बंगलासे अनुवाद )

# श्री स्वामी भवानी दयालजी संन्यासोक्त भाषी कार्यक्रम

प्रवासी भाष्योंके विशेष आग्रह और अनुरोधसे श्रीस्वामी भवानी दयालजी संन्यासोने पुनः एकवार दक्षिण अफ्रिका जानेका निश्चय कर लिया है। भागामी फरवरीके अन्त तक स्वामीजी प्रवासी भवनमें हो रहेंगे और इसी मध्यमें देशके भिन्न भिन्न भागोंका पर्यटन भी कर लेंगे। इसके बाद बम्बई पहुँच कर ६ मार्चको "काटागोला" नामक डाक-जहाज पर सवार होकर मातृभूमिसे प्रस्थान करेंगे और ३० मार्च १९३२ बुधवारको दरबन-नेटाल पहुँच जायेंगे। वहाँ वे कुछ दिनों तक ठहर कर प्रवासी भाष्योंको सेवा करेंगे और साथ ही आर्य सार्वदेशिक सभाके लिये "विदेशोंमें आर्यसमाज" नामक ग्रन्थ भी लिख कर तैयार करेंगे। तत्पश्चात् स्वामीजी वहाँसे फिजी-द्वीपकी ओर जानेकी इच्छा रखते हैं। दक्षिण अफ्रिकामें स्वामीजीका पता पूर्ववत् यही रहेगा :—

Swami Bhawani Dayal Saṅnyāsi  
P. O. JACOBS, NATAL  
South Africa

# THE ZANZIBAR CRISIS

By  
C. F. ANDREWS

4

ALLAHABAD  
KITABISTAN  
17-A CITY ROAD  
PRICE FOUR ANNAS



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## CHAPTER I

An entirely new phase has been entered upon in world history during the last few years, which is seriously altering for the worse the Indian position in East Africa. The age of Economic Nationalism followed quickly upon the pre-War era in which Great Britain was seeking to lead the trade of the world along a path that should be free from all national restrictions.

India, which has not yet attained full Swaraj, stands at a great disadvantage both at home and abroad under these new economic conditions. At home, she is not yet allowed to settle on national lines problems of currency which are vitally important. Abroad, she is forced to allow Indian nationals to suffer under grievous restrictions without any remedy. For it is neither, on the one hand, possible effectively to help them, nor, on the other, can their whole case be allowed to go by default.

During the 'Kenya conversations' in London, in 1923, and also at the Imperial Conference, which

followed later in the same year, the question of political rights loomed largest of all. The franchise and the number of seats on the executive, legislative and municipal councils formed the principal subjects of discussion. Mr. Sastri put forward for Indians in Kenya the claim for an equal and common franchise, with a property and education test affecting Indians and Europeans alike. 'If Kenya is lost,' he exclaimed, 'all is lost.' His reference was to the political franchise.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru pleaded earnestly at the Imperial Conference of 1923 for a limited political franchise which should include all domiciled Indians in South Africa. He claimed, he said, a seat in the King's audience chamber, not a place in the King's stables. The challenge was thrown down to General Smuts and was met with an emphatic refusal.

Hardly any one in those earlier days regarded the economic issue with any serious concern; nor did the Europeans realise what a weapon it might place in their hands. If ever they wished the Indians to be excluded (as, in fact, a large majority of them did) they attempted to achieve their object by direct political means. Many such efforts were made by Major Grogan, Lord Delamere, and others to exclude Indians from Kenya. Other efforts were made elsewhere. In South Africa everything was done to promote repatriation by various artificial means.

But it so happened, that while other political rights were curtailed, the last political right namely the right of immigration (which gave permission to enter *East Africa*) was not taken away. The Colonial Office, even when hard pressed by the Europeans, refused to restrict Indian immigration. However disliked the Indians might be, nevertheless on this one point the Colonial Office remained firm. The door of entry into East Africa was kept open and none were excluded by any political act.

But to-day, as I have stated, not only in Africa, but also in America and Europe, political issues concerning franchise and immigration are beginning to be overshadowed by new economic forces. The manipulation of a country's agricultural resources, by control of markets, changes of currency, and creation of monopolies, may alter the whole status of one section of the community as compared with another and bring about a silent revolution. Thus in the vast upheaval, which the whole economy of the world is passing through to-day, political results may be reached which could never have been obtained by direct methods.

Thousands of Indians, for instance, are already being driven out of East Africa by economic changes, who could never have been excluded by political force. Again, the 'White Labour policy' in South Africa has done more to drive Indians out of South Africa than

any direct political pressure. While Indians at home have hardly realised the new course which events have taken, decisions are being reached whereby the trade relations of Indians abroad have been undermined.

Whether this is a passing phase,—merely due to the world economic depression,—or a lasting world factor, can hardly yet be determined. But it has already meant ruin to thousands of Indians in East Africa, and it is likely to bring harm to thousands more. In the end, when the economic blizzard has passed over, it may be found that Indians in Africa have lost many of those things which no political manœuvring had been able to take from them in earlier days.

As I went from one country to another up the East Coast the truth was borne in upon me that the Indians were now fighting a losing battle.

The Indian emigration about which I am writing has been almost entirely from Western India. From the Konkan coast to Surat, from Surat to Kathiawar, from Kathiawar to Cutch, from Cutch to Hyderabad, Sind, the Indian traders and settlers had gone across the sea many centuries ago. They had made their homes peaceably all along the East African coast and had never attempted conquest.

As traders they had, here and there, penetrated the interior. When the great advance in land occurred, towards the end of last and the beginning of the present

century, they had been, in certain vital respects, the pioneers. Setting up their small stores, wherever the advance was made, they helped to provide the commissariat; Indian labourers were brought over to build the railway, which reached at last the central Lake, Victoria Nyanza, at Kisumu; Sikhs from the Punjab came in great numbers later on as carpenters and artisans. Most of the house construction was undertaken through their aid. Indian troops were actively engaged in the pacification of the country.

But with the coming of the European settlers in large numbers, a conflict of interests occurred and at one time it seemed as if a violent explosion was imminent. The entire expulsion by force of Indians from Kenya was within the range of possibility owing to the excited passions of those hectic days which succeeded the World War. When I visited Kenya in 1921 and 1922, I experienced personally the extreme violence of those passions. Racial hatred, which had been long engendered, had become acute.

That earlier excitement has died away and a calmer atmosphere now prevails. But the general sentiment remains strong among Europeans, that the Indian is an alien and an intruder. The further parallel sentiment is also increasing everyday as a corollary, that the European is alone the trustee of native African affairs, and that it is unwise and unsafe to take the Indian into

any partnership in so delicate a matter. Indeed, by a natural sequence, the theory has grown up that the native African requires protection against the Indian, and that the sooner the African can be trained in different ways to replace the Indian the better it will be for the country.

It was hoped, in India, by those who had all along taken the keenest interest in the question from a national point of view, that the general tone and sentiment towards the Indians in East Africa would gradually improve. In Tanganyika, after the War, considerable interests in land and property came into Indian hands, giving to the Indian community a position in the mandated Territory which could not be ignored. In Kenya also, owing to new European leadership a more peaceful attitude was clearly shewn. These gains have by no means been altogether lost in the confusion of economic change which has recently taken place. Yet their tenure has become extremely precarious. For in the midst of this world depression, whereby trade and commerce have been so vitally affected, new conditions have arisen. Europeans are beginning to hold the view that they may help the native African most by excluding the Indian from certain portions of the trade.

## CHAPTER II

It is in the light of facts like these that the new racial and repressive legislation in Zanzibar requires to be carefully examined. For it is not an isolated instance of an attempt at a monopoly of the staple product, cloves, which should drive Indians out of the clove market. Rather, the fact has to be faced that the same economic pressure on Indian trade, by creating monopolies, is being applied all down the coast.

It would seem to-day as if Mr. Sastri's ominous words about Kenya which I have quoted, might be repeated in a new form concerning Zanzibar. We might well exclaim to-day,—“If Zanzibar is lost, all is lost!”

For the blow at Indian trade, which has been struck at Zanzibar, is certain to have its repercussions on Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Indeed, it is difficult to see where the process of excluding Indian store-keepers and traders from dealing with native African produce is likely to stop. Already in Uganda the



ground-nuts grown by the Africans have been placed, for marketing purposes, with a big European firm, which will collect and market this native produce. Other staple products, such as cotton, may follow suit. In Tanganyika a law has recently been passed, which the Indian community opposed to no purpose, authorising the same process of establishing monopolies.

The plea is made by the authorities, that only by this method can the price of these native products be raised in the world markets and the charges of the middlemen be eliminated. But wherever I have met personally Commissioners of Native Affairs, they have expressed themselves as not in favour of these new economic experiments. They say that the native African is unable to understand such processes, and that they can only be carried out successfully where high intelligence is stipulated in those who use them. They point to gigantic failures.

One example from my own experience in S. Rhodesia may make the matter plain. There a maize control board exists, which makes maize a Government monopoly. The Control Board lays down the law that only five shillings a bag shall be paid as a first instalment. Afterwards a further instalment may be expected, according to the average price of maize in the world market. This is easily understood by the European farmer who deals in thousands of bags. But

the African, from the native reserves, who comes to the Indian store-keeper, travelling forty miles or more with a few bags packed on a small spring cart, wants his full prices at once before he returns.

The Indian store-keeper says to him, 'I can only pay you five shillings a bag now. You must come back for the rest later on.' The native African feels that he is being cheated and refuses to sell at all. He goes back and does not sow maize in any quantity next year.

One Indian store-keeper opened his go-down, which usually contained four hundred bags, and showed me that it was empty!

The same thing may not happen in Kenya or Zanzibar or Uganda; the difficulty with the native African may take some other form. But it is very doubtful indeed whether these monopolies, whose one purpose is to cut out the middlemen, are likely to succeed. The middleman is usually an Indian. In this process of new economic planning the Indian suffers. The profits go to the monopolist, whoever he is. The native African is bewildered by the process. In the long run, it is very doubtful if he stands to gain by a new system which he cannot understand.

In Kenya, these new economic monopolies of native products have hitherto been successfully resisted by Indian public opinion. The Indian Chamber of Commerce has vigorously protested against them. But

even in Kenya, we are told, the Indian position has already become very precarious and at any moment a Bill may be hurried through establishing monopolies in native African produce.

### CHAPTER III

It will be well, now, to examine in detail at some length, what is happening in Zanzibar.

The two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba form a British Protectorate under the Sultan of Zanzibar. The whole area of the islands is only 1020 square miles. The population is 235000. Of these, 34000 are set down as Arabs and 15000 are registered as Indians. Nearly the whole Indian population is derived from the coastal towns of Cutch, which have sent out their Borah and Khoja settlers to every part of East Africa. In a very special manner, these Kutchis have concentrated their attention for a long time past upon the clove trade of Zanzibar. They have come out, at the special invitation of each Arab Sultan in turn. The Indian settlement in Zanzibar goes back at least a hundred years. At different periods, during last century, it rendered signal service.

In the scramble for power, which took place in East Africa during the latter years of the Nineteenth

Century, it was the presence of these Indian merchants, as British subjects, in Zanzibar and along the coast, that constituted one of the chief British claims for occupying this part of Africa in the name of Great Britain.

At another period, much later, when slavery was abolished His Highness the Maharao of Cutch rendered great personal service by advising his own people who had emigrated to Zanzibar, that they should do all in their power to forward this humanitarian work. Great monetary sacrifices were made in order to accomplish this end.

But the one achievement on the part of the Indian settlers which made them famous was the creation of a clove market, for Zanzibar cloves, *on a world-wide basis*. Before their time, clove trees had flourished on the islands; but only through the business ability and financial strength of the Indian settlers did this modern industry of marketing cloves become world-wide in its extent. At one time, it comprised more than 90 per cent. of the clove trade of the whole world. Even to-day, when competition from the Dutch East Indies and from Madagascar has begun to tell, it still holds, in its marketing, nearly 85 per cent. of the world trade in cloves.

During the years which succeeded the World War, the clove industry flourished apace. Each year showed higher prices and larger returns. The peak of the trade

was touched in 1927-1929. Prices went soaring sky high, and fortunes were made.

No doubt many Indians and Arabs speculated heavily and recklessly in those 'boom' years. The Indian bankers on their side, gave loans too freely at high interest without sufficient security. The Arab land-owners on the other side, were extravagant in their turn and bought up estates at fancy prices.

Then came the slump. When the fall in prices once began, a panic ensued. Those who had large stocks of cloves rushed to sell out at any cost. This brought the price down even below the actual expense incurred by growing and plucking the cloves.

It was at this time that the Zanzibar Government rightly set up different Commissions in order to discover, before it was too late, what could be done to stop the slump in cloves and at the same time to retain the world market.

The Director of Agriculture was sent to Madagascar in order to investigate the clove industry there on the spot. For Madagascar had recently been capturing some of the Zanzibar trade and was depressing still further the Zanzibar market.

Sir Alan Pim's Financial Report showed how the administration had lavishly spent money during the more prosperous years, when the revenue had been plentiful. Sir Alan Pim advised wholesale retrenchment.

The Director of Agriculture reported on Madagascar showing from the official figures, that, even in the years of economic depression, Madagascar had increased her output and her sales in the world market. She had done this, at the very time when Zanzibar cloves had no profitable sale in the world market.

Mr. C. F. Strickland, who reported on the economic condition of the two islands, gave the Zanzibar Government a repeated warning against the great danger of taking a short cut and conducting a State Monopoly. He urged, instead, that the slow educative process of co-operative credit and marketing should be followed as the only safe and satisfactory method of meeting the growing competition of Madagascar.

Last of all, Mr. Bartlett and Mr. J. S. Last drew up a Report on agricultural indebtedness, which is far more alarmist in character than Mr. C. F. Strickland's. For the first time (as far as I am aware) they set forward a scheme for land alienation on racial lines. They suggested this, in order (as they insisted) to stop Zanzibar agricultural land from falling into the hands of Indian bankers, who might at any time foreclose their mortgages and eject the Arabs from their estates.

Portions of all these Reports were confidential and therefore it is difficult to speak with any certainty about their entire contents. But I have read very carefully, many times over, those parts of them which have been

made public, and I cannot trace in them any recommendations so finally convincing, that six Ordinances (including the Land Alienation Act) should have been rushed through in the Legislative Council of Zanzibar without any critical discussion. Since everyone of the Bills deeply involved the resident Indians, who are citizens of Zanzibar, the haste displayed becomes all the more lamentable and unfortunate. It lacks in fellowship and good-will.



## CHAPTER IV

During my short stay at Zanzibar on August 13, I was welcomed with the utmost kindness by the acting Resident, Mr. MacElderry. At the end of September he returns to his post of Chief Secretary and Sir R. Rankine becomes Resident again in Zanzibar.

Mr. MacElderry had met me many years ago in Hong Kong, when I was making enquiries into the export traffic of Indian opium, which was finding its way through the Eastern ports into China. The firm attitude which he had then taken, with regard to this opium evil, had much impressed me. Our conversation together at the Residency showed me very clearly that there was no hostility towards the Indian community in his own temperament. He wished to treat the Zanzibar Indians with all the fairness possible. Later on, I found that my own impression of him was shared by the Indians themselves.

Unfortunately, I was not able to come into contact with the Resident himself, Sir R. Rankine; for he was

still on leave in London. There was, therefore, no means of knowing, at first hand, what his attitude was towards the Indians. The almost universal opinion among the Indian community was that in recent years, since his arrival, a distinctly anti-Indian bias had come into the whole Zanzibar Administration. This opinion was not confined to Indians, but was also voiced by one European member in the Council.

Whether this opinion was correct or not, I have no means of judging, and I do not wish in what I have written to give it my endorsement. But it is necessary in this pamphlet to reflect the general tone, that I found in Zanzibar, in order to make the situation understood in India in all its bearings, and this opinion strongly prevailed.

His Highness, the Sultan, whom I had met on many previous occasions, appeared to me to be much concerned about the events which were taking place within his dominions. He said to me very little, but in every word he spoke he assured me of his friendship and goodwill towards his Indian subjects. He had given the same assurance to me on other visits also, but this time there was an earnestness in his look which touched me very deeply. He told me that he wished above all things that there should be *peace*; and when I said in reply that this was also my own sincere desire, he asserted and said that everyone knew that to be true. When I left him,

he asked me specially to come and see him again on my next visit to Zanzibar.

The Indians themselves in Zanzibar, such as Mr. Yusuf Ali, Tyab Ali and others, who are leading merchants and professional men in the Island, were evidently astounded by the blow which had been so suddenly struck at their vital interests. There was an extreme bewilderment at what had happened, bordering on desperation. The blow, which struck at their trade, had fallen with such swiftness that they had scarcely yet recovered from the shock and hardly knew where they stood or what they ought to do.

Long before I arrived, cables had reached me; and even on the voyage itself I was able to have a long talk with the Hon. Yusuf Ali Karimji, who travelled with me the short distance from Dar-es-Salam to Zanzibar.

The Acting Resident himself kindly provided me with the different Reports which had been published in the past two years. I have already referred to them in this pamphlet and most of the information which I have gathered is taken from them. How far the confidential section of Mr. Strickland's Report modifies his published views it is of course impossible for me to say; but it is difficult to understand how in face of what he has openly published the extreme steps of forming a Government monopoly and alienating the land could meet with his approval. The following is his own comment on such a

policy of 'monopoly' or 'rationalisation' with a view to raising prices:—

“Rationalisation, in the sense of an attempt to raise prices by holding up cloves on the market, is a dangerous policy and will bring loss on every person and institution in Zanzibar who touches it. It will benefit only Zanzibar's competitors. The policy has disastrously failed in Malaya (rubber), Brazil (coffee), Egypt (cotton) and North America (wheat). There are 40,000 acres under cloves in Madagascar, and though it is held that shortage of labour will diminish the crop which can be picked to 3,000 tons (against 10,000 from an equal area in Zanzibar) I am very incredulous of this limitation. If the French authorities had believed that labour was not available they would not have induced the nations as they have done to plant 40,000 acres.”

The whole Report, as I read it, from beginning to end, is a plea for the slow and difficult process of co-operation. He points out the unsatisfactory character of the present system of individual competition, but insists again and again that no short cut can bring in a permanently satisfactory change. He goes thoroughly into every step needed in order to create a well-working

co-operative system which would not only relieve indebtedness but also have a remarkable educational value of its own.

Yet in the face of this Report the Zanzibar Government appear to have taken the short cut and the desperate plunge which he specially warned them against, and to have refused the slower but surer course of co-operation. His picture of Zanzibar Society with its crying need for moral reform goes far deeper than any manipulation of market prices can remedy or restore.

"The third main class of Co-operative Society," he writes, "deals with moral reform. I do not intend to dwell on the merits of such institutions which are scarcely intelligible to the cynical. The answer to all mockery is "Solvitur ambulando." They work and succeed. In the end, co-operation, where it is solely economic, must fail. The virtues of thrift, harmony and industry are only appreciated when they become habitual and are shared by a number of neighbours. . . . What is needed is a steady organisation of public opinion among the wiser men of each community, who are at present silent because they are disunited, while the profligate and the thoughtless are loud-voiced for lack of shame. There is abundant scope for co-operative societies of this sort not least among the wealthier Indians and Arabs."

If a determined effort had been made to follow

out the main principles enunciated in Mr. C. F. Strickland's Report there would have been no objection offered by the Indian community. Rather, the leaders would have done everything in their power to help forward the Co-operative Movement. This was assured to me by every Indian whose name carried weight, with whom I discussed the matter.

But when, instead of taking Mr. Strickland's advice, the Government itself monopolises the clove trade and attempts artificially to raise the prices, singling out the Indian community as the guilty party and depriving it of vested rights, then it is impossible for the community itself to refrain from raising its voice in protest.

## CHAPTER V

A new factor, namely, the Madagascar competition, has recently come into the midst of the Zanzibar clove industry. This needs the most careful study. The Zanzibar Government were wise in sending over their Director of Agriculture to Madagascar to examine on the spot the situation. Even though at the present moment the whole trade of Zanzibar is not threatened, yet the rapidity with which the clove plantations in Madagascar have advanced and the high quality of cloves already produced make the future of the Zanzibar Clove Market by no means so certain as during that time of pre-eminence which brought such high profits to all who dealt in Zanzibar cloves.

Mr. Findlay begins his Report as follows:—"A study of the Clove Trade in all its aspects would be incomplete without information concerning the position of the Clove Industry in Madagascar which now ranks next in importance to Zanzibar as a supplier of cloves and clove oil in the world's markets. It was therefore

with the object of studying the position on the spot and comparing methods of cultivation and production with those in vogue in the Zanzibar Protectorate that I proceeded to Madagascar on September 18, 1933. I arrived at Tamatave, the principal port of Madagascar on September 27, and proceeded to Tananarive two days later with the object of calling on the British Consul, reporting to His Excellency the Governor-General and making the necessary arrangements for the conduct of my investigations."

Certain facts are outstanding in this remarkably able and interesting Report.

In the world market, clove oil accounts for about one-third of the whole trade, America taking the greater part of this form of clove production. Here a steady increase is shown in the exports from Madagascar, even throughout the years when there was the greatest depression of all in the world market. The export of clove-leaf oil from Madagascar has gone up without a single setback from  $1\frac{1}{3}$  French "Tonnes" in 1918 to  $135\frac{1}{2}$  French "Tonnes" in 1932. The year 1932 shows an export which is actually *double* that of 1928. This is surely a remarkable increase, considering the state of depression which set in towards the end of these four years, from 1930 onwards.

Mr. Findlay mentions certain faults which were evident to him in Madagascar owing to the plucking of



the leaves in a wasteful manner and the cutting of the tree-tops. This was done with a view to the crushing of the leaves and stems in order to make the clove oil. The trees he notices, were damaged by over-cutting. But this fault was likely to be remedied when further experience had been gained.

On the other hand, he found much less breaking of the branches of the clove trees during the time of plucking the cloves. About this he writes:—"Long ladders made of the mid ribs of *Raphia* palm leaves, are used to facilitate picking, and cross-sticks are tied on the higher branches to form a sort of a scaffolding from which the picker can operate. In this way branch breaking is reduced almost to the minimum and in the majority of cases, picking is done carefully. There is a tendency to pick rather under-ripe clove buds along with those which are at the right stage of ripeness, and leave the buds which are already open. This produces a sample of dried cloves with high percentage of unbroken heads and therefore more uniform in that respect, although the under-ripe buds are rather smaller in size. Picking and destemming are carried out more carefully than in Zanzibar and Pemba and the final result is a more uniform sample of cloves the average quality of which is higher than that produced here where clove buds in varying stages of ripeness are picked together. There is practically only one quality of cloves in

Madagascar, and that is superior to our Bombay quality."

We find further that the actual area in Madagascar under clove cultivation amounts to nearly 40,000 acres and the yield if the harvest were plenteous would amount to 8,000 tons. At present with prices so low, not more than 50 per cent. of the harvest is picked in Madagascar. But there is every sign that with a rise in prices, the amount of cloves gathered would far exceed the 3,000 (three thousand) tons, which seems to be about the present average.

Mr. Findlay points out that the one difficulty which has hitherto prevented further picking and marketing has been the scarcity of labour. Madagascar is one of the most fertile islands in the world, but its population is still comparatively small. Its roads are also undeveloped and transport absorbs too much labour.

Yet with the new sanitary and prophylactic measures which the French Government are yearly extending, population is certain to increase; and as soon as ever the cloves become worth picking they are certain to be picked. If anything near to 8,000 tons were gathered and marketed in one year, it would make a great inroad into the clove trade of the world, which has hitherto had its centre in Zanzibar. Furthermore, while the two small islands of Zanzibar and Pemba have long ago reached their practical limit, in the number of trees which can be cultivated on them, Madagascar has a much

larger area on which cultivation is found possible.

"The clove producing areas," says Mr. Buckland, "are very small in relation to the area of the whole of Madagascar, but extensive when compared with even the total area of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba."

A further difficulty in Madagascar, already mentioned, which is likely to be lessened every year, is the want of good roads. Here the French engineers are at work and great improvements are forthcoming in the near future. This will reduce the cost of transport.

With regard to shipping rates and charges there seems to be very little difference between those at the port of Zanzibar and those in Madagascar. The greatest difference of all is seen in the export duty which is charged. Here the Madagascar rate per *Frasila* is 2.38 francs, or about 6½ annas, while the Zanzibar rate is Rs. 2. This heavy export duty makes the shipping costs at Zanzibar exceed those in Madagascar in spite of certain small advantages which may make an offset on the Zanzibar side.

While, however, Mr. Buckland points out, in the clearest manner possible, the present danger to the Zanzibar clove industry, if no care is taken to preserve its lead in the world market, he regards unfavourably the Madagascar Clove area as a whole from the point of view of the future. "As regards the clove industry," he writes, "my impressions of the future prospects are

not favourable. Although cloves have been grown successfully, the general fertility of the island is not high, and evidently all the available land suitable for clove production has been planted up. The resources of the soil are rapidly being depleted by lack of cultivation, by the utilisation of fallen leaves for distillation and by the topping of trees and the annual reaping of the crops, in respect of which nothing is returned to the soil. The present condition of the trees clearly indicates gradual depreciation which will become very serious if present practices and conditions are allowed to continue. It would be very difficult indeed to find a suitable alternative crop should the clove industry fail."

When I was in Zanzibar and consulted those who were deeply concerned with the trade, they told me that this verdict ought not to be taken as final. The Madagascar cultivation was at the very beginning of its course. It had no long periods of practical experience behind it. Improvements were bound to come, and those mistakes which Mr. Buckland had noticed such as the 'topping' of the clove trees, were certain to be set right. They stated also that if the annual average output reached even 5,000 tons, it would become a serious menace to the Zanzibar industry.

While therefore there is no immediate ground for serious alarm, it is abundantly evident that there may

come a time in the future when every section of the Zanzibar public interested in the clove trade will have to co-operate in order to overcome interior weakness and to make the Zanzibar position as strong and united as possible.

## CHAPTER VI

The Report on Agricultural indebtedness by Messrs. Bartlett and Last, reveals a far more alarming aspect of affairs than that which Mr. C. F. Strickland contemplated when he examined the same area. The following extracts from the Report will give their opinions:—"The present deplorable situation of the agricultural industry," the Report states, "is mainly due to the character of the producers and their financiers, and to the inherent complications of agricultural finance. Some contributory causes are : failure to meet effectively the situation created by the abolition of slavery; the townward movement; inadequate transport, banking and marketing facilities; the producers' lack of business capacity; the imposition of a legal system no doubt admirable from the point of view of the legal profession and the money-lenders but insufficiently related to the conceptions and needs of the mass of the population; sub-division and multiplicity of holdings; enhanced cost of credit due to the absence of a survey and registration

of titles; virtual dependence on a single export crop having a highly variable long period return, and its finance on a system appropriate to regular uniform income; and finally, the methods adopted in evasion of controlling legislation.

"In recent years the situation has been intensified to the verge of a crisis by inflation leading to extravagance and speculation, followed by a depression which has made it impossible for producers to pay interest or to repay loans obtained during the period of inflated values. Many of the lenders are similarly involved and would be more disposed to compromise now than they would be later. Should values improve, though those in a position to do so would no doubt await that event.

"The burden of the debt lies on the clove and coconut industries, the former carrying the greater proportion. Bare harvesting and marketing costs cannot be recovered from the current prices of cloves and copra, and as the interest cost of the debt is estimated to exceed Rs. 15 lakhs annually, there is reason for asserting that the agricultural industry of the Protectorate is bankrupt. The figure facts in this report tell a story. They are also a warning that immediate action is necessary if the economic structure of the Protectorate is to be preserved."

While credit is absolutely necessary for an industry of this kind, this credit has been advanced hitherto on

an insecure and speculative basis.

“For good reasons,” the Report says, “the two commercial banks of Zanzibar do not directly finance agriculture. There is as yet no co-operative organisation for this purpose. The Clove Growers Association provides, from funds guaranteed by Government, clove harvesting loans and crop advances. It is hoped that it will be able to extend this programme. The Post Office Savings Bank is used rarely, if at all, by the agricultural classes. The greater part of agricultural finance is left to the money-lenders, and to small shop-keepers and produce dealers who act as money-lenders, though not licensed in that capacity as required by law. In fact, it can be said that no organized credit has ever been available to the agriculturalist, who has, in consequence been forced to accept credit assistance from a variety of lenders who have imposed individual conditions to their own advantage. On the other hand the absence of satisfactory title and land laws has effectively prevented the organization of any system of long term credit adapted to the peculiarities of the clove industry.

“In these circumstances it cannot be wondered at that agricultural finance has always been considered speculative—and speculators demand high dividends. Accordingly, interest rates have always been more than the industry is capable of paying.”



The Report of Messrs. Bartlett and Last goes on to state that almost all the money-lenders belong to one or other of the Indian communities. "But it is worthy of note," the Report proceeds, "that Arab money-lenders, though comparatively few in number, have had attributed to them some of the harshest and most unconscionable instances of usury revealed by the inquiry."

Mr. Strickland in his Economic Report, written in 1932, does not take the same dark view of Zanzibar indebtedness as Messrs. Bartlett and Last. He writes in the following terms:—"The actual amount of debt does not appear to me extremely heavy. They do not indicate, in the majority of cases, a burden which a hard-working man could not shake off by steady and intelligent effort. A study of probate cases, insolvency cases, and the files of civil suits leads me to the same conclusion. The trouble is rather that the debtor has never been trained to make the required effort, and has no alternative source of credit (other than the harvesting and storage advances of the Clove Growers' Association) on which to draw. There is no co-operative organisation, and the borrower is in the power of the money-lending produce dealer. It is not my object to revile the latter. Though the rates of interest charged are ordinarily high, 50% and more being not unusual, bad debts are no doubt many, and a punctual borrower

on good security can obtain money as low as 7½ and 8% (9% in Pemba, which has a worse general reputation in respect of repayment). Interest varies with the character of the individual, and a remarkable Swahili came before me, who by labour and trading had acquired a substantial property with no original capital whatever. When questioned as to the causes of the failure and indebtedness of others, this man spoke of their excessive expenditure, the buying and leasing of too many plantations with borrowed money and the lack of business experience. To these I must add the habit of gambling on the price of cloves by holding up their stock for long periods. The Swahili in question referred with gratitude and goodwill to his Indian financier, to whom he was paying interest at 12%."

A singular fact is made evident from both Reports in turn, on which much depends. Land Registration is almost non-existent. Although the Government of Zanzibar has passed through prosperous times, during which they hardly knew how to spend the money which came in as income, the step seems never to have been taken to survey all the properties and to register the boundaries of the estates.

"Insecurity of tenure, or the absence of defined cultivation rights, in the use of public or private land, leads to a serious reduction in the cultivated area, decline in production in the cultivated area, deterioration

of properties, increase in the liability of damage by fire and by the depredations of vermin, decline in standard of living, depopulation of the countryside, unemployment, increasing dependence on imported foodstuffs, and mal-nutrition."

Mr. Strickland, in the same manner, devotes a whole chapter to the immediate necessity of a government survey and land registration. The surprising thing is that on such a small area, where property is so valuable, this land registration should not have been carried out before. This one omission has confused many issues and possibly also caused the present indebtedness to be more onerous than it otherwise would have been. For the credit value of land has been diminished. Messrs. Bartlett and Last's Report on Indebtedness mentions also the evil of absentee Arab proprietors and the 'Townward Movement' among the young Arabs.

"The townward movement," it says, "is largely responsible for absenteeism. The movement probably originated in the desire to establish an imposing capital and stronghold. It was encouraged by Scyyid Bargash's demands for frequent audiences of leading Arabs: checked by the necessity for residence on plantations during their rehabilitation after the cyclone of 1872, but revived by the abolition of slavery and by outbreaks of dacoity which occurred until quite recent years.

"With the disappearance of the social amenities of

country life occurred a simultaneous and continuous improvement in urban conditions. Public health and educational activities were practically confined to the town. Electric light, water supply and sanitation were provided and the shops and the cinemas, and the increased opportunity for freer social intercourse have enhanced the lure of the town. In recent times, efforts have been made to improve conditions in the rural areas, but those who have become accustomed to town life will not easily be persuaded to return to the land. The younger generation of potential agriculturists, reared and educated in the town, have become definitely urbanized and show a clear preference for clerical employment, though perhaps not averse from retaining the status of land owner if it entails no more than leasing the crops, or, at most, occasional brief visits to the property—conditions not conducive to efficient operation.”

The indebtedness in Zanzibar is chiefly incurred on account of domestic, social and ceremonial requirements. That is to say, it does not go directly towards meeting the needs of agriculture itself. There is every reason to fear that a vast amount of this expense is comparatively useless and does not in any way benefit the island.

“The reasons given,” the Report states, “by those encumbered by debt indicate domestic and social requirements and the purchase of land, and in the case of larger proprietors, house property, as the origin of

most debt. . . . . The proportion of debt incurred for development is negligible."

While Mr. C. F. Strickland continually warns against quick and revolutionary methods of action, which would involve the upheaval of society, Messrs. Bartlett and Last throw over the co-operative process altogether and propose a Government Monopoly under the fictitious title of 'The Clove Growers' Association.' This body is a Government aided corporation, financed entirely by the State, for taking over the Clove Industry as a monopoly and 'rationalising' it. The proposal rejects Mr. Strickland's method on the plea that the matter was far too urgent.

"The growth," the Report states, "of a sound co-operative movement is necessarily a slow process. . . . Even if present conditions could be materially alleviated by co-operation, the problems are of too urgent a nature to be left to that eventual solution, and the Government in initiating the Clove Growers' Association with a policy of direct credit facilities has already introduced a measure with which co-operation could not successfully compete. Such competition, in any event is not desirable. . . . . Though the more ideal procedure may be to teach the producers how to conduct their business, it seems that it will be necessary to conduct it for them for some years to come."

The impression is left on the reader of these two

Reports that there is a definite and clear contradiction  
(i) with regard to the gravity of the situation with its  
burden of indebtedness, and (ii) with regard to the  
best methods necessary to meet acknowledged evils.

## CHAPTER VII

The ship on which I was travelling to Bombay stopped at Zanzibar. A wireless message had already reached me from the Indian Association asking me to break my journey in order to help them in their very serious trouble. While it was impossible to do this, I met instead the leaders of Indian community while the ship anchored and found out from them the difficulties with which they were confronted.

One strangely wrong notion seemed to be a common place in the official mind of Zanzibar. Indians and Indians only are regarded as foreigners. This appears to be a kind of basic assumption at the back of all their thinking and it terribly confuses the issue. Yet the facts are these:—

(1) A large majority of Indians now settled in the island are Zanzibaris by birth. Some have lived there for many generations. These Indians are no more 'foreigners' than the Arabs are.

(2) The Indians were invited by the Sultan to

come and settle in Zanzibar. They have created and maintained the world clove market.

(3) The majority of Zanzibari Indians are Muslims, and there is a close fraternity between them and the Arabs.

The one reason given again and again by the Government officials in order to justify their hasty legislation was the desperate condition of the clove market and the plight of the Arabs. It was asserted that any remedy less drastic and immediate was useless. It was not possible to have allowed time for discussion. The moratorium was needed at once because otherwise all kinds of clever things might have been done by the creditors to force the payment of their debts, if time had been allowed. This was not convincing; I pointed out that the Bill might have included a clause giving retrospective effect to its action.

The Indian answer to the Government was to point to the world economic depression as the real cause of the low prices in the clove market. They stated that to try thus by purely artificial methods to raise the price of cloves was not even business speculation; it was *gambling*. What was still worse; it was gambling with public money.

The Indian merchants further pointed out that already the world depression showed signs of lifting. They have suffered heavy losses during the depression.



It was cruelly unfair to cut them out *just as the market had begun to recover*. It was surely a better course to let world commerce in cloves have both its rise and fall. Things would right themselves, if only they were allowed to do so. Indians were in no sense opposed to the employment of co-operative methods but they were strongly opposed to a Government monopoly. Mr. Bartlett whose brain is behind this scheme for a Government monopoly, points to a rise in the price of cloves in the world market, even in the short time since he was given full control. He is confident that he is on the way to success. At the same time he acknowledges that his method is likely to cut out many Indians who are now engaged in the clove business as middlemen.

Furthermore, Indians, on their side, point to the extravagant expenditure on the civil service in spite of world depression. They show how the clove industry in Madagascar, which is their rival, is only taxed five per cent. export duty while Zanzibar clove trade is taxed between thirty and forty per cent. in order to maintain this costly civil service. There are 'directors' of agriculture, education, etc., drawing high salaries and pensions, though the Zanzibar Protectorates is only 1,020 square miles in extent with a population of 235,000 persons.

In this criticism, the Indian argument is borne out by Sir Allan Pim's financial report of 1932. 'Zanzibar'

He writes, 'cannot afford a European staff on this scale.' It is only', he adds, 'the fatal ease with which the funds have come in from the clove industry which has tempted the administration into these easy and seductive courses.' He is referring to the creation of new administrative posts as seductive and easy course leading to bankruptcy.

## CHAPTER VIII

The Attorney General of Zanzibar in introducing the Land Alienation Bill which deprives Indians of the right of holding agricultural lands in Zanzibar said as follows:—'Sir, in regard to the Bill itself it would be idle to say that it was not drastic and almost revolutionary in its provisions, or that it has not shown itself to be unpopular with a large number of people locally. And that unpopularity is likely to last for some time. The Bill without doubt affects the rights and privileges of certain members of the community. The Bill has the further disadvantage of discriminating somewhat in respect of races, and that is always open to objection. On the other hand the Bill is put forward by the Government because in the opinion of the Government it should be enacted.'

The Attorney General then went on to explain the main provisions of the Bill. They were as follows:—

(1) An Arab or an African may not permanently alienate his lands to a non-Arab or non-African without

the sanction of the British Resident. This clause is openly acknowledged to be directed against Indians, though their name is not mentioned.

(2) An Arab or an African will only be able to mortgage his property in some form of *usufructuary* mortgage, by which the land returns to its original owner after a period not exceeding twenty years. 'Without doubt', says the Attorney General, 'the Bill is intended to prevent as far as may be, mortgages which will lead to the expropriation of the owner.'

(3) Leases, which an Arab or an African may give for his land shall not exceed twenty years.

(4) With regard to past transactions, no decree of court involving the sale of land of an Arab or African shall be executed for one year after the Bill becomes law. The Attorney General calls this a semi-moratorium.

(5) The court may cancel fictitious sales which have been transacted in lieu of a mortgage.

Having described the Bill, the Attorney General adds, "I do not deny that these provisions are somewhat startling; but it is dire necessity which forces this legislation to be introduced. I will divide the subject under two hands:—(1) Economic, (2) political or social. With regard to the economic necessity for this measure it is common knowledge that the land owning classes of the Protectorate have been in a serious state of indebtedness for some years. There are records over

sixty years old in the Government archives which show that the British agent and consuls general were somewhat perturbed at the indebtedness of the landowners even in those days. The agriculturists always, have been farmer-tenants of landowners who have been heavily indebted.

“But it was not till lately that the real crisis arose. After the war, there came a boom period. Prices went sky high. Everybody was happy. Landowners instead of using that time carefully and advancing slowly went right out with extravagant ideas and bought more lands at almost fabulous prices. Ready money was not very often produced. Every purchase was by means of mortgage on terms which could only be met if inflation continued with no possible chance of redemption unless clove prices had remained at their highest.”

The Attorney General ends the economic argument with an admission that hitherto very little land has actually passed out of Arab or African hands, because the Indians holding a mortgage have found it possible to pass on the property from one Arab or African or another. He fears, however, that the same thing will not hold good in future, because there will be no Arab or African left who can produce ready money. This will mean that Indians will expropriate the Arab or African.

Great harm will ensue, he goes on to say, because if

the Arab or African landowner is expropriated, then he will be reduced to the position of tenant or else become landless without occupation. Either of these things will involve a great loss of prestige.

"Zanzibar" he adds in conclusion, "is an Arab state. It is the duty of the protecting Government to assist the protected people. It is impossible for us to stand by and take the risk of expropriation of his Highness' people. It has been the general experience of those who have anything to do with courts of justice in the Protectorate that taken as a whole, the balance is not even as between debtor and creditor. I do not suggest that courts deliver unjust judgments, but I say that on one side you have careful thrifty businesslike people, able to use the advantages of the stronger position and the possession of wealth, while on the other side you have a fool-hardy people with no idea of the value of money and general spirit of recklessness."

The Attorney General concludes by saying that the debt must be paid, as far as land can stand the repayment; and the Acting Resident has already appointed a commissioner with a leading Indian member to help him to find out how the debts already contracted may best be liquidated with Government assistance. But while both these officials thus offer in the future some hope of a small portion of the past accumulation of debts being recovered through liquidation they give no hope

whatever that this Land Alienation Act will be repealed when once the liquidation has been effected.

Yet this Act directly deprives Indian British subjects in Zanzibar of old established vested rights. Unless this Act is repealed, no Indian will be allowed in future to hold agricultural lands in Zanzibar except by the special permission of the British Resident who has already shown that he intends to hold this land in trust for the Arabs, however, improvident they may be.

In 1923 the Indians, who are British subjects, were deprived of the rights of holding agricultural land in the Kenya highlands. These have been reserved for Europeans. Now they will be deprived of the right of holding land in Zanzibar and Pemba. These lands will be reserved for Arabs and Africans, even though the Arabs and Africans were not born in Zanzibar and Indians were born there.

It may well be asked how much further is this deprivation of rights as British subjects to go on?

## CHAPTER IX

Certain factors stand out prominently with regard to the Indian crisis in Zanzibar:

(a) Money-lending of an objectionable character, forms only one part of the evil which has to be counter-acted and this can be done without land alienation.

Every agricultural enterprise must be financed, and the Indians have performed that function with some success hitherto. The fact that the island has been remarkably prosperous and has retained the premier place in the world clove-market up to the present time, shows that the Indians have not been as a race unscrupulous and usurious in the past. The Arabs have been described by the Attorney General himself as 'foolhardy' and 'reckless' in their business transactions. The human factor seems to have entered in at every turn preventing harsh treatment. For the most friendly relations have existed between the two races. This could never have gone on for over a century, if the Indians who advanced the money were an unscrupulous and usurious class.



It may well happen to be the case that stricter laws against usury are still needed, so that the money-lending 'sharks' may be compelled to disgorge their prey. But these 'sharks' are not Indians alone. In Mr. Bartlett's Report it is stated that 'the Arab money-lenders, though comparatively few in number, have had attributed to them some of the harshest and most unsociable instances of usury revealed by inquiry.'

If instead of singling out the Indians by race, the worst offenders of *whatever* race were restrained by legislation from usurious practices, no Indian would object, and there would be no feeling of racial injustice left behind.

(b) There is no agricultural banking system among the Arabs and Africans in Zanzibar, and yet with a product such as cloves, which takes a long time to mature, and also to sell, credit is the very life-blood of the trade. The Indians have hitherto supplied this credit.

The European settlers in the highlands of Kenya have been faced with the same problem of obtaining long credit during the whole depression for their agricultural products. They however have a banking system. When the settlers in Kenya asked Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister to interfere between themselves and the banks, he refused, though very few estates in Kenya were unencumbered. He did not find any 'loss of prestige'

which turned the European settlers from landowners to tenants, whose estates were mortgaged upto the hilt to the banks.

The Indians who are the 'bankers' in Zanzibar, would be willing to accept some form of moratorium in order to ease the immediate situation, but they must certainly protest and make their voices heard, if the land itself is alienated from them and a vested right is confiscated by unjust legislation. For if you make the land once inalienable, you destroy its value, as a means of raising an agricultural loan, that is to say, you destroy credit.

This very method was tried in Zanzibar as late as 1921 with regard to estates below Rs. 500 value, which were chiefly in African hands but in a very short time those who were thus protected unitedly demanded to be set free from such protection, because they could not get any credit. They appealed to his Highness the Sultan and the Act was repealed. Yet the same thing is going to be tried again only on a larger scale.

(c) The extravagance of the Zanzibar administration has become proverbial all down the east coast of Africa. It was easy to smile at the prosperity budgets while prices stood sky-high. But it has been found very difficult to curtail expenses while the world depression lasts. In order to meet this expenditure the ruinous policy seems to have been adopted of increasing

the export duty on cloves. This duty has now become so excessive that it has done much to ruin the trade. This is like killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

(d) This heavy burden put upon the clove industry in order to pay the revenue has given an opening for a serious rival to enter the clove market. The French in Madagascar have discovered on the east coast of that island a climate and rainfall for the growth of clove trees not inferior to Zanzibar and Pemba. In a few years time Zanzibar may be faced with an outside competitor far more dangerous than to-day. There is also the possibility of synthetic oil being produced more cheaply in America than even the clove oil which nature produces. All these factors make the future outlook somewhat ominous.

(e) In face of this critical situation threatening the whole industry, it may well be asked whether these drastic steps to buttress up the Arabs in spite of their acknowledged indolence and extravagance will benefit, either the Arabs themselves in the long run, or the clove industry on which Zanzibar depends. Will not this preferential legislation only increase their idle habits? Upto now they have been living side by side with the Indians who are noted for their thrift and industry, and this has kept them up to the mark. But if this factor is withdrawn the Arab is likely to sink back and the land which cannot be alienated from him will lie

idle. This situation may give Madagascar clove growers the very opportunity which they require to capture the world market.

(f) The crisis surely should require from the Government a policy of unification of all the resources of the island rather than playing one race off against another. The time has come for a supreme effort of European, Arab, African and Indian alike based on a common purpose. This was really the method proposed in Mr. C. F. Strickland's Report—the way of co-operation. But the Zanzibar authorities appear to have decided that this method is too slow in its working. They have determined instead to take into their own hands the function of credit which the Indians had undertaken so long, and to treat the Indians as a foreign body which has to be eliminated as far as possible from the clove industry. There is no acknowledgment in any of the official speeches of the valuable part the Indians have played, but on the contrary a definite tendency to treat them as foreigners and aliens whose vested interests can be brushed aside with impunity. Thus at this most perilous juncture when the whole industry is threatened on which all alike depend, the proverb is likely to be found true; a house divided against itself cannot stand.

## CHAPTER X

There are certain ways in which the wrong which has been done to the Indian community in Zanzibar may be corrected. Perhaps, the simplest of all would be for the new Commission on indebtedness, to reconsider the step already taken with such extreme haste by passing the Land Alienation Ordinance.

It should be made perfectly clear to the authorities in Zanzibar that racial clauses of this kind, such as those which have been introduced into the Land Alienation Ordinance, are extremely objectionable to Indians at the present time, when their rights in Africa are constantly being taken away until very little remains.

It should also be made clear that such a scheme differs in fundamental aspects from the Land Alienation Act of the Punjab. For the Arabs, in many cases, hardly visit their clove estates. Therefore, they can hardly be called an 'agricultural class'; nor is clove tree cultivation similar in character to the agricultural labour demanded in the cultivation of wheat. Indeed, it can

hardly be called agriculture at all.

Furthermore, the fact needs to be noticed, that, after nearly a hundred years of clove marketing and banking, only six per cent. of the land of Zanzibar and Pemba has passed permanently into Indian hands. The Land Alienation Ordinance appears therefore to be not only an injustice to the Indians as a race, but also unnecessary for the protection of the land. It has yet to be proved that the land is passing out of the hands of the Africans and Arabs into the hands of the Indians.

It would be well therefore to await the findings of the new Commission, on which Mr. Tyab Ali is sitting as an Indian member. Since a conflict of opinion has arisen between Mr. Strickland and Mr. Bartlett, both as to the extent of indebtedness and also as to the way to meet it, the attention of the Commission should be drawn to this and every help should be given by the authorities in India to the Indian community in Zanzibar in leading their evidence with perfect lucidity and a careful marshalling of facts.

Since a semi-moratorium is now existing in Zanzibar, the effects of the new ordinances, as far as land is concerned, are being held over. This presents a golden opportunity of making the Indian case so convincing, that, before the moratorium is over, a reversal of the present Government's policy may be seen to be necessary.

This small book has been prepared amidst hurried interruptions of the last days before sailing for England. While I believe the main facts are accurate it is almost certain that minor details have been overlooked.

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**Racial Problems in  
South Africa**

**BY**

**JOSEPHINE RANSOM**

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***September, 1932***

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## RACIAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

EACH country is a stage, a setting, for a part of our human world-drama. Each stage has territorial boundaries, often unguarded, yet terribly important; and more important still are the boundaries of thought and feeling. One of the newest of such stages is the Union of South Africa—a combination of the Provinces of Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It is but a small area of the immense total that is Africa, but it is a very significant one, for within its borders proceeds the unfolding of a very striking story.

About four hundred years of history lie behind the present situation. Portuguese, Dutch, French, British—each in turn in their inadequate little sailing ships went down the inhospitable shores of West Africa, weathered raging Cape storms, sailed up across the hot and steamy Indian Ocean and split themselves upon eastern shores—Ceylon, India, Java, Indo-China. Fate probably had it in view that they should bring to the outworn customs of

the East some of the restless desire of the West for freedom and independence—individually, politically, nationally.

Back upon East African shores voyaged those little inadequate sailing ships, carrying spices and silks and the wealth of the East—and Malay slaves for the Cape. Sometimes fierce storms caught the tiny vessels and flung them savagely upon the shores of Natal. The survivors, both men and women, suffered agonies of endurance, incredible miseries; a few survived all trials. Slowly settlements were made and the making of them are epics, and are right royal foundations upon which a nation may build.

On the other side of the country the sailing ships swung down the seas—mostly Dutch, among them the one under the command of van Riebeck, whose name is graved so deeply upon the country's memory. There were Hollanders of all kinds, governors and commanders, merchants and farmers, preachers and lawyers. They settled round about magnificent Table Mountain, making beautiful homes. Its great bulk, solid, lofty and powerful, towers above all the district, a giant of quiet force whereon the elements play in brilliant sunshine or in the furious storms that pour over its broad upturned face. Came also the British because of the push of the adventurous spirit of those old days, or because of the political tides that came and went in Europe and caused changing

ownership in these far off lands. Came also the Huguenots in their hour of stress, bringing with them the gift of the fruitful vine that flourishes so exceedingly. They gave a gracious strain to the sturdy Dutch, and fine and honoured names, and a delicate touch to the language—though French was forbidden them by the Government of the Republic of the Netherlands, so it quickly died right out of use.

Within the land and out of the north came stream after stream of dark peoples, all akin, but some, like the Zulus, with fiery qualities that produced mighty and ruthless warriors like Ichaka and others. I have pored over a fascinating map whereon is depicted in colour these streams flowing from out the north. Sometimes they ran parallel, sometimes they coalesced, sometimes they flowed far south and then turned back northwards again. And these dark-skinned peoples marching over the land, and the white-skinned peoples who sailed over the seas, met and clashed. As was inevitable, the white-skinned ones prevailed. But not without long and bitter struggle.

The struggle for both was at first with the little elusive, primitive Bushman. He bore a fierce love for the lands that marked his hunting territory. Each tribe respected the boundaries of the other, else there was trouble, and among themselves poisoned arrows were effective weapons. Within the tribe was kindness and co-operation. When

food was plentiful all shared it, when there was scarcity all went hungry. Artistic gifts and perceptions too, had this little man, as is witnessed by his paintings on cave walls and entrances. The Hottentot he was accustomed to warring against, but he had no means of defending himself from the guns of this strange new enemy looking so like a very hairy-faced lion. He resented intrusion upon his ancestral hunting grounds, and for that he was driven, as might wild animals be driven, from his camps to deeper less accessible fastnesses in forests and mountains.

There was also the white man's struggle with the raiding, foraging Negro peoples. They had always snatched where they could, the strong against the weak. Cattle to them were and are wealth. The lonely white settler was fair game. He was murdered, his delectable cattle driven off. That meant reprisals and troubles, the slow pushing back of the marauders. When captured they were made into slaves. Slavery was a habit of the times: Malays from the East; Hottentots of whom but few pure-bred specimens are said now to exist; Fingos, Bantua, and the rest whenever met and overcome. And out of it arose that inexplicable thing—the breeding of the white man with his women slaves and with others, and so his "coloured" descendants whom he despises, and who have so hard and anomalous a place socially now.

As time went on, a strong British contingent grew up in South Africa, especially at first in Cape Colony and Natal. As ever, the British element strove to fasten its political traditions upon the country, its own fashioning of law and order. But Dutch traditions had already settled and were held as precious and worth defending. Small republics and direct representation—these seemed desirable. Feelings were aroused, and in the Dutch a fierce resistance to encroachment upon their own ideals of political development. When they could no longer prevail against compulsion, little groups would combine and be up and off in their tiny "homes," the famous wagons drawn by many oxen, and the courageous "trek" would begin. This would end in some distant spot where lands were wide and guns would defend the little fearless band. Over to Natal they went, but again the British were there, with those tiresome British notions.

Families again set out to mount the tall snowy Drakensberg and to work out the tragedy of the betrayal of gallant Piet Retief by the notorious Dingaan. Then the later revenge for that, and presently the marvellous little epic, when the trekkers, numbering some three hundred Boers, stood isolated in those immensities against the trained, seemingly invincible, Zulu "impis". What a night of preparation! The wagons drew into a circle making a laager, men, women, children, cattle

inside, and rough barricades between each wagon. Guns and intrepidity inside, prayers and the promise that, if God would but be on their side, they would build a chapel, and praise and prayer would go up from it. Morning, and ten thousand Zulus, Dingaan's chosen warriors, with knobkerries and assegais—a veritable rain of them from the advancing hordes who despised the little band. Guns spitting viciously and the magnificent hide-shields no protection. Check after check. The women loading feverishly, but the stream of dark warriors seemed endless. But they paused, they desisted and retired, leaving the flower of their army dead, to report fearsomely to their ruthless chief and meet death for defeat. Victory to the little band—a "chosen people"! The conviction of being thus chosen has worked for both good and bad in the subsequent history of South Africa. Then the farther trek still, to farm, peacefully at first, in the territory of the "white waters"—the Witwatersrand—the later golden girdle of the Transvaal.

The discovery of gold and diamonds changed South Africa's history from one devoted mainly to quiet farming into a mad rush for wealth. Into her poured suddenly the clamorous greedy, either as controllers of the sources of this vast new wealth, or as manual workers, prepared to sell their health for high wages, workers of all nationalities and including many "raw natives" from distant kraals.

Such conditions compelled the rapid growth of towns. Inside fifty years from out of collections of tents and huts and wagons have arisen fine towns and the stately city of Johannesburg. Powerful among the Dutch towns (dorps) and head of the Transvaal Republic was President Paul Krüger. He typified the outlook of his people: direct, rugged, uncompromising, his conduct and opinions moulded entirely by the Bible, and by the Calvinistic interpretation of it. He, like all Boers used the Taal (tongue), a simplified form of Dutch —though education was still given in “high Dutch,” and the Bible was written in that language. Only quite recently has the Afrikaans edition been printed. (Afrikaans is the modern name for the Taal which has been, and is being, greatly improved and modified and is one of the two official languages, the other being English).

With the influx of foreigners, mainly British, came new and disturbing elements. They wished for political representation and a voice in the taxation of their growing numbers. But with the Boer's distaste for invasion and change “Reforms” were ignored or refused. The ill-considered Jamieson Raid provoked a war that bewildered the Boers. Of that three years' struggle many bitter memories still remain, though in decreasing measure; as new generations take their place and old memories die, racial antagonisms begin to fade,



intermarriage brings understanding, and political parties refrain from provoking bad feelings.

After the war, the four great provinces involved were formed into the Union of South Africa, and for better or for worse the future had to be faced. Such is the background—already rich in history, heroism, patriotism and promise of the peoples of the Union. The whites are known as Afrikaners, though the names Dutch and British still persist. Under these names are classed also all sorts of Europeans, as well as Jews, and Syrians because the latter are Christians. Also the "poor whites".

Some Theosophists are convinced that the best work, thought and effort of those members so disposed should be given to accelerating the growth of understanding between Briton and Boer. With those two strong and self-reliant groups united more closely than at present, they think the future would show a more rapid advance, especially in solving the delicate and subtle problems presented by the whole racial question. Such a closer union is most desirable and would bring to birth a people competent to contribute to the Commonwealth a fine addition: the qualities of strength and idealism, largely motivated by the desire for service to countless numbers of the "backward" races, essaying the first stumbling steps into a civilisation that is somewhat a strenuous upwards climb for them.

The outermost fringe of these two leading races consists of the "poor whites". They are mostly of Boer origin. They are so feckless often that they are the despair of all who work for their improvement. Curiously enough many of them are the grandchildren of those magnificent "voortrekkers" whose indomitable courage made possible the settlement of the country. When they settled they had enough for all their needs. They paid little or no attention to the education of their children. There was hunting enough, plenty of slaves, women to marry, children to beget—among whom their lands were divided and divided yet again by their grandchildren, till at last they were too small to support a family. They were not usually trained to any occupation other than farming, and manual labour was despised as "Kaffir's" work. So these poor descendants lived and live miserably, forlorn and uninspired. They cluster in towns, breeding freely yet poverty-stricken. Farming settlements have been made for them with varying success. As education is free and compulsory, maybe the tide will turn for them and a better type emerge. They present a curious case of how the neglect of culture brings in a low brand of intellectual and moral qualities. Many are learning to work on the roads, and at first were jeered at by the Kaffirs for so doing, but that is actually the first step along the road of their regeneration.

Between these and the natives are the "coloured" people. On the "white" side parentage is Portuguese, Dutch, French, British, and all sorts of other Europeans. Jews, Hindus, Muhammadans, Arabs and Malays have also contributed their quota. On the "native" side parentage is Hottentot, Bantu, Fingo, Basuto, Zulu, Swayi, and all the many other tribes as the "whites" met and miscegenated with them—without compunction. Such miscegenation is now unlawful; but some of it still goes on, as is witnessed in the native areas of any town where fair-haired, red-haired, more lightly-coloured children play with the natives, unconscious of the unhappy future that awaits them. For the "coloured" person is aware of strains of desire and of possibilities, and yet is forced either to consort with natives or with his own "Colour". The whites will have nothing of them, and ban them socially almost as completely as the native is banned. It is a cruel situation for many of them, particularly the "near white". In Cape Town and maybe elsewhere in Cape Province, these coloured people are growing into a very self-respecting community. Many have the vote, that was arranged long ago; there is a tendency to try and take it from them, for some resent that the "coloured" people should vote upon matters affecting the "white" man. The Dutch gave the unhappy name of *Bastaard* to these folk, and for a time they took and used it with some fierceness of pride. Some of them,

under a capable leader named Adam Kok, trekked away to found settlements of their own, with varying success.

Those Theosophists who have the welfare of the people at heart would like to see them have more than their present place in society, and a more efficient education. There are missions among them of course, and they are mostly Christians, but they need some central *alma mater* where they could find themselves, and evolve their own notions as to what should befall them, and learn to live their lives without bitterness. They must of course have their dignified place in the South African scheme of things, and be given a chance to prove themselves, to search their own hearts and know what life should offer them. Many a student of the racial problems in South Africa wonders if the future of the country, *i.e.*, the Union, and maybe even beyond its borders, will be that of a "coloured" people. I am told that in Portuguese East Africa the Portuguese, even those in important Government positions, sometimes marry native women. Should white people visit them they permit of no question as to the courtesy due to their wives.

The natives have a strange fate in present-day South Africa. Rider Haggard introduced us to the splendid Zulu warriors, and in various wars with them we learnt to respect their manly and courageous qualities. Rider Haggard was the first to write novels about them; now they begin to do it

for themselves with odd and touching effect. But the sons and grandsons of those intrepid warriors have become the seemingly tame "house boys" who in their thousands under the direction of white mistresses bring their wild natures under the sway of a complicated modern civilization, and manage to do it remarkably well. Sometimes under the stress of "Kaffir beer" or other excitement, savagery will flash out and evil deeds be committed. It is not unusual to find the son of a ruling chief behind the cheerful face and shabby clothes of a labourer. Zulus take most readily to police and army work; they still have the sense of command and rule, and some rise high to positions of responsibility.

Agents recruit natives for all sorts of work in mines, on plantations, on farms, in factories, for road-making and so on. But it is a somewhat bewildering life for them. On the plantations conditions are often hard, food, clothing, shelter and payment of the minimum, as was revealed in evidence before a recent Native Economic Commission in Durban. Some plantations treat their employees well, of course. Along the sixty miles of the famous gold reef, the Rand, there are roughly about one and a half million natives employed. They are accommodated in large and protected "compounds" under white managers, who select "boss boys" from among the best of them to assist in keeping control over their own

set of compatriots. They are well fed, though very plainly, and medically cared for with skill and excellence so as to reduce mortality among them to the lowest possible rate. They are taught Red Cross work, and the various mines organise competitions among them. They compete for the prizes with zest. These men have mostly no family attachments around or near the mines, so their morals are curious and often difficult. Natives who are more or less de-tribalised and do not return to far kraals, as do the mine boys and others, congregate round the big cities in slums or in locations, and have their families live in bad and unsanitary conditions (though this too is altering very much). Medical aid is their special need. Mission bodies do some of this and native nurses are being trained. Doctors and materials are totally inadequate to the need; so many natives living under such conditions are congenitally diseased and a menace to the health of all. To deal with that is imperative. Native men have always been compelled to carry "passes" or permits upon them, and the police can demand to see these at any time. It is irksome, and much objection is raised to it, for failure to produce it involves the punishment of imprisonment. "Passes" for women also have lately been introduced, especially at night, for natives are not supposed to be about the streets after a certain hour. Much objection was raised to this, lest police interference should be abused

and women unfairly treated. But undoubtedly the system on the other hand helped to clear the streets of a very undesirable type of native woman, a menace to the health and morals of any city.

In some towns there are native Welfare Associations promoted by interested white people. They advocate native townships in order to get the natives out of the dreadful slums and often bad locations; they seek that he should be set upon the right path to help himself to orderly self-respecting freedom. On the other hand there are groups of white people who form associations among themselves for the purpose of "insuring the lasting dominion of the white man in South Africa in a spirit of just guardianship over the native". They declare they will fight any "undesirable negrophilism," and that they will educate white youths "with a view to opening their eyes to the social relationships their forefathers have maintained for centuries, and to safeguard them against unwittingly succumbing to negrophilist influences in school, church or society". They advocate segregation of the native in order to maintain the equilibrium between white and black, at securing preference for European labour, at safeguarding South African industries for the native against imported labour, and to try and prevent the unskilled white labourer from being degraded to the status of the native and brought into unfair competition with him. The

Government has actively supported this kind of opinion, and has urged the replacing of natives by whites in a steady and regular proportion. There is a certain amount of justice really in this, for the towns are not the natives' natural home.

Segregation is a subject for heated debate. Eight per cent of the land of the Union is held by natives who are three-fourths of the population. In places like the Transkei, where there is real and natural segregation, whites have encroached on the plea of the need for more land. As there is not enough land now for segregation (and mainly farming) purposes on a large scale, some think urban populations are inevitable. This means better conditions and higher wages, but it will need to be in towns of their own. It is not possible to mingle the two peoples at present in one urban scheme. They are too far apart in every way. Then the burden will really be upon the native to see what he can make of his own town life. Such towns would need to be near enough to farming districts. Many natives would like to see segregation; they do not want to see their detribalised children brought up in the slums of the cities. They are ready to trek if land is made available. Many whites think this should be done to check the present drift into chaos, for the earlier "Cape View" of "equal rights for all civilised persons South of the Zambesi" does not seem justly realisable as yet.



Native idealism is of course greatly desired. There is lack of it. But native Christians are alive to the problems of their people, and pastors among them plead for definite instruction for their young folk in all matters of morality. Pointing to the rapid development of the American negro and the "passing" of so many of them into the ranks of the whites, he suggests that the same may happen in South Africa. There will emerge also what is called the "new negro". He will no longer be attached to old employers and masters. He will be proud to be a negro, and will reject the idea of inferiority to the white man. As in America they would have their own towns, universities, insurance companies, banks, factories, newspapers, business houses, doctors, lawyers, clergy and so on. They would supply their own educated and intellectual leaders, and might institute a movement to supply leaders for any native colony anywhere in Africa.

There are about one hundred different Christian sects at work among the natives along the Rand. This makes for confusion. They are however trying to understand the native as he is. The present is a real point of complete transition for the native. The white man says: "Come and do my work," but the native mother has hitherto raised her sons to be warriors and her daughters to work. That arrangement has no longer any value. The white man wants the sons,

not the daughters, for work he has to offer. I have seen, in remote districts, native men riding on horseback dressed as Europeans and carrying nothing at all; behind him trudged sturdily his hefty wife in full native costume, a child astride her back and many family possessions piled upon her head. Both seemed entirely cheerful and satisfied. It was the custom. But—taxes must be paid, so the men seek jobs in the towns, working at anything they can get. Traders of gay objects and cloth are irresistible, and rates of interest of borrowing ruinous. Right from the wild into the heart of a complex civilisation, where the white man grabs all he can! As they learn to realise their position they often grow bitter and in their bitterness say :

When we people get a religion we're going to worship a black God, and when we paint the Devil we're going to paint him white, for all white men are devils.<sup>1</sup>

Think over this poignant cry from a Bantu's heart :

Brother, come !  
 And let us go unto our God.  
 And when we stand before Him  
 I shall say—  
 " Lord, I do not hate,  
 I am hated ;  
 I repress no one,  
 I am repressed ;  
 I covet no lands,  
 My lands are coveted ;

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *The Bantus Are Coming*, pp. 36-37.

I scorn no peoples,  
 My peoples are scorned ;  
 And, brother, what shall you say ?”<sup>1</sup>

Europeans are taking considerable interest in and are encouraging the growth of sports organisations, and are coaching the natives into expertness. Many Bantu Clubs exist already. (Bantu' is the name of one of the most progressive types of native, but it looks as if there is an effort to use it for natives as a whole, in preference to the

<sup>1</sup> *Joseph Cotter.*

' When the Bantu was on his way downwards out of the north and settled at various points, he was held responsible for some of the great monuments of the past—as Zimbabwe—and for certain artistry in the making and decorating of pottery, etc. Miss Caton-Thompson, who recently thoroughly explored Zimbabwe ruins, gave it as her uncompromising opinion that “Zimbabwe was of medieval and Bantu origin”. She said that the general style of work is conclusive argument for Bantu architecture and work. All the objects nearly are of Bantu nature, i.e., pottery, bangles, etc. The glass beads found, probably dating around A.D. 800-900, imported at the time, were as made in India. She was quite in sympathy with the idea that slaves did the work, but not under foreigners, as the Zimbabwe style was unknown to any of the suggested overlords. “Zimbabwe represents Rhodesia's oldest and best culture, and burst full-flowered during one of the medieval migrations of Bantus southwards.” Then culture deteriorated, probably killed by the Arab slave-trading and the Matabele invasions. Miss Caton-Thompson further says this “remarkable achievement enriches our wonderment; a Bantu origin enhances its inherent majesty . . . and the mystery of Zimbabwe is the mystery which lies in the pulsing heart of Africa”. (From *The Zimbabwe Culture*, Oxford University Press.)

appellations *negro*, not liked at all, and *kaffir*, merely meaning infidel and probably originally applied to them by Muhammadan slave-raiders and traders, and *native*, now coming to have an unpleasant flavour.) )

Proper sports grounds are a great boon to these people who had no place of recreation save the streets, and few amusements save mischief and fighting somewhat murderously. Crowds of them now enjoy as hilariously as only natives know how the sports that take place. At first white men directed the clubs, but they soon elected Bantus to take over the control, and these learned to direct them.

Thinking, intelligent natives realise that they and their people cannot go far without leadership among themselves. There are five Christian Mission Institutions working to produce these leaders. One such is the Wilberforce Institute in the Transvaal, though there are others of greater note and in a more advanced state of work. It is under the direction of an African Bantu who was trained, I think, at the Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, U.S.A., and some of his assistants were either trained there or at other of the American Negro Colleges, or at Fort Hare or the well-known Loredale Institute in South Africa. The effort made at this Wilberforce Institute is pathetic but gallant. So little facility of materials, so much to do, so many eager to learn, so little funds at their disposal. The

courses pursued range from a primary department to preparation of those who wish to matriculate, or to go on to teaching, collegiate or professional pursuits. All sorts of commercial subjects are taught, also many crafts. Music is given much attention, and the choir is noted for its singing of "spirituals". Girls are instructed in almost every department of domestic science. And all this at the rate of £ 12-10 a year including boarding! Even this humble sum is not always forthcoming, yet Dr. Gow and his able little wife try never to refuse an application. Dr. Gow has addressed meetings arranged by Theosophical Lodges, and the outcome of one such in Pretoria was the arousing of the interest of the Director of Education who visited the Institute and saw to it that a very welcome subsidy was granted to it.

Dr. Gow in his addresses says to the white people very simply: "Yes, we are children and need your help. But do not block our aspirations. We must progress; that is inevitable. Help us to do it happily and with amity."

This is but a rough outline of the racial problems which beset South Africa. Out of them must come a great new experiment in human growth. White people throughout the whole continent have most undoubtedly the task of assisting, sometimes forcing, these millions of dark and less evolved folk to emerge from their old modes of life into other manners and traditions. There is an effort at

present to study tribal laws and customs to discover what in them may be treasured for foundations of future building, but it is doubtful if this will be of much value so long as the pressure of an envied other civilisation exists in their midst. They *want* to act and live as do white people. What is most wanted is a less selfish use of them by the more expert and clever whites. The natives are ready to follow leadership, and they have many admirable qualities out of which to frame a fine future. They are loyal, artistic, faithful to a trust, responsive to sympathy, full of courage, capable of devotion to a religious ideal, with much natural dignity despite their childlike nature, and with intellectuality that can be trained. Maybe the tone of their future will be one of joyousness, if they are not too much oppressed and made bitter. The Theosophical quality of fine discriminating Brotherhood should be the note in training and developing them. Then perhaps South Africa, or all Africa, will see all this conglomeration of peoples emerge unhurryingly into a fine demonstration of how justice may triumph over all prejudices of race and colour.

**RACE AND ECONOMICS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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# RACE AND ECONOMICS IN' SOUTH AFRICA

W. G. BALLINGER



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## PUBLISHER'S FOREWORD

THIS brief but comprehensive survey of the Labour position in South Africa has been written by the man who has had, perhaps, a better opportunity than any other of understanding what has really happened. After working in the British trade union and Labour movements, extending his education at the International College, Elsinore, and gaining experience of local administration on the Motherwell municipal council, Mr. Ballinger went to South Africa in 1928 at the invitation of the Native Trade Union known as the I.C.U. (Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union). He has remained there ever since, working as technical adviser to the Black trade union movement, in constant contact with the white T.U.C., the Workers' Educational Association, and the more recently formed Native Co-operative movement. His reports upon the condition of the Natives in the British Protectorates have been of unusual value, and in a time of increasing tension and suspicion he has won and maintained the confidence of the black industrial workers, whose artificial confinement to the bottom of the labour market has created an economic situation of grave danger to South Africa, of considerable imperial importance, and of profound and immediate relevance to the whole international Labour movement. In this pamphlet he describes the South African dilemma against its historical and international background, and reveals with authoritative insight its full significance.

## CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE UNWANTED OBSERVER - - - -	9
II. THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT - - -	13
III. POLITICAL RIGHTS AND REAL POWER - - -	24
IV. REPRESSIVE COLOUR-BAR LEGISLATION - - -	30
V. SOUTH AFRICAN PARALLELS WITH RISE OF INDUSTRIALISM IN EUROPE - - - -	39
VI. THE REAL COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS - - -	47
VII. CO-OPERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA - - -	53
VIII. THE WAY OUT - - - - - - - -	65

## CHAPTER I

### THE UNWANTED OBSERVER

THERE are few notions more mistaken than that which confuses knowledge with familiarity and identifies sight with insight, and yet there are few more prevalent. In South Africa to-day, the attitude towards outside investigators of domestic conditions and problems, particularly those connected with the presence of a large native population in the midst of a comparatively small group of Europeans, is one of scepticism, if not of open contempt and hostility. To have lived a large part of one's life in South Africa, coming into contact with the native peoples in the ordinary routine of one's work, to have a speaking knowledge of a native language or to be proficient in "Kitchen Kaffir," these would seem to be the essential and the only qualifications necessary to render their possessor an infallible authority on native matters; and without these, training and special knowledge are of no avail.

This point of view, which exalts familiarity at the expense of training and experience, has obvious implications. It aims ultimately at retaining the control of the process of racial accommodation in the hands of one of the race groups most vitally concerned in the ultimate issue. It further implies that the problems involved in the method and the ultimate character of the accommodation are unique, and that the outside world has nothing to offer in the way of guidance and assistance. These implications involve obvious dangers. Personal interest is never conducive to dispassionate consideration, and where an issue has raised such strong emotions as has the native

issue in South Africa in this last century since the trekkers went out from civilization rather than accept the doctrine of the right of the native to civilization, the possibilities of such consideration are correspondingly reduced.

The conception of the unique character of the problem also has its dangers. It raises psychological barriers to solution, since the thing that has never been done before offers so much more resistance to the human mind than that which has been accomplished often or even once.

#### ISOLATIONIST TACTICS

It is not without its significance that South Africa has, more and more of recent years, tended towards an isolationist policy at the very time when the interdependence of nations has been increasingly stressed from all sides. In Europe, in the last half-century, the wage-earning classes of all countries have been increasingly conscious of their common interests, and they have felt increasingly, with the expansion of international trade relations, the necessity of extending their activities beyond national frontiers if they are to maintain their national gains; while more recently the growth of economic imperialism, with its exploitation by capital of the less-developed and therefore cheaper labour-markets of the West and East, has faced them with a new menace and the necessity of still further extending the fields of their solidarity.

It may be, indeed, that it is the very realization, even subconscious, of this fact that Europe as a whole is vitally interested in the solution of South Africa's native problem that has inspired this isolationist policy. It is a generally recognized fact that the standard of living of the European wage-earner in South Africa is considerably higher than that of the European wage-earner in Europe, and it is an undisputed fact that this is the result of the presence of a large native population which provides cheap unskilled labour. It is natural that those who enjoy this comfort and advantage should be anxious to retain them, and that they should fear all modifying influences which might jeopardize

them, as the idea of bringing up the level of the lower social strata which is behind the international labour movement would obviously do unless countered by some unexpectedly large increase in production.

#### STREET-CORNER PHILOSOPHY

The desire to maintain the existing standard of comfort cannot be condemned ; the question is simply : Can it be maintained, and if so, how? The tendency is to try to secure it at the expense of the native, by maintaining the *status quo* whereby he continues to provide cheap unskilled labour to subsidize the wages of European skill. Some who advocate this policy genuinely believe that the present position of the native is the one for which he was designed, and that any change from it would be against the order established by Nature. Others believe that the rise of native competition must bring down the European standard of living, and they frankly confess that, in opposing all progressive and ameliorating work among the native population, they are pursuing a policy of exploitation, although they endeavour to justify it on the would-be moral ground of protecting the interests of their children and of white civilization. These people would be genuinely pleased if they could see any means towards the elimination of the native population, and would foster racial feeling in the knowledge that if recourse were had to force, the white population would prove overwhelmingly superior. Their point of view is that of a great many others who are too timid to know and to speak their own minds.

All of these groups alike, while benefiting by the present conditions, are haunted by a vague fear for the security of their foundation. Yet they cling tenaciously to the existing situation, and hope to possess both the present and the future by putting every obstacle, legal and social, in the way of change. Can they succeed in their object? Is it not simply another case of the typical South African practice of "putting it on account"? To the observer

whose emotions are not engaged, it is obvious that the native population is not going to die out to please the exterminists; it is also obvious that behind all the restrictions imposed upon it, it is piling up vast stores of unexpended energy that can find no outlet at present, but must ultimately break its bonds. It is certain that somebody will have to foot the bill. It is true the street-corner philosophers scoff and talk glibly of the progress of evolution in terms of thousands of years, refusing to realize that the rate of evolutionary change is itself subject to external forces. In this instance the account may not be presented to either the present generation or its children, but there is no certainty that the third generation may not find itself in bankruptcy. What can be done to avoid such a consummation which, even the opportunists would admit, is too high a price to pay for immediate self-interest? This, I venture to think, is where the unwanted outside observer might be given a hearing, since he can offer a dispassionate view of the forces engaged in the struggle towards eventual accommodation; while an appeal to the wider field of human experience, though it may provide no exact parallel, may contribute some guidance towards the achievement of a solution not diametrically opposed to the broad lines of human progress.



## CHAPTER II

### THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

SOUTH AFRICA, according to its last census, taken in 1931, has a population of 1,828,000 Europeans. Non-Europeans were not counted on grounds of economy, but according to the census of 1921 they numbered 4,697,513 Bantu, or African natives; 165,731 Asiatics; and 545,548 mixed or coloured. According to the census returns of 1911 and 1921 the European population increased in that decade from 1,276,000 to 1,519,000, or by 19 per cent. of its 1911 value. In the same period the Bantu increased from 4,019,000 to 4,698,000, or by 16.9 per cent. of its 1911 value; that is, the increase of the European population within its own group was larger than that of the Bantu population in relation to its own group in the period. There is no reason to suppose that the rate of increase has changed in the succeeding decade, so that the increase of the European population between 1921 and 1931 is not likely to be balanced by a proportional increase in the Bantu population.

The distribution of the European population is in the ratio of 6 to 4 between town and country, the drift to the town being an increasingly marked feature of the last two decades. The distribution of the native population is in three and not in two groups, as in the case of the European, and the ratio is less definite, owing to the absence of recent statistics. It would seem to be approximately half a million permanent town-dwellers, about two millions on European farms and the remainder in native reserves. The native has either in tribal or private ownership some 26,821,383 acres, or approximately 9 per cent.

of the land of the Union ; the other nine-tenths of the area of the country is either in European ownership or is reserved for European ownership. In the circumstances not only do the half a million inhabitants of urban locations, and the natives on European land earn their livelihood in dependence on European industry, but a great proportion of those natives who nominally belong to the native reserves are also dependent upon the European for the means to meet their obligations—both public and private. The Native Economic Commission, which between 1930 and 1932 investigated the conditions of natives in the Union, were informed on the authority of the representative in the Transkei of the Native Recruiting Corporation that every able-bodied male in that reserve spends at least one term of employment outside the reserve in every two years, and that term involves his absence for at least eleven months at a stretch.\*

The close interdependence of black and white in South Africa is revealed by these facts. There has been an increasing outcry about it in recent years. In earlier days, when the European population was smaller, and industrialism had scarcely touched South Africa, everything was done to encourage the native to abandon his rural seclusion for the labour market of the towns and of the farms, and the broad division of South African society was between skilled white labour with a high wage rate, and unskilled black labour earning a pittance. In more recent times South Africa has undergone important changes in its social structure which have destroyed this simple stratification, and have created new problems both in labour and in race accommodation. The most important of these changes has resulted from the final passing of those frontier conditions which, in the past, largely determined the character of the South African population. Fixed and inelastic boundaries have at last forced the older South African population to try its strength with the demands and the economic values of a civilization the pressure of

\* See Report (U.G. 22, 1932), p. 64, addendum.

which they have always been able to evade in the past by moving away. Many have not been able to stand the test. They have failed to maintain themselves on land which has acquired a new value, and from which new demands have been made by increasing numbers, and they have consequently drifted into the towns, where something in the nature of an industrial revolution in the last twenty years has created new demands for labour and tempted them by the prospect of a livelihood. This drift of Europeans from farms to towns has created a new division in South African society, which has tended to alter the relationship of the older group in the labour market by accentuating their racial as well as their economic differences. The European has begun to look askance at the native labourer, because his occupation of the field of unskilled labour at a wage level on which life is impossible to the white man has shut the door in the face of the unskilled white worker, and has created a problem in European poverty and possible racial deterioration through unemployment. At the same time, and almost more important, the skilled white worker has increasingly felt his own position menaced by the growth of skill among the native labourers as their experience has grown. This growth of skill represents a menace, not only to wage rates, but even to employment.

#### CRY FOR SEGREGATION

The result of these new conflicts of interest has been a rising cry for segregation of the two races. The cry has not, however, been very convincingly raised, since not all sections of the European community have been equally prepared to dispense with native labour, or to provide the land necessary to make segregation a reality. There has, therefore, been a compromise on the issue, which like all compromises carries its origin on its face. This compromise has expressed itself, perhaps not unnaturally, in the emphasis upon the differences between black and white and the implication that those differences are essential and

permanent. An outstanding example of the way in which the suggestion of this difference is conveyed, is in the use of the expression "Kaffir Work." In actual fact, the use of the expression is particularly insidious in its effects on white youth, for it inhibits much that might be useful in early training and tinges the whole character in its outlook on work and life ; but it does establish the impression of the essential inferiority of the native, a spiritual inferiority reflected in the economic sphere. Another phrase used with telling and derogatory effect is "Native Psychology." The implication of these words is twofold. First there is the suggestion of something separate and isolated which divides the native from all other peoples : and secondly there is the suggestion of something not merely homogeneous in itself, but uniform, a suggestion which denies the individuality of the native and thus prevents the higher grades of native intelligence from receiving just recognition. Incidentally, it serves to hide the incontrovertible fact that certain sections of the native people are mentally and morally superior to certain sections of the white. The chairman of the Wage Board had occasion recently to remark that an investigation into the dairy industry had revealed the ability of employers to get natives at native wages who have studied sufficiently in their leisure time to be able to read and write and keep milk records for customers from day to day, while white people could not be obtained at double the wage who could do the work with half the accuracy and neatness shown by the natives.\*

#### LEGISLATIVE MAINTENANCE OF INFERIORITY

That the contention of native inferiority is not really true to fact seems to be implicit in the necessity which has been found to use legislative enactment to check the rise and competition of the native worker. The outstanding example of this is the famous Colour Bar Act of 1926, which specifically excludes natives from skilled or semi-skilled

\* *Star*, Johannesburg, October 12th, 1933.

occupations on the mines; but the operation of the Masters' and Servants' Acts, which render trade union activity illegal for natives, and the exclusion of the native from the operation of the Wage Act and the Industrial Conciliation Act, have the same effect. The Apprenticeship Act of 1922 operates in the same direction, since, in practice, the inclusion of an education qualification for apprentices rules out natives, for whom the necessary educational facilities are not provided.

#### THE POLITICAL FIELD

As might have been expected, the policy of differentiation between black and white finds its fullest expression in the field of politics and administration. A self-governing dominion within the British Empire, the Union of South Africa does not generally admit the native people as part of the self-governing community, or even potentially so. It is significant that the Minister for Native Affairs, in opening the Native Conference of 1930, found occasion to remark: "You must bear in mind throughout that it is not only your own people who are concerned in the resolutions you may adopt, but that the Europeans are also interested, and *that this being a constitutional country after all the final say rests with them.*"\* In two out of the four provinces alone is any provision made for a share by people with coloured skins in the work of ordering the State within which they live—in the Cape Province and in Natal, and with a significant difference in each. In the Cape Province, since 1854, when the Cape Colony received its first measure of self-government, there was, until 1931, no differentiation between European and non-European males in the matter of franchise and property, and, since 1892, an educational qualification being demanded of each. In 1931, subsequent upon the extension in 1930 of the franchise to all European women in the Union of twenty-one years and over, the first wedge was driven in the uniformity of the Cape male franchise with the

\* Report of the Native Affairs Commission, 1927-31 (U.G. 26, 1932).

abolition of all qualifications other than age for European men, while the old qualifications were retained for non-Europeans. Non-European women were not enfranchised with their European sisters.

In Natal, while uniform conditions control the franchise for European and coloured (Indian or mixed breed) males, the native can only achieve enfranchisement by a long and uncertain route. He must have resided for twelve years in the Colony, and have been exempt from the operation of native law for seven years. He must also possess certain property qualifications, and must present a certificate of good character signed by three Europeans of repute and endorsed by a Justice of the Peace, and having fulfilled all these conditions he may be granted the franchise, but it is a grant of grace, and not of right. Four times only has the grant been made.

In the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, where white women and men are alike enfranchised at the age of twenty-one, non-Europeans as a whole are not eligible for the franchise.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In the sphere of provincial and local government, the same discrimination exists, except that in the Cape Province non-Europeans may sit on as well as vote for the provincial council and local governing bodies. The numbers, however, who have been able to avail themselves of this right are negligible. At the present time there is one non-European, a Malay named Dr. Abdurahman, on the City Council of Capetown, and in the past the same man has been a member of the Provincial Council.

#### SPECIAL MACHINERY

The conception of the native as different does, however, receive positive as well as negative recognition in the Union. In the Senate, the upper house of the legislature, provision is made for the inclusion of four members who shall be nominated by the Governor-General "on the

ground mainly of their thorough acquaintance—by reason of their official experience or otherwise—with the reasonable wants and wishes of the coloured races of South Africa.” Again, under the Native Affairs Act, No. 23 of 1920, there was established a permanent commission, to consist of not less than three, and not more than five, members appointed by the Governor-General and presided over by the Minister of Native Affairs, to advise the Government on matters affecting natives, while the same Act provides for the summoning of an annual conference of native persons and bodies representative of native opinion, to discuss proposed legislation and other matters affecting natives, for the guidance of the Government.

In the sphere of local government, the Urban Areas Acts, which provide for residential segregation of natives within the urban areas, provide also for the establishment of Native Advisory Boards in the native locations or townships, while under the Native Affairs Act of 1920 an attempt has been made to provide a medium for a degree of self-government in rural areas, by making provision for the establishment (in specific native areas) of local councils, which, “while independent of official or European control in their deliberations, will have as chairman Government officials with advisory duties conversant with the necessities and obligations of local governments.”\* In the largest of the Union’s native reserves, the Transkeian Native Territories, there exist not only local councils but a Central Council, or somewhat misnamed Parliament, commonly known as the Bunga.

Although all these institutions represent an attempt to deal with the native as something separate and apart, two claims to justification have been made on their behalf. In the first place, regarding the question of race accommodation as a problem, the Government claims to have provided specialist knowledge to guide the country towards a solution in the special senators and in the permanent Native Commission; while by the establishment

\* *Union Year-Book*, No. 11, p. 959.

of special machinery whereby native opinion may express itself on proposed Government action, or through which the local affairs of natives may be administered in specifically native areas, it claims to have paved the way for the training of the native people in the work of governing themselves under the guidance and direction of European Civil Servants, so that the policy of territorial segregation may be of benefit not only to the European, but to the native himself.

#### SENATE AND NATIVE COMMISSION

The policy of territorial segregation is comparatively recent in South Africa, and so, therefore, with the exception of the franchise position which was defined at the time of Union in 1910, is the provision of special machinery for governing the native population. So far, however, the experience of the system in operation does not lend much encouragement to the hope that ultimately the native will gain something in political experience and social development in spite of his exclusion from citizenship. The Senate has generally proved an ineffective and unimpressive body, providing less a check upon the Legislative Assembly than a pale reflection of that body, and it is significant that the four special senators have counted for nothing in the history of the stream of legislation, which, since 1911, has raised one barrier after another to the economic advance of the native. The permanent Native Commission, whose function is to advise the Government, has been even more obviously disappointing, although its dependence upon the whim and caprice of the party in power from the beginning offered little hope of anything else. It is significant that while the policy of successive governments has consistently been to approach black interests through white, the members of the Commission, while having the power to place on the table of Parliament recommendations which the Government has refused to accept, and which it yet feels are essential to the well-being of the



native population, has never on any occasion availed itself of this right of appeal to the Legislature. It is perhaps scarcely surprising, therefore, that European and native alike tend to regard the Commission as a department of the Government in power rather than as an independent body entrusted with the safeguarding of the future of the native. So far as the Native Conference is concerned, its first meeting took place at Bloemfontein in 1922, and in the following years it was summoned at Pretoria. The meetings of 1926 and 1927, however, severely criticized General Hertzog's Native Bills, which were designed still further to separate European and native within the body politic, with the result that, under cover of the contention that there was an "absence of matter for discussion," no further meeting was convened until 1929. Since that date, the Conference has met once only, in December 1930, in spite of the fact that General Hertzog's Bills are still before Parliament, and that the increasing pressure of the economic depression, aggravated so far as the native is concerned by the white labour policy, which aims at substituting European for non-European unskilled labour, has given the native a more vital interest than ever in making his views heard and his needs felt. The Conference depends for its personnel on the Government itself, which invites to attend, through its Native Affairs Department, such natives as it regards as representative of native opinion, and it should not be afraid of hearing anything that might be said, since only the most moderate views are likely to be represented.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE BUNGA

In the sphere of local government, the record is scarcely more encouraging. In the rural areas, the growth of the council system has been slow. Where the tribal system survives with any vigour, the chiefs are suspicious of a scheme which threatens to limit their own powers by widening the field of advice which they are called upon to consider; where it has already fallen to pieces the

difficulty is to find a leadership strong enough to subdue the personal jealousies which make common action peculiarly difficult to achieve.

The real training-ground, however, should be the urban areas, since every such area has a location and every location includes a number of the better-educated people, as well as the most enterprising, who might be expected to develop the idea of Native Advisory Boards. In a growing number of locations or native townships, such Native Advisory Boards already exist, but the prospects of their development into real centres of local self-government for the native urban community are dimmed in most instances by the way in which they are constituted and controlled. Although machinery exists for democratic elections, in practice the majority of the Boards are nominated by the European location superintendent. In the few cases where there is either partial or complete election, technical infringements of the law, such as failure to pay rent and imprisonment for civil offences, debar large numbers of members of the location from standing as candidates for the Board, or even from exercising their votes. But even were popular election effectively established, the Advisory Board as a political and administrative training-ground for natives is still incomplete in so far as the practice generally is that the European superintendent of the location is the chairman of the Board. This anomalous situation is justified on the ground that the European chairman is better able to control discussions than a native would be. If stultifying discussion is control, it is a justified claim, but a claim without merit, when it is considered that the location superintendent is imposed upon a body the fulfilment of whose functions may involve criticism of his own methods and actions, and that native opinion in such cases as in all others can only reach the municipal authorities, who are ultimately responsible, through the superintendent. The anomaly of this situation has been pressed home by the recent Native Economic Commission, and the practice adopted in Capetown of choosing a

chairman from the outside community has been strongly recommended both for its obvious wisdom and its success.

The Bunga, or Transkeian General Council, is in a class apart—both as regards conditions and possibilities. The large uniform area of the Transkeian Territories lends itself more easily to experiments in local government than do the scattered reserves of the rest of the country. So far, the criticism against the system in operation is that the chairmanship of the Chief Magistrate and the fact that the recommendations of the Bunga are subjected to revision by a magistrates' conference, have taken the responsibility off the shoulders of the members of the Council, and therefore destroy the value of the Council as a training-ground for natives. The local authorities, however, are conscious of these criticisms, and are insistent that the controls exercised over the Bunga are of a temporary nature, and that gradually the system will be modified to admit of real self-government. In view of these facts it is probably too early to judge the system which, with a real willingness on the part of the European to acknowledge changes in native society and progress among natives in the art of living, may yet develop into an effective experiment in local self-government. This is particularly the case if it is frankly and freely recognized that the influences at present at work in the Transkei must increasingly produce a differentiated society. The invasion of industrialism in the form of extensive recruitment for the mines of the Reef, the sugar estates of Natal, and the public works of all parts of the country is undoubtedly modifying the character of Bantu society in this supposedly rural area, a process which must be immensely speeded up if the recommendation of the Native Economic Commission is adopted, to modify the old system of landowning, derived from the Glen Grey Act, which enshrines the principle of one man one lot of four morgen, and the acquisition of at least fifty morgen by any one individual allowed !\*

\* *Native Economic Commission*, par. 145.

## CHAPTER III

### POLITICAL RIGHTS AND REAL POWER

POLITICAL power in South Africa, that is real power and not political rights, is in the hands of two classes. It is divided between the industrial-capitalist class and the farmer employer.

The peculiar characteristic of South Africa is that it is an agricultural country in which there is a highly developed capitalism. This peculiarity is due to the fact that capitalism did not grow up in South Africa as it did in Europe. It was transplanted to the country in an already highly developed form. It has not, however, been distributed over the length and breadth of the country in such a manner as to transform completely the older social relations, but has been concentrated in particular industries of world importance, such as gold-mining. Indeed, it is so highly localized as to resemble an alien body in the social organism.

The intrusion of this new force into the midst of an agricultural community was the root cause of the Boer War, out of which, in due course, the Union of South Africa arose. That war, however, did not result in an unconditional domination of the country by the new order, if only because it was an uitlander influence whose interests were so localized. It left the rural community practically intact in character and in organization. The result has been a balance of power in the Union in which neither the industrial capitalists nor the farmers could rule alone. In the past, the political advantage, the fruits of office, have fallen to the class best able to exploit the racial passions, the prejudices, ideals and cupidity of the

European electorate, but there has been a tacit understanding, based on fundamental common interest, that in the competition for political power, the source of the wealth and the economic power of both classes should not be tampered with. This understanding has been reflected in the cry: "The native question must not be made a matter of party politics." And yet the very nature of their interest in that question has more and more forced both parties to depart from their explicit rule. While joint interest in maintaining an adequate supply of cheap native labour has brought together the dominant classes, rivalry for the control of the limited supply has driven them apart, and in the issue—in spite of the assumption that native affairs can be put into a watertight compartment—they have really constituted the essential driving-force in the political life of the Union. All affairs are ultimately native affairs, since the whole economic life of the country—both in its national and its international aspects—revolves ultimately round the question of productivity in relation to production costs, which means ultimately in relation to labour.

The native industrial force of the union is recruited from the country-side as well as from the reserves and the British protectorates. The rural native, learning new needs with the increasing intercourse between town and country, grows daily more dissatisfied with the unchanging conditions of rural labour, which in any case cannot provide him even with the necessaries of life and the wherewithal to pay his tax. The farmer views with alarm the drift townwards, and instead of raising wage levels, demands a stricter pass law, a harsher vagrancy law, a labour contract registration law, the attachment of the farm labourers to the farm—in short, the extreme limitation of the fluidity of labour. The consequent immobility in the labour market would, however, be detrimental to the interests of the industrial-capitalist, who in his turn presses for the removal of the ban on recruiting of indentured labour in the regions north of 22° of latitude, a ban

originally imposed because of the death rate among these more tropical natives when transplanted to the conditions of the mines. Freedom to import such indentured labour would increase the importance of industrial capital in the economic system of the Union out of all proportion to its dependence on the resources of the Union. Without it the latent antagonism of farmer and industrial capitalist remains highly inflammable material which may one day catch alight and wreck the equilibrium of the political system. Already part of the bargain that brought the Nationalist-S.A.P. Coalition into being has been implemented by the decision to import into the Union, "as an experiment," 2,000 Rhodesian natives as mine-workers, and at the present time there are, according to the *Johannesburg Star* of March 5th, 1933, 10,000 unemployed Union natives in the Witwatersrand. The rural Nationalist exchanges the promise of no unreasonable obstacle to the extension northward of the recruiting area for indentured labour in return for industrial support for the establishment of semi-serfdom in the country-side.

#### THE LABOUR-NATIONALIST PACT

Between the two major parties has stood, in the past, the Labour Party. This party has consisted primarily of skilled workers lured from overseas by the bait of wages high in comparison with wages in Europe. It has been a homogeneous group, capable of organizing to maintain its original wage levels and to perpetuate its indispensability by limiting the number of black workers in relation to the number of Europeans in the premier industry of the country, gold-mining. European labour has been skilled labour; skilled labour has been European, and the labour movement of South Africa has, singularly enough, been the movement of a privileged minority siding with the industrial capitalist against the unskilled worker whose exploitation it has encouraged and has sought to share with the employing classes. It was this attitude to the native worker which formed the basis of the pact between

Labour and the Nationalist Party in 1924, which gave the Nationalists the control of the Government in that year and helped them to retain it until last year, and it has only ceased to be of vital importance because of the agreement of the two major parties to acknowledge their common interests and to exploit them in co-operation instead of in competition.

#### A JUST NEMESIS

The Labour Party has been steadily disintegrating since its alliance with the Nationalist Party. This might be regarded as a just Nemesis, and to some extent it is, although the sin goes back beyond that alliance to the very foundations of the party itself, when it adopted an exclusive basis and was concerned only to protect the interests of a section of the working class. However, the changes already noted in the social structure of the country, and particularly in the wage-earning groups, have cut away those foundations. The mole who has been undermining the stronghold has been none other than that familiar figure in privileged communities based on servile labour, the poor white, who without land and the land-owner's position as an employer of labour, finds himself forced into the labour market, where he cannot maintain himself at the standard of the privileged. In short, European labour is no longer necessarily skilled labour. Nor, on the other hand, is native labour necessarily unskilled labour. The essence of unskilled labour is that anyone in the labour force may equally well undertake it ; but, at an increasing rate, the native is acquiring such familiarity with semi-skilled work, that this " boy " is a tin-worker, that one a motor mechanic—no longer merely an unskilled labourer.

The old simple stratification of labour has given place to a new situation, which, while inheriting the complications of the race division of the old, is still further complicated by a fresh racial division. While the old skilled

European worker was mainly an English-speaking importation from overseas, the new unskilled European worker is mainly an importation from the rural areas of South Africa, and he tends, therefore, to be Afrikaans-speaking. He tends also to have a stronger tie with the Nationalist Party, the traditional party of the country-side, than with the Labour Party with its overseas traditions. But while this newcomer to the urban labour market is for the most part an unskilled worker, the ranks of semi-skilled and skilled work are also being increasingly recruited from the Afrikaans-speaking population. Already there are Unions on the Reef in which 90 per cent. of the members are Afrikaners.

#### ORIENTATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

This is a situation which not only the Labour Party, but all parties in South Africa will have to face. The old division into an English-speaking urban industrial-commercial population, securely founded on a quiescent primitive native population and an Afrikaans-speaking rural landlord class equally securely founded, has gone, and with it the simple basis of the two older parties, the South African party, predominantly English and imperialist in sentiment, and the Nationalist Party, predominantly Dutch and Republican. The new character and the new economic interests of the Afrikaans-speaking community cut sharply across the old racial division, and the Afrikaner of the towns must be ever less and less concerned about flags and cultures and constitutions, and more and more concerned about bread and butter.

The party which stands to gain most by the change is the Labour Party, and already one section at least of the party is making a bid for the support of this rapidly growing Afrikaans-speaking portion of the wage-earning population. It is prepared to modify its own exclusive character to meet the growth of a European working-class population which is unskilled and semi-skilled as well as skilled. That section has realized that labour can no



longer continue on its old foundation, that it must widen its basis and become in truth a party of labour, if it is really to find a purpose and a justification. But can it ever achieve such a consummation unless it also includes the great mass of the workers of the country? Yet the Colour Bar Act remains on the Statute Book, and the aspiring native working class is left to work out its own salvation, repudiated alike by all parties.

## CHAPTER IV

### REPRESSIVE COLOUR-BAR LEGISLATION

IN spite of the growth in South Africa of a European labour force which covets the control of all grades of wage-earning employment, the great mass of the wage-earners in the country are still men of black skins, with low wage rates, and the impossibility of ousting this class of worker from the field has been amply demonstrated in recent years. Even if South African industry could carry the wage levels demanded by European labour, even if South Africans were prepared to provide the native with sufficient land on which to sustain a separate existence, the European population could not supply the demands of the labour market, nor is it likely to be able to do so for a very long time, if ever. The European labourer in South Africa must, therefore, face the fact that his position in industry must be made with, and not without, the black worker. The raising of native wage levels to something nearer the level of that at which a European standard of living can be maintained is thus of vital importance to him, if his own levels are not to be brought down to those of the native. So far he has steadfastly refused to open his eyes to this situation, and has shown himself most determinedly opposed to any measures which might make the upward trend possible. With the consent of all grades of white labour, the native labourer finds all avenues to the improvement of his conditions closed against him, and he remains an underpaid worker dragging down the standards of his competitors, and a poor consumer giving no stimulus to a market which, with an increased demand on his part, might provide work for all at a wage on which any might

live. Masters and Servants Acts deprive him of the right of collective bargaining, by making breach of contract a criminal offence for the servant, although only a civil wrong for the master, while exclusion from the operation of the machinery provided under the Wage Acts and the Conciliation Acts deprives him of constitutional means of redress of his economic grievances.

#### THE PASS LAWS

But it is not only legislative enactment specifically designed to control his economic freedom which closes the road to advancement. That road is also barred by the operation of the pass laws, which, while designed to secure administrative control, curtail the native's freedom of movement and so limit his ability to make the best of the labour market on which he depends for a livelihood. In the Transvaal every native has to carry at least three documents always on his person, his labour service contract, or monthly pass, his poll-tax receipt, and his travelling pass. If he move abroad after 10 p.m.—that is, curfew—a night special pass must also be carried. Failure to produce any one of these on the demand of a police officer means immediate arrest.

These passes represent burdens of various kinds. The labour service contract has to be franked with a 2s. stamp every month. This 2s. stamp is a cost of industry, and is, in the nature of things, an unpaid part of the native's earnings. The poll-tax receipt is not in the strict sense of the term a "pass," but failure to produce it on the demand of pass-hunting police or officials will result in immediate arrest. The native is liable to poll-tax at eighteen years of age; the European escapes direct taxation until he reaches the age of twenty-one. Failure on the part of a European to pay his tax results first of all in a summons, and only after the failure of protracted negotiations and compromise is the extreme penalty of prison resorted to; yet the native goes to prison merely for failing to produce the receipt of a tax duly paid. The

travelling pass, which is essential to a native moving off the premises on which he is employed, is peculiarly open to abuse. It is often refused by farmers in order to prevent natives from attending meetings of their organizations. The night special is claimed to be a protection against the criminally minded native, but when the real native criminal is apprehended, the night special and other passes are almost invariably in order. There is a lucrative trade in forged passes.

Although these burdens are specially heavy outside the Cape Province, even in that province the irksomeness of the pass system is not unknown. There a curfew curtails the night movements of natives as it does in the supposedly less liberal North, and the educated native who wishes to move about after dark must be prepared to produce papers to vindicate his character and standing, usually his educational qualifications, if he wishes to avoid a night in the charge office.

From time to time modifications of the pass laws have been mooted. Up to the present, however, suggestions such as one lifelong identification document have been vetoed ; as the Minister for Native Affairs has said : " It is a matter for the education of European opinion."

#### THE IMPACT OF INDENTURED NATIVES

Possibly the most wide-reaching of the wage-depressing influences from which the native town-dweller suffers is derived from the character of native society itself. This is the introduction into the town of great numbers of rural natives whose conditions in over-populated native reserves and on European farms, where the labour tenant system makes it almost impossible for them to obtain ready money, forces them into the urban labour market to find the wherewithal to eke out their resources and meet their obligations. This type of native, with his bare existence secured from the land, and concerned, therefore, only to procure the additional necessities which the land cannot give him, is a serious factor in the life of the town

natives of all parts of the Union, pressing down wage levels by the subsidization of industry from the resources of the land. This influence is most easily detected in the Transvaal, where the gold-mines employ a large quantity of this type of labour, recruited not only from the native reserves of the Union but from the British Protectorates and from Portuguese East Africa. The majority of these native mine-workers are remunerated on the basis of the requirements of one individual, their families being provided with at least a subsistence living by the tribal lands or reserves. The daily wage of the native mine-worker in money and in kind is approximately 2s. 6d. per day. This includes an estimate of approximately 10½d. per day for food and shelter. The native mine-worker attests to a voluminous document, printed in English, which even if read and translated to him is not likely to be understood by him, although acceptance of it binds him for periods of from nine to twelve months. These contract periods are in effect for longer periods than the months specified, as a nine months' contract is two hundred and seventy shifts, and a twelve months' contract three hundred and sixty shifts. An analysis of the shifts on the basis of a six-day week shows that two hundred and seventy shifts will take forty-five weeks or eleven months to complete. The native recruit has little or no choice as to the nature of his occupation, and the wage schedule which he accepts with his contract is an amazing medley of base and piece rates, with diminishing remuneration for increased output.

On the whole the mine native, despite these imperfections in the agreements by which he is bound, is better cared for than the majority of natives engaged in other industries, but his wage rates set the standard for other industries where the worker is not so well cared for, and that not only for other natives, who like himself, have still a base on the land, but for those who no longer have any interest in the reserves and must obtain in the labour market the means to meet all the needs of life. Inevitably such natives will have a hard struggle to make ends

meet on a wage which leaves little or nothing for social and educational improvement. It is estimated that the average wage of a native location dweller in Johannesburg is something like £3 10s. per month. Out of this he has to provide first of all a rent of 25s. per month for a house of two rooms, in which he and his family must find what privacy they can; then, as most locations or native townships are situated on the outskirts of the municipal area, he has many miles to travel to his employment, which means a considerable outlay expended in transport. Analysis of the basic costs of a number of families in the Johannesburg area revealed the fact that, when these costs were deducted from the man's earnings, the family were lucky if they had 17s. 6d. over in the month with which to purchase food. As this is an almost impossible position, means have to be found to increase the family revenue. How is it done? Native women do domestic chores such as washing, and as this means absence from home it means also that the children and the home are inevitably left to look after themselves. Many native boys assist the family income by selling newspapers, and other jobs of an unexact kind, but what the streets gain in service the schools lose in attendance and the future of the race is lost in its youth. However, at least these are law-abiding occupations. Too often, easier and more remunerative means of augmenting the family income are found in illicit liquor selling, Kaffir beer brewing and even by theft, and a positive criminal spirit is thus bred out of the poverty of the race to the detriment of all classes alike.

#### **EMPLOYERS ADMIT WAGES INSUFFICIENT**

While the tendency of rural labour to compete with and depress urban wage levels seems inherent in the present condition of native rural society, the native of the towns, by being refused the right of effective organization, is refused also the power to check this competition, and European employers, seeing their own advantage in the existing situation, are not prepared to encourage its

modification. A pointed illustration of this is provided by the following correspondence. In November 1929 the native organization known as the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa (I.C.U.) wrote to the Transvaal Chamber of Industries and Commerce in the following terms :

In view of the African native unrest, which we contend is all centred on the low wages paid by industries and commercial undertakings all over the Union, we respectfully suggest that the Chambers of Industry and Commerce convene a meeting to discuss :

1. An agreed minimum wage for all African native adult workers, i.e. those over 18 years of age.

(a) The minimum to be based on figures given in Budgets supplied by the Joint Council, I.C.U. of Africa and other native organizations.

(b) A committee to be appointed and report on a minimum for all African workers of the ages 14 and under, 14 to 15 years, 15 to 16 years, 16 to 17 years, 17 to 18 years.

2. Hours of employment.

(a) An 8-hour day and 48-hour week.

(b) Increased remuneration for hours worked in excess of 48 hours per week.

(c) Week-end and Sunday work.

3. Living conditions.

(a) Travelling long distances to places of employment and inadequate transport facilities.

(b) Clearance of areas and no provision for evicted people.

4. Compensation for injury and the incidence of occupational diseases.

We suggest that the Mayor of Johannesburg be asked to preside.

That organizations covering the whole range of the African peoples' activities be asked to send two delegates. The bodies whom we consider represent in some form or

another the points that should be discussed under the four headings referred to above are :

- (i) The Industrial-Political sections—African Transvaal Congress ; Native Federation of Trade Unions ; South African Trade Union Congress and I.C.U. ; S.A. Indian T.U.C.
- (ii) The Johannesburg Joint Council ; Transvaal Missionary Association ; Institute for Race Relations ; Native Ministers' Association.
- (iii) Johannesburg City Council ; Chambers of Commerce and Industries.

We would appreciate an early reply.

(Sgd.) BENNETT GWABINI.

Administrative Secretary, I.C.U. of Africa.

Letter dated January 24th, 1930.

To ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY OF THE I.C.U. OF AFRICA.

Your letter dated November 27th, suggesting that the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Industries should convene a meeting in Johannesburg to discuss the question of native wages, hours of employment, living conditions, etc., etc., has been carefully considered by the Joint Committee of these Chambers.

We are instructed to say that each of these Chambers is of opinion that no good purpose would be served by meeting your Association to discuss these questions, as neither Chamber has the power to bind its members.

There are also a large number of traders and manufacturers who are not members of either of these organizations.

The members of these Chambers are not unmindful of the difficult position in which de-tribalized married natives with families living in the town, or in the locations contiguous thereto, are placed as regards the remuneration they are able to obtain in relation to their cost of living. *These natives have to compete in the labour market with natives coming to town from native areas, who are employed in one form or other of commerce or industry at rates of wages which are sufficient to enable them to save a considerable proportion to remit to their homes or to take with them on their return after working 12 or 15 months.*

There appears to be no good reason for raising the wages



of natives living under tribal conditions and who come into the labour market at intervals. *If it were done, it is possible that, as they would be able to save as much money as they do at present by working for a shorter period, it would have the practical effect of reducing the supply of unskilled labour without material advantage to anyone.*

It is also impracticable to lay down a higher rate of wages for married natives with families living in locations than is paid to other natives doing similar work.

The committees of our Chambers would be willing to participate in a conference of those engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits in the towns if such were convened by the Government, and are of opinion that this is the only way in which it may be found possible to deal with questions affecting native employment.

(Signed) JOINT SECRETARIES OF  
JOHANNESBURG CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND  
INDUSTRIES.

#### CONVICT LABOUR

A factor which is seldom calculated in its effects on the wage rates of natives is the extensive use of convict labour characteristic of South Africa. The statutory offences which a native is liable to commit provide an army of convicts. These convicts are hired out at prices varying from 1s. 6d. to 2s. per day, according to numbers and whether warders accompany the gang. The hiring out of these native convict gangs solves to some extent the question of how to maintain these men during the period of their sentence, and also provides a considerable revenue for the Government. It also, however, unfortunately, provides cheap labour for employers and consequently involves an unfair competition with the ordinary open labour market.

#### RIOTOUS ASSEMBLIES ACT

Needless to say, all these vexatious obstacles to economic and social improvement produce irritation and discontent among a native population which finds itself deprived

even of the right to ambition ; but the expression of this discontent is rigidly controlled by the operation of the Riotous Assemblies Act, which does not discriminate between agitation for better conditions of living and sedition, and tends to identify the expression of native grievances with incitement to ill feeling between black and white, which is an offence punishable by banishment. The Act has already been put into operation against a number of branch secretaries of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, who have found themselves removed from their homes and the field of their employment as the penalty of their propaganda.

An enforced inarticulateness should not, however, be misunderstood by those who are ultimately responsible for the future of South Africa, and are vitally concerned with the character of that future. Contact with European civilization has effectively broken down the old tribal system of the Bantu in South Africa. Increasing numbers are learning new ways of living and new ambitions and are developing with a growing consciousness of the multiplicity of disabilities from which they suffer on account of the unalterable fact of their colour. The resultant spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction, no matter how veiled, bodes ill for the economic and social security of South Africa, unless some steps be taken to give the African worker a sense of just dealing and opportunities for social and economic advancement according to merit.

## CHAPTER V

### SOUTH AFRICAN PARALLELS WITH RISE OF INDUSTRIALISM IN EUROPE

There is nothing that men are suffering in Africa and the East to-day but has happened to the peoples of Europe during the last 500 years of their tragic history.

THIS arresting passage occurs in R. H. Tawney's contribution to the Industrial Reports of the Jerusalem Conference of 1927. At first sight it may seem like a counsel of despair for such as the African native, when one remembers how, during those five hundred years, humanity has been used simply as the foundation upon which one privileged class after another has raised itself; but when we view the situation of our own day and see the erstwhile despised masses in Europe, in spite of all handicaps, reaching up and seizing the reins of government and the means of power, then we must feel that hope is justifiably stronger than despair. Indeed, if the new nations of the world could be induced to realize that the situations of the twentieth century are not unique in the history of mankind, that history has repeated itself to a sufficiently great extent to condemn the failure to utilize the experience of the past, then we might even hope that the repetition should cease now, and that the tragedies of the last five hundred years would be avoided in the progress of the next.

#### PARALLELS AND PROBLEMS

South Africans are fond of talking of the "problems" of their national life, and they spend a good deal of time and energy in arguing about possible solutions. It might

profit them more to look to the experience of the past for guidance if only in regard to the way not to take.

In South Africa, the progressive disintegration of native tribal organization is one of the most important features of national life. This disintegration is naturally most apparent in the urban areas, where the resultant complications give rise to considerable anxiety.

But even those who are most aware of the complications for the most part fail to realize that in South Africa, within those areas, the twentieth century is merely repeating, with startling clearness and undesirable completeness, the excesses which marred the growth of the industrial state in the Old World.

Among the uninitiated there is a belief that the average urban native worker spends at least three months of the year in the kraal—that is, that he is a temporary resident in the towns with his home on the land, to which he will return when it suits him and white South Africa that he should do so. This, as we have seen, is still generally true of the houseboy and the mine native; for the rest it is hopelessly untrue. Although it is barely fifty years since the African entered the industrial vortex, the big town locations already house a generation of natives who know not the life of the kraal, whose values and sanctions are no longer those of the tribe, but those of the European, who, throughout the whole period of contact down to quite recent days, has consciously or unconsciously encouraged the native to adopt his own mode of living, his own conception of the family, of property and consequently of law. This urban native population can never, in the present circumstances, go back to the land, and never in any circumstances can it go back to the tribe. In short, there is in the towns a native working class finally and definitely divorced from the soil, and urban in outlook.

#### PARALLELS

The situation which the urban native is called upon to face in this generation is little different from that which

faced the English migrant from country to town at the beginning of last century. At the time when Wilberforce and his friends were fighting the cause of slave emancipation there was developing in England, with their consent, a new type of slavery scarcely less degrading than that against which they raged—the enslavement of a dispossessed English peasantry to the power of capital and the energy of the machine. Denied the right of collective bargaining as certain to reduce the profits of industry and consequently to undermine national prosperity, denied the franchise on the ground that it would be dangerous, even fatal, to betray such power into the hands of the ignorant, denied education as certain to make them dissatisfied with their lot and to give them ideas above that station to which God in his wisdom had called them ; in brief, denied all the rights of citizenship as defined by those who ruled, they passed their lives in a desperate struggle with poverty, hunger and physical strain. Low wages, slum conditions, heavy infant mortality, the general strain on family life occasioned by the entry of women as well as men into the labour market in a vain effort to earn a living, and a law which inevitably operated in favour of the enfranchised at the expense of the unenfranchised, these were all forces combining to depress the urban working class and to embitter its spirit. Ignorance, selfishness and fear united to destroy the sense of social justice in the souls of the English governing classes, and the tree of modern industrialism was fed on the bodies and souls of the people.

Ignorance might excuse the selfishness and fear of a century ago and justify a measure of pardon for those tragic pages in the history of modern civilization. But can it excuse a repetition of those pages? In South Africa, the natives drift to the towns from the overcrowded reserves or as dissatisfied evicted farm workers. Ragged and barefoot, they stand at the busy street crossings, bewildered by the rush of traffic and the unfamiliarity of the scene. Rapidly they are absorbed into the commercial and industrial life of the country as unskilled manual

workers. Their first earnings go usually in boots, which they wear round their necks rather than on their feet, in a manner familiar to English eyes from the habits of the starving Irish peasantry from whom, towards the end of the nineteenth century, was recruited most of the labour for the heavy industries of Britain—iron, steel and rolling-stock manufacture. But soon even these signs of an older way of living go, and they become completely absorbed into the society of the town ; absorbed but not identified. Urban European and urban native alike regard them with distrust and hostility, the one fearing their future economic and social advance, the other finding in their poverty and low standard of living a menace to their own hardly won and insecure small comfort.

The whole process of evolving a composite labour market has its own economic difficulties, but here again South African experience is not entirely unique. It finds some precedent in the development of British industrialism, where such confusing and wage-lowering factors as the partially industrialized Scotch crofter or peasant farmer, the Irish peasant and the Lithuanian peasant, have from time to time complicated the simple issues of the standards of living, and have each in their turn been the *bête noire* of the English worker. The inexorable pressure of the economic laws, however, led to a more or less mutual assimilation into that amazingly complex quantity, the British working man. The four groups mentioned, although considered "white," had at one time, and still to a limited extent have, differences of religion as well as social and economic barriers which, less than a quarter of a century ago, were just as acute as those that presently obtain in South Africa between white and black. The Scotch crofter came into the heavy industries at a time when brawn and muscle were valuable in the development of the steel and iron industries. He came in like the native in South Africa, as a subsidized worker in that he was not entirely dependent on his wage in industry ; the croft or farm tended by his father, mother and the

younger members of the family was there when he felt the urge of the call home. He was in industry for periods varying from twelve to eighteen months. He would go home for six months and take with him the savings of his wages from his frugal requirements of food, clothing and shelter for one individual. His savings helped to carry on the life of the croft, then would come again the call of the town, but the second time the wants were less frugal. Gradually expenditure came up to income and another son of the soil had become a town-dweller and worker. He soon realized the value of taking his skill or muscular energy to the districts where scarcity values obtained. He organized into trade or industrial unions as his predecessors in industry had done, and the country's needs in time of war, or the race between the nations for the exploitation of the backward parts of the earth, was his opportunity for demanding increased remuneration. Thus he established himself on a wage level which gave him some decency. Then, in times of depression, often artificial, the inevitable happened once more ; a demand by the employers for a cut in wages, resistance on the part of the employees, followed, after the strawberry-picking season and potato harvesting, by the introduction of the Irish peasant with his meagre living requirements as a new wage-lowering factor. To the old-established ranks, this new entrant into the labour market was a *déclassé* individual, undermining the position of all classes ; but gradually suspicion and distrust gave way to a realization of common interests and united action once more stabilized the economic position of all racial groups. The keen competition of the Continental countries, such as Germany prior to 1914, however, led the employers to seek yet another human wage-breaking factor. They introduced into the field, particularly the Lanarkshire coal-fields, the downtrodden, illiterate and unorganized Lithuanian. He was termed a detestable alien, a foreigner, and a dago. He lived in leaky-roofed hovels with earthen floors, and stole the grease from the axle-boxes of railway trucks to spread

on his black bread. The Lithuanian again lowered the standard of living of the English, Scotch and Irish workers, already more or less homogeneous, but once again the consciousness of community of interests of the workers prevailed, and the older groups absorbed the latest comers in a new attempt to stabilize wages for semi-skilled and unskilled workers at something above the bare minimum cost of living. But all this struggle has been paid for in the outpouring of human blood and tears that has been the accompaniment of the later stages in the rise of industrialism in Europe. On the credit side is the cosmopolitanizing of the British workers and the slow dawning of the knowledge of the oneness of interests of the wage-earners of Europe as a whole, which received an unfortunate setback by the World War of 1914-18.

#### THE LESSON

The history of the working class of Britain, the most insular nation in the world, while illustrating the ultimate interdependence of all sections of labour, illustrates also the power of economic interests to triumph over all those natural or traditional differences which tend to divide people of different races. This is a lesson South Africa has still to learn. Grudgingly and with difficulty she is learning it. Increasingly individuals, at least, are coming to appreciate the common economic interests which lie behind the obvious differences of colour. But the strength of the influences which have to be overcome before the majority can be induced to recognize the truth which the few have already accepted cannot be scorned because they are emotional rather than practical in their origin. Indeed, that fact lends them a peculiar strength and importance.

Societies pass from stage to stage, apparently in response to economic forces, but economic forces are not the whole story. Moral values, conceptions of the goal of life, what the Hammonds after Mazzini call "collective intentions," what we may call the social urge, are a very large factor in the process. If it were otherwise, situations would not



develop such as that of 1914-18, where we witnessed the spectacle of people belonging to the same classes, though of different nations, people for a generation increasingly conscious of their common wants and common needs, killing one another by every means in their power, and in the process suffering the ghastly horrors of modern warfare because their sense of right and wrong had been outraged. But "collective intentions," having to be pursued in the complex field of human activity, are peculiarly open to misdirection by selfish or misguided interests, and where material insecurity is a factor in the situation, integrity of purpose is not always sufficient guarantee of honest and disinterested action. In the clearer light of to-day we see events prior to and during 1914-18 as having been much influenced by a controlled Press, a Church and pulpit influenced by the power of Mammon, and political and cultural institutions prostituted by a false patriotism. So in South Africa to-day there is evidence to show that the social urge is being harnessed to the economic urge without any long vision in regard to either. Despite the changes of the last generation, as a result of which manual work is now done by black and white alike, the wage-earning population is still divided along the colour line, "white" claiming that his standard is endangered by "black." This is the economic urge strengthened by the high wage standards which white labour could command in the past, owing to the existence of cheap black labour. But it calls to its support the social urge by identifying its standard of living with its civilization, and through the emotional cry of "white civilization in danger" it has rallied to its cause nearly all the other ranks of white society, many of whose real economic interests could best be served by developing the purchasing and consuming capacity of the natives. It is perhaps ultimately not unimportant that the civilization which has to be so carefully protected against the possible modifying influence of a primitive race often manifests itself in ways which would discredit the least civilized. The diggings, with their general lack

of the decencies of life, reveal European civilization without the trappings, and exhibit it as an achievement in squalor, sordidness and vice rather than in honest and honourable living. Much of the night life of some of our cities is only different in its setting from the ribald native beer-drinking, which is itself a product of native contact with European ways and is regarded with shamed amazement by respectable native society ; and who with any sense of decency can look at the placards on our streets, carried by native newsboys, bearing such captions as " Johannesburg's six most immoral men " ; " Maritzburg's dirty undies," etc., without a feeling of shame and a conscious knowledge that gutter journalism of this type holds the much-vaunted claims of Western civilization up to derision and contempt. But if we admit that these corruptions are merely local and incidental, and do not affect the essential character of our civilization, if that civilization is all we would wish it to be, a cultural inheritance enshrining the principle of the spiritual value of the individual, can it live and thrive on the conscious exploitation of those less fortunate in their inheritance? Must not its principle, to have any virtue, be universal in its application? Western civilization to be true to itself must repudiate the attempt to identify it with material standards, and so make it exclusive ; its foundation and justification is a moral principle which of its very nature must be inclusive, sharing its inheritance with all comers, and so enriching both them and itself. It must recognize behind differences of race and creed and colour a common humanity with common needs and common aspirations, and it must make room for them all. In South Africa it must accept the claims of blacks as well as of whites, as in Britain it has provided a common meeting-ground for Englishman and Scot, and Irishman and Pole. Everywhere it must recognize not the equality of all men but the equal right of all men to the opportunity to realize the best that is in them.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE REAL COMMUNITY OF INTERESTS

It is one thing to accept the principle of equal rights, it is another to apply it. No one with any knowledge of industrial history and with the interests of all sections of the population at heart would advocate unrestricted competition between European and non-European at this stage. Such competition would merely smash European labour with a present gain but no permanent advantage to the native. On the other hand, to insist immediately on the general application of the wage levels regarded as essential for the maintenance of a European standard of living would be either to put an unendurable strain on industry under which it must collapse, or to induce a great contraction of the field of labour, with a corresponding expansion of poverty and all its attendant social ills. The wage levels of the natives must be gradually approximated to those of the European during a period of transition, in which industry may have time to adjust itself and to expand through increased efficiency and the increased consumption of the population to meet the increasing wage demands made upon it. But European labour should set itself to see that the period of transition shall be as short as it safely can be, since every successive change in the organization of industry weakens the position of the white worker and hardens that of the native. Neither the native nor the European in South Africa has any real future as a skilled worker. This is the machine age, and already many a highly skilled artisan finds himself a drug on the labour market. The skill which at one time made him an aristocrat of labour now handicaps him in competition

with the more speedy mass-production worker. In the industrial world to-day, it is the worker who can work at speed on nearly foolproof machines who are wanted, and the psychologists who are studying the industrial native worker in South Africa are agreed that he is one of the best types for mass-production manufacture. His long-stored-up energies, denied individual expression by the conditions of tribal life, added to his well-known aptitude for imitation, make him an admirable worker for repetition tasks. During the next phase in South Africa, the really highly skilled workers will be very few in number ; they will be required to set the machines as a few engineers did for the thousands of women munition workers during the war of 1914-18. They will be white. The rest of the workers will be mass-production workers in a labour market in which the black man, if his present social and economic position remains unaltered, will have every advantage over the white. Already the natural tendency, only slightly modified by the artificial aid of a "white labour" policy with Government backing, has been for natives to replace Europeans in cases where the skill hitherto demanded of the worker is now being provided by the machine. Saw-mills all over the country are being run with one or two white men and large staffs of natives, while in all stages of iron and steel production machines tended by natives are being increasingly substituted for white labour. In these circumstances, the raising of native standards is an increasingly urgent condition of the maintenance of European standards in the future. How is the gap between the two to be bridged with the greatest possible speed ?

The first necessity, as the Native Economic Commission saw, is to stabilize the urban native labour market. This can only be done by the development of the native reserves and the improvement of conditions in the rural areas outside of the reserves which would have the effect of checking the flow of wage-reducing subsidized labour to the towns. The first part of this programme requires the

expenditure of a good deal of money, while the second involves not merely the general reform of European farming to enable it to provide improved conditions for farm labourers, but also the generosity on the part of the European population to modify the restrictions of the 1913 Land Act in order to admit of native leasehold as well as of extended rights of land purchase. But these things are essential if progress is to be made.

#### WAGE ACT USED AS COLOUR BAR

In a labour market thus stabilized the native worker should be freed from the restrictions of discriminating legislation. He should be subject only to the legislation which regulates the European worker. The Industrial Conciliation and Wage Board Acts should be extended to cover his activities, even though it is admitted that these Acts are full of anomalies and imperfections. For some time to come, no native organization will function effectively as an industrial negotiating body, hence it is necessary that the machinery which already exists for the regulation of conditions of labour should be used in a broad and just way to adjust native economic grievances. At present, the native regards the Wage Board as in the nature of an additional colour bar. This attitude is not without justification, since not only has the Board tended to fix wages for skilled and semi-skilled occupations at levels quite unattainable by the native under existing conditions, but has also in many instances raised the rates of pay for unskilled work hitherto done by natives to a level which encourages their displacement by Europeans. A recent example of this is to be found in the "determination" for assistants engaged in the native trade on the Witwatersrand. A considerable number of these assistants have in the past been natives, who have found in this trade an important and legitimate field of employment. The "determination" made by the Wage Board in respect of certain occupations in this trade commonly known as "Kaffir work," those of floor-sweepers and errand boys,

fixed wage rates approximately 350 per cent. higher than those prevailing in similar occupations in European shops in the recognized shopping-centre. The native assistants contended that this pay was an attempt to force them out of employment and the "determination" was subsequently modified.

#### CONSTITUTIONAL ACTION REBUFFED

Provision exists in the Wage Board Act for the regulation of native wages, but the way in which it has operated has not encouraged the native to put his confidence in the efficacy of constitutional means of improving his economic situation. An appeal may be made to the Board for the hearing of a claim to increase wages; if the Board cannot recommend a civilized wage, no award can be made without specific instructions from the Minister of Labour. The Minister, however, has the power to authorize the fixing of such a wage rate as the Board thinks just and possible for industry to maintain. Unfortunately, the tendency of the Minister has been to withhold this authorization rather than to grant it, and the natives are then left without any alternative means of achieving their ends.

An illustration of this sort of situation is to be found in the attempt made in 1929 by the I.C.U. of Africa to secure a wage award in respect of certain native workers in Kroonstad in 1929. Following upon the effort to reconstitute that organization on lines similar to the Transport and General Workers' Union of Britain, it was decided to try to prove the value of constitutional action for the adjustment of native grievance, as opposed to indiscriminate mass incitements. An application was, therefore, made to the Wage Board by the I.C.U. for the hearing of a demand for a £7 10s. minimum for certain classes of Kroonstad workers. The Board granted the request, and the application was heard in August 1929. Up to the present time, no determination has been given. The Board could not recommend a civilized wage, a decision which was not unexpected. It was thought, however, that the Minister

of Labour would refer the matter back to the Board for a determination which would establish the minimum native wage at something from 3s. to 3s. 6d. per day instead of the 2s. to 2s. 9d. current in the district. That has not been done in spite of repeated requests, and the natives have ceased to regard the Board as of any value to them.

Yet it should be of value both to them and to the European, who is so clearly affected by their wage scales. If the white trade unions had the sense to follow the advice of their all too few enlightened leaders, they would press for the amendment of the Wage Board Act so that the Board might become an effective instrument for the regulation of native wages on a so-called "uncivilized" basis, but with a progressive approximation to "civilized" standards.

In addition to encouraging the extension of the function of the Wage Board to include the regulation of native wages, the white trade unions should organize the non-Europeans engaged in the various industries, and bring them into their own trade and industrial unions. They would then be able to use not only the Wage Board but also the Industrial Conciliation Act, both to protect their own skilled craft interests and to grade the advance of the working, living and wage conditions of the non-Europeans on apprenticeship lines over a period of years. In the operation of the Conciliation Act no trade union should be regarded as representative of the workers in any trade or industry, nor should any trade union be registered unless it can be shown that it includes not only the Europeans but also the native, coloured and Indian workers engaged in the trade or industry. Where trades are almost exclusively native in personnel, those engaged in them should be encouraged to organize themselves into unions of their own. In such cases, however, the protection at present afforded to the trade unions by law in respect of their funds should be extended to these organizations to prevent a repetition of such gross mismanagement and the possibility of such defalcations as were revealed in Justice Tatham's summing-up in the *Champion v. Lenono* libel

actions, which arose out of the conduct of the affairs of the I.C.U. By encouragement to organize and by protection in and responsibility for the management of their own affairs, the natives would be provided with a means to a general development of their capabilities which must increase their value to the community and hasten their approximation to European standards.

#### EDUCATIONAL AND TAXATION ANOMALIES

Finally, it is not enough to encourage the native to acquire skill and a European standard of living by the protection of his economic interests. Even that encouragement can only be effective if it is based on an educational foundation which will enable the native to think and to reason and so to take an intelligent advantage of the opportunities offered to him. One of the least defensible features of South African life is the neglect and starvation of native education. It is estimated\* that at the present time 1,100,000 native children are receiving no education whatsoever. For the 300,000 who are being educated the sum of £2 3s. 6d. *per capita* is spent by the State, as against a sum of £25 13s. *per capita* for the 384,000 European children for whom education is provided. Yet from every native male of eighteen years and over the State collects a direct tax of at least £1 per annum, although all other races are exempt from direct taxation until the age of twenty-one, when they are taxed according to their means, and are not expected to bear the burden which falls on the native. There can be no solid and no sound advance that is not grounded on the cultivation of the youthful mind. A few may rise superior to the handicap involved in the absence of an early education ; neither a race nor a class can do so ; and if white labour in South Africa is to save both the native and itself, it must insist upon the extension to the native of a right which it won for itself with so much difficulty in the not very distant past.

\* Address by Rev. Enock Carter, Johannesburg Rotary Club, reported in *Star*, Johannesburg, November 1st, 1933.



## CHAPTER VII

### CO-OPERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

IN his book, *People's Banks, or the Use and Value of Co-operative Credit for African Natives*, Father Bernard Huss, the Principal of St. Francis' Native Training College, Marianhill, Natal, quotes the expressive Zulu phrase "*Mayibuye I Africa*" (Let Africa come back). It is the heart-felt cry of a people who have been thrown willy-nilly into the vortex of industrialism, and who find the individualism represented by that phase of civilization completely foreign to their conceptions of life.

Father Huss has devoted the first chapter of his book to a brief description of the Bantu or native collectivism that obtained before the white man came to Africa. On page 2 he has written the following :

We can already notice in the native a strong tendency to become rich even by exploiting his poorer black brother, and history tends to repeat itself in Africa, the rich becoming richer because they are rich and the poor becoming poorer because they are poor.

If natives are shown that this is wrong, then they say the European has taught them to do so by their example, thus undermining the old structure of Bantu collectivism. No wonder the native wishes that the old Africa would come back.

These are significant paragraphs, for they sum up in a few words the whole gamut of the clash of Western civilization with Bantu collectivism. But the old Africa will not return, for, even if the white man left Africa, the intelligent-thinking native would not return to the primitive collectivism of his forefathers. The majority of

natives no more desire a return to the days of tribalism than do the people of Europe to the days of feudalism, and for much the same reasons. Bantu collectivism was at its best when, in the interests of the tribe, it discouraged individual initiative, controlled the passions and anti-social appetites of the group, curbed the acquisitive instinct, and thus preserved a healthy primitive community. It was at its worst when it failed or did not try to extend its influence beyond the tribe, for although theft within the tribe was a mean crime, it was an act of bravery when practised at the expense of others. These conflicting tendencies give proof, if such is necessary, that the black man is only different in colour from the white man, for can we deny that within our white civilization, there are many otherwise eminently respectable citizens who would scorn to do in private life or to the members of their own families, the things they do in the professional and commercial spheres ?

Father Huss is a pioneer of vision. He has, through the written and the spoken word, by precept and by example, urged the native to put into a modern setting the best aspects of the collectivism which was such a marked feature of his tribal days. To his religious appeal he has added an economic-social message, warning the native of the dangers of the individualism that the white man has brought to Africa. In season and out of season he has preached the co-operative principle, urging as a first simple step the setting-up of People's Banks or Co-operative Credit Societies. Much of the seed that his propaganda has sown is germinating. It will, in the course of time, and in spite of legislative and political barriers, produce a rich harvest of co-operative self-help.

#### CO-OPERATION FOR AFRICA

Native society in South Africa offers a fairly suitable field for co-operative enterprise, while the co-operative principle offers a possible means of preserving that society against the impact of European life and its demands

which threaten to crush it—to preserve it not unchanged but effectively adapted to the new conditions and new needs. At present, political power, consequent upon contact with Western civilization in South Africa, is in European hands, and that power, backed by the possession of nine-tenths of the land, is used to keep the native a helot on the farms and an “uncivilized” wage-earner in the towns, that is, a labourer to whom all tasks but those carrying an “uncivilized wage rate” are debarred. All native social progress is thus blocked by economic barriers, and the native himself is deprived not only of the means of improving his material status but also of the hope of learning to manage, both for himself and for others, by participating in the ordinary duties of citizenship. On the other hand, his territorial position offers certain peculiar advantages for the development of co-operative enterprise, whereby the worst features of his condition in European society may be counteracted, by providing him with the means of increased material well-being within a sphere of activity in which he may learn for himself the business of administration and self-help, which his exclusion from participation in public life now denies him. The very refusal of the European to recognize him as a member of the body politic has led to the establishment on the one hand of native rural reserves, and on the other of large native locations in the urban areas. So that the native population of South Africa is divided into two fairly well-defined and homogeneous units, which have only to perform their own economic services to become something in the nature of a self-contained community. The native of the town can trade with his own people, while the native of the country should find his best market among his town-dwelling brethren. This can only be done on a basis of co-operative enterprise, the full possibilities of which have not yet been recognized, though they are now being glimpsed by those who sincerely desire to see the native of South Africa benefit by his contact with Western civilization.

## HISTORY

So far as can be ascertained, the first mention of co-operative enterprise for natives in South Africa occurred in 1907, when, in a meeting of a group of natives of the Transkeian Territories with some of the officials of the Government, a suggestion of the possibilities of co-operation for natives was made. Subsequently a pamphlet was published. However, no more was heard of co-operation as a practical proposition until 1926, when Father Huss, in addressing a meeting of the Bunga, or General Council of the Transkeian Territories, urged upon the assembled chiefs and magistrates the advantages of co-operation among a poor peasantry like that of the Territories. As a result of his address, a Select Committee was appointed to consider the matter, and this Committee reported in April 1926 in favour of the principle of co-operation. On their recommendation a lecturer was appointed to tour the Territories, to explain co-operative ideas to the native people and, if possible, guide them into practical effort of a co-operative nature.

The first practical result was the formation of a co-operative society at Qumbu, in the Territories, in October 1926. This society did not grow rapidly; after three years its membership was only 412. By 1932, however, thirty-six co-operative credit societies had come into existence in the Transkei, with total deposits amounting to £25,000. In the opinion of competent observers, this is a slower growth than might have been anticipated, and in some of its features it has been disappointing. Some of the societies, in lending their money to assist in the purchase of farming machinery, have tended to charge high rates of interest, and have consequently led some critics to regard them as usury societies. This perversion of the co-operative principle is, however, a passing phase, for which a parallel can be found in the dividend-hunting propensities of the members of a number of co-operative societies in the older countries. The co-operative movement in the Transkei is passing through its infancy surrounded

by an intensely acquisitive European community. The usurious tendencies of some of its Credit Societies may serve as a valuable lesson and a warning. A reason for believing in the spread of the true co-operative principle is to be found in the existence to-day in the Territories of several groups of native farmers who have adopted co-operative methods of buying seed and implements and, in spite of great difficulties, of marketing their produce.

While the Transkei has been the main field of co-operative effort, the idea of co-operation has in the past been exploited, but always in a warped form and therefore without success. In the course of its meteoric career, the I.C.U., or, to give it its full title, The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of Africa, tried to float several co-operative ventures in the urban areas, such as native eating-houses and clothing factories. However, the inexperience of the officials and the unscrupulousness of many of the people associated with the undertaking, who rendered accounts to the I.C.U. while diverting the gross receipts to their own uses, brought early disaster. Again, smaller efforts were tried by individual natives who endeavoured to exploit the racial appeal. A typical example of this kind occurred in a Johannesburg location, where two natives subscribed £76 and £56 respectively, and set up a so-called co-operative store. The name was merely a disguise for a private venture, which foundered early on the attempt of one of the assistants to appropriate part of the gross receipts as his share of the supposed "profits."

#### THE WESTERN NATIVE TOWNSHIP CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETY

The co-operative principle in South Africa has, however, received a new impetus in the last two years from the establishment and progress of the most recent, the soundest, and, so far, the best effort of its kind. This is the Western Native Township Co-operative Society, launched entirely by natives in Johannesburg's largest native township, which houses 14,000 native people. It is the joint creation of a Transvaal native named P. J. Moquerane

and a Zulu named Lovedale J. Mfeka, who are its manager and secretary. They are real Bantu patriots. In telling the story of how they came to start the store, Mfeka mentions that they were each propoganding co-operative principles in the township without the knowledge of the other. They eventually met, pooled their ideas and combined their activities. They both pay tribute to the inspiration gained from reading the articles and books written by Father Bernard Huss, the propoganda literature and books of the British Co-operative Movement, the talks of a Negro preacher and a Zulu girl who has been in America. For years they have brooded, like many Bantu patriots, over the ever-deepening degradation of the detribalized, urban-dwelling, native people. Control of the political machine in the interests of a European employer and *entrepreneur* class, who maintain their political and economic power by arranging that white or civilized standards of life shall be maintained through a combined exploitation of the natives by nearly all sections of the European population, has long ago shown them that there is very little hope of either economic, educational or social advance for the native in South Africa so long as the present system continues. They have also noted with sorrow that a small minority of their fellows have become apt pupils of the white man's individualism. To them the huge profits made from "Kaffir Truck" are a source of intense irritation and disgust. They claim as examples of the white man's cupidity, the demand of the white Shop Assistants' Union engaged in the Reef Native Trade for a civilized wage for supplying the wants of a people who are remunerated on an uncivilized wage basis, without at the same time making a demand for better conditions for their customers. The inquiry into this demand revealed that Concession Stores catering for "Kaffir Truck" carry a "goodwill" of anything from £10,000 to £30,000. The Government gets a small percentage of the spoils, by means of a special licence for all shops engaged in the "Native Trade."

Although intensely conscious of the fact that white civilization in South Africa decrees that the black man shall be an inferior, Mfeka and Moquerane knew that they had a number of sympathetic European friends. They consulted those friends, but pointed out that they did not want a guidance that would amount to virtual control. They said "we cannot survive as a nation unless we learn to stand on our own feet."

Coming into the field of appeal to the natives, as they did, after the comparative failure of such huge mass organizations as the African National Congress and the I.C.U., which between them had squandered huge sums of money in mismanagement and costly litigation, they had not only to brave the incredulity which is the lot of those who propound the doctrine of "all for each and each for all," but also the jeers, taunts and ribald jests of those who have seen promising organizations fail for obvious reasons, but also for reasons which they but dimly understood. They were not, however, discouraged, and they ultimately succeeded in getting together a group of interested people. The first public meeting was held on July 29th, 1931, when a draft constitution was read and adopted. Subsequently three native ministers joined the Society, one of whom brought in his choir. This choir did yeoman service, as native residents of the location coming in to listen to the spirituals, hymns and impromptu songs that are so marked a feature of native meetings, stopped to hear the co-operative message.

#### INITIAL DIFFICULTIES

It was early realized by the promoters that they were on trial, and that until they could produce some evidence of the soundness of their venture, few of the people would become founder shareholding members of the Society. The consequent initial difficulty of stocking the Co-operative Store which they proposed to open was overcome by a departure from ordinary co-operative practice, several of the members lending sufficient money to purchase stock.

Eventually the store and café were opened with a capital of £127 9s. 6d., ten members and four assistants. The opening was greeted with much shaking of heads and many forebodings of disaster, since so few ventures organized and managed by natives have achieved any measure of success. The established storekeepers in the township, representatives of many and diverse nationalities, looked on and smiled indulgently. They had visions of a selling-up auction in the not-distant future. A few only wondered if the new enterprise was a portent. The organizers, however, not only had supreme confidence in themselves, but faith that their ideal would grip the imagination of their people. They were encouraged by the popularity which the store immediately achieved with a small section of the people of the township, even though the café was at first a failure. This popularity of the store soon helped them to overcome one of their greatest difficulties, namely the problem of the purchase of goods from the wholesalers; for in South Africa, many wholesale dealers charge natives higher prices than those charged to Europeans, while, incredible as it may seem to those who do not know the country, others are prepared to sacrifice their economic interests to their prejudices to the extent of refusing to sell to natives on any terms. Ready cash overcame this obstacle, however, and, with the store established and offering trade on a sound basis, and the café revived and bringing in satisfactory returns, European salesmen and agents now call weekly to show their goods and bargain with the native manager and secretary.

#### STOCKTAKING AND PAYING A DIVIDEND

In spite of all difficulties, the first annual stocktaking of the venture disclosed a very heartening state of affairs. With an initial capital of £157, sales for the year totalled £4,352 10s. 8d., while there was stock in hand that would easily liquidate liabilities, and assets which were more in value than the actual capital invested in the store. There was an actual profit of £249 10s. 8d. The auditors state



in their report that " 85 per cent. of the sales have been on a cash basis, thus enabling the Society to discharge its liabilities in the same way." The directors decided to use the major portion of the profits for development purposes, to pay a 5 per cent. dividend on capital and a further 5 per cent. dividend on purchases ; and, by a flash of inspiration, it was further decided to hold a public meeting for the purpose of distributing the dividend.

The meeting was a revelation of native initiative, indicating a degree of imagination and enterprise that augurs well for the success of the venture. There were about 300 natives present, and a small group of invited Europeans. The non-members of the Co-operative Society were the real audience, since there is no doubt that the meeting was intended, not so much to encourage existing members as to stimulate the interest and the support of those who had so far stood aloof. A brass band, conducted by a location veteran, had been engaged for the evening to enliven the proceedings, the efforts of the musicians making up in enthusiasm what they lacked in proficiency. The proceedings opened with a presentation to Mr. Howard Pim, the principal of the Johannesburg firm of accountants and auditors, which has given its services gratis to the Society. The presentation, which was made by the secretary of the Society, took the form of a copy of a remarkable novel, *Chaka*, by a native author. A number of speeches were made which were interspersed by assurances from the secretary to the more impatient among the audience that " the money " would soon be forthcoming. Eventually the *pièce de résistance* of the evening was reached when the secretary opened an important-looking bag which had reposed on the table throughout the proceedings, and extracted from it a number of envelopes. These envelopes contained the dividends of those who had either become members of the Society or had purchased goods from its store. The reading of each name together with the amount of money to be received was greeted with the greatest interest and

enthusiasm by all present, and the honours of prize-winners were accorded to the recipients as one by one they mounted the platform to sign their receipts and receive their envelopes. Altogether, forty-nine people received dividends, ranging from 1s. to £2 6s. 1d. It was an epoch-making evening that set the seal on a remarkable achievement—the payment of a dividend on purchases in its first year of working by a co-operative store owned and managed solely by natives.

The history of the venture is not, of course, one of steady and unflinching advance. Mistakes have inevitably been made. The people responsible for conducting the store have had to learn many aspects of their business from the beginning. It is significant that the stocktaking at the end of the first month "took us the whole night," as Mfeka says. Yet at the end of three months, good, sound and honest management produced a surplus of £100. The managers got the permission of the Committee to invest £25 of this surplus with a building society paying 7 per cent., against the advice of the writer, who endeavoured to explain to them the dangers of high interest, as well as the difference between "fluid" and "frozen" capital, and the value to a young venture of the former as against the latter. Shortly after the transaction had been made, the building society collapsed. Its assets and liabilities have since been taken over by another society, but it will be several years before the native co-operative society will recover the final instalment of its deposit.

#### A SHARP AND COSTLY LESSON

A few weeks ago, there seemed a more serious cause for alarm. The audit for the last six months of 1933 indicated, indeed, a steady progressive trading increase, but the profits had almost vanished. It seemed that the forebodings of the sceptical were to be justified, that the Bantu had once again proved their inability to manage a business for any length of time, or to take care of money. Investigations, however, produced sufficient evidence to show

that trading and management factors alone are at the root of the trouble. Fluctuations in the price of mealie meal, the store's principal article of sale, coupled with the end-of-year liquidation of coupons, the use of which the management contend, in spite of advice to the contrary, is necessary, and the giving of sweets to native children as a "bonsella," have played an uncalculated part in the costs of the business. The consequent dissipation of their profits, however, has given the native co-operative society a sharp and costly lesson in something less than two years from the date of the opening of the store.

In spite of these obstacles, however, the business is a good-going solvent concern, and will probably before the end of this financial year be able once more to show a fair profit. And an encouraging feature of the whole enterprise has been the ability of the promoters to learn by experience and their capacity for visualizing expansions and carrying increasing responsibilities. Already the growth of the business has necessitated an increase in the staff, which has grown from the original four to nine. Plans have been passed for an extension of the premises, and the managers are certainly badgering the officials of the Johannesburg Municipality, who are the owners of all property in the township, for a display window, the lack of such a facility being, as they rightly contend, one of their greatest handicaps. By clever anticipatory propaganda, they warned their members of the real intentions of a bazaar organized by a group of private traders, and opened near the premises of the Co-operative Store, and they had the satisfaction of seeing the bazaar closed within a few months of its opening.

#### THE FUTURE

The venture has certainly excited considerable interest in native circles, and among that small group of Europeans in South Africa who measure the real progress in the country in terms of the "greatest good of the greatest

number," and not, as at present obtains, in the enrichment of small groups of people in gold-production, Stock Exchange share speculation and various kinds of subsidized European forms of employment. The native co-operators are already making inquiries as to how they can establish trading relations with native tobacco, grain and cattle raisers in the British protectorates and the reserves. The promoters of the Western Township Society and the writer have addressed many meetings during the last twelve months of natives who are anxious to emulate the achievement of their fellows. Articles on co-operation, how to form co-operative societies and the literature of the British Co-operative Movement are read with avidity. Groups of European trading and certain legal interests have discovered a new interest in the natives. They want to start central buying agencies and to protect the budding native co-operators from legal pitfalls, which are mostly imaginary.

But those who have the real interests of the Bantu at heart want to retain, so far as is possible, the control of their present and prospective co-operative ventures in their own hands. They will welcome European advice that does not seek to control, for they see in real co-operation a reply to the Government's "white labour" policy, and the economic salvation of their people. They want to see native educational institutions train and equip natives for service as organizers of native co-operative production, accountancy, exchange and general distribution. At the end of June or the beginning of July a study course in co-operation and its prospects in South Africa, of about a fortnight's duration, will be given in the Mbumbulu Reserve in Natal. The native Co-operative Movement is a great movement that has vast potentialities, but has many difficult obstacles to surmount, the chief of which are the rawness of its adherents, over-enthusiasm and the hazards of an ever-changing world.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE WAY OUT

EDUCATION and the removal of artificial barriers to economic advancement must result in a general rise in the standard of living of the native which in its turn must react to the benefit of the European. The ultimate future of both black and white, however, must depend on much wider-reaching changes than these things involve.

Everywhere to-day the old organization of society is being challenged on the ground of its inability to provide the basic minimum of material goods to keep body and soul together in a self-respecting efficiency, or of the willingness of those who support it to allow it to do so. Everywhere the mass who have for so long been content to minister to the desires of the few, are now demanding a new consideration for the needs of the many; and the economic dislocation consequent upon the upheaval of 1914-18 gives point and force to this demand.

In the evolution of the new society which is everywhere foreshadowed, South Africa will not lead, but she will have to follow. It is true she has suffered less than most countries from the effects of the war, but she is as insecure as any in an insecure world. She depends for her very existence to-day on her ability to sell to the great industrial and commercial countries her one really marketable commodity, gold. Her agricultural and pastoral products can only be put on the foreign market with the aid of a subsidy derived in the last resort from the gold-mining industry, while the very process of farming is subsidized by the wages which rural natives can earn in periodic employment on the mines. All this means that, in the last

resort, the maintenance of the present order in South Africa depends on the retention by the greater powers of their present values and the organization which they support ; it depends more specifically on the retention by Europe of gold as a necessary and reliable medium of exchange. But in the nature of the case that cannot be counted upon, and the prospect before South Africa is that of being thrown back upon herself to find the means of sustaining her population without outside assistance.

#### THE TASK OF YOUTH

South Africa is a country undeniably circumstanced to practise that national self-sufficiency which even the greater nations are increasingly regarding as the only escape from the present chaos, as the only means of security. It is of vast dimensions, with a small population, by far the greater portion of which is at present forced to live below the level of subsistence. Its non-European population, which is in the ratio of about seven to two Europeans, is on the whole a virile, manageable community eager to take advantage of every educational facility that offers, and with economic wants the satisfying of which would keep all sections of the community fully employed for many years. But in order that advantage should be taken both of the resources of the country and the consuming capacity of the people, there must be a conscious social and economic reorganization which will make possible the development of the resources of the country for the benefit of all. With this end in view, the mineral wealth of the country should be progressively nationalized, while such a redistribution of the land of the country as would make peasant proprietorship under co-operative method a reality, instead of, as it now is, one of the platform stunts of aspiring politicians, should be the goal of all sane reformers.

In this work of reorganizing the life of the country, the non-Europeans can be induced to play a useful part, for, in view of their own tradition of co-operative effort, it would

be simple to teach them to shun the individualism that has marred the rise of industrialism in the past and to substitute for it the ideals of the co-operative commonwealth; and the task of freeing South Africa from the curse of racialism and putting it on the paths of economic and spiritual progress is one which should appeal to all the thinking youth of the country, disillusioned as it must be by the tortuous manœuvring of the politicians, the spectacle of a world teeming with the necessaries of life and many of the luxuries, while millions of people are unemployed and starving because they have produced too much, a world in which racial repression has its roots in insecurity.

THE RACE PROBLEM  
IN AFRICA



# THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

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1931

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CHARLES RODEN BUXTON, M.P.



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# CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	THE BACKGROUND . . . . .	11
	THE HUMAN PROBLEM . . . . .	13
	THE ECONOMIC DRIVE . . . . .	15
	OUR RESPONSIBILITY . . . . .	18
II.	THE TANGLED WEB . . . . .	20
	DISTORTED VIEWS OF EMPIRE HISTORY . . . . .	21
	THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE . . . . .	23
	THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE SETTLER . . . . .	25
	HOW EXPLOITATION WORKS . . . . .	29
	INDIRECT COMPULSION TO WORK . . . . .	31
III.	THE SOLUTION . . . . .	34
	THE PROBLEM OF GOVERNMENT . . . . .	35
	THE "EQUAL RIGHTS" DOCTRINE . . . . .	39
	THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY . . . . .	43
IV.	THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT . . . . .	45
	THE THEORY OF EMPIRE . . . . .	46
	THE DANGER OF RACIAL ANTAGONISM . . . . .	48
	THE CONCEPTION OF HUMAN EQUALITY . . . . .	49
	THE PROGRESS OF THE AFRICAN . . . . .	51
	THE RELIGIOUS BASIS . . . . .	52
	OUR RESPONSIBILITY . . . . .	55

# THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

## CHAPTER I

### THE BACKGROUND

WHATEVER test be taken, our relationship with the Native Races in Africa stands out as a far more vital subject than is generally realised, even by instructed public opinion. Few would deny that the general question of the relationship between the White and the Dark Races—that is, between one-third of humanity and the other two-thirds—is a problem of enormous range. We do well to remember that, in the solution of that problem, events in Africa must bulk very large.

The problem on its practical side—and it is with this that I wish to grapple in this lecture—is a problem, so far as the really “backward” peoples are concerned, of “exploitation.” And it is in Africa that this aspect of it can be most profitably studied.

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

The word "exploitation" has a foreign sound, but it is difficult to find another which meets the case. Broadly speaking, when I allude to the backward races being exploited, I mean that the power of government is used for the furtherance of the interests of a small White section of the population—or of certain sections in the mother-country—at the expense of the Native inhabitants. By one means or another, the Native is made either to work for wages, or to produce raw materials, without receiving in return a fair share of the proceeds of his labour. The point was neatly and humorously put by the great American negro leader, Booker Washington—"There is all the difference in the world between working and being worked."

The methods by which tropical labour is exploited to-day are vastly more complicated than they were in the days of the Anti-Slavery Campaign. The principle of exploitation remains the same, but instead of taking the crude form of carrying off men's bodies and making them work, it takes infinitely varied forms. I shall explain these forms more fully below. Exploitation now is not, for the most part, accompanied by atrocities. When it took the form of slavery, it was worse in this respect,

## *THE BACKGROUND*

and also because of its terrible effect on the minds of the enslavers. But to-day, though its operations often do not meet the eye, and are not specially easy to trace, it is far more pervading. It covers a vastly greater area of the earth's surface, and affects an incomparably larger number of human beings.

### *The Human Problem*

We must be careful, of course, not to neglect the human factor in the problem. The economic process is but the reflection of a fundamental misjudgment of human values. The White races have regarded the Dark races as made of different clay from themselves; as destined to be hewers of wood and drawers of water; as means to other men's ends. Prejudice has led to overweening contempt on the one side; often to mutual suspicion; always, on the part of the Whites, to an underlying fear of the mass of half-understood people among whom they live. The moral damage of such an attitude to both parties is incalculable.

We are at the beginning of a period of awakening. Even among the most "backward" peoples, a group-consciousness, if not

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

an actual race-consciousness, is growing. The effects of the World War, in which Whites fought, Whites with African aid, have been profoundly disturbing. The War stimulated the growth of this consciousness, which is based on a sense partly of unity, partly of common needs, partly of unused powers. We cannot yet tell the scope of this new factor—we are still very ignorant of Native opinion—but it will certainly be a mighty one in the future. If nothing is done to provide an outlet for it, it will take forms which will give very serious trouble to the governing authorities. This new race-consciousness may develop on lines resembling those of the Non Co-operation movement in India. It will certainly lead, in some cases, to sporadic armed risings. The present situation is pregnant with disaster. It is one of the features of the Communist movement to-day, that it makes it part of its avowed aims to provoke risings. They would be disastrous to the Natives concerned, but that does not make them any the less alarming to Colonial statesmen.



## THE BACKGROUND

### *The Economic Drive*

The whole economic life of the "advanced" industrial peoples is dependent on the products of the tropics to a degree never known before. This fact is so important that I propose to illustrate it at the outset by a somewhat full quotation from Lord Lugard's work *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (p. 43):—

"Consider, for instance, the uses of vegetable oils—palm-oil, kernel-oil, copra, beniseed, cotton-seed, shea, ground-nut, etc.—all of which come from the tropics. As food, soft nut-oils are now, by a process of hydrogenisation, being hardened, deodorised, and increasingly used as margarine, and the residues as cake for cattle food. Ground-nuts supply much of the 'olive-oil' of commerce. As raw materials, only those who have an expert knowledge of the processes of many various manufactures can appreciate how essential they are to many of our staple industries. Palm-oil is, of course, used for the lubrication of rolling stock and of other machinery, and for the making of soap; it is also essential for the rolling of tin-plates, which, in turn, are required for all 'tinned' provisions, roofing-sheets, etc.

"The uses of rubber are endless, from the 'water-proofing' of cloth to the making of tyres, and of many medical appliances. The number of hides and skins supplied by the temperate zones would be wholly inadequate for the provision of leather, whether for boots or for belting for machinery, etc., unless they

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

were largely augmented by the output of the tropics. It is needless to point to the necessity for raw cotton—add to these coffee, tea, cocoa, rice, sago, tobacco, sugar, jute and other fibres, gums, drugs, dye-stuffs, and hard-wood timbers, and we can realise how intimately our daily life is dependent on the produce of the tropics.”

From the point of view of the people at home, Africa is important in other ways than as a mine of desirable raw materials. The power of the exporting countries to continue, broadly, the present organisation of their industry is dependent on the markets of the backward countries. A rise of, for instance, a penny a week in the standard of living of those vast populations would mean a greater extension of our markets than a whole century of “rationalisation” at home. The exporters of British goods to the Colonies have much more to hope for from selling to the Native populations than from the selling to the small groups of Whites. In Tanganyika territory there are over 750 Natives to every European, and in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika combined, 500 Natives to every European. Statistics show that any general increase in native production, with its resultant direct increase in the prosperity of thousands of Natives, results in

## THE BACKGROUND

vast purchases of cotton goods, blankets, and articles such as sewing machines. A writer on "Points for British Manufacturers" recently wrote, in *East Africa* (February 1930):—

"When the Native market is considered, Uganda must take pride of place. The population numbers well over three million, and from the time of Speke's visit in 1862 the Baganda have been noted as the most cultured and intelligent of the Bantu races; they clothed themselves decently in bark-cloth, built good houses of elephant grass, and had quite a useful system of roads. Cotton, introduced by the missionaries, has become the staple crop of the country, the export now ranging round the 200,000-bale mark—which means that in a good year over £4,000,000 goes into the pockets of the peasants—for cotton is essentially a peasant crop in Uganda—and is available for spending. . . . The first thing the Native wants when he has money is a bicycle; and a gramophone is a good second, with European clothes becoming more and more in demand. . . . Thanks to the good roads, Baganda chiefs are good customers for motor-cars and motor bicycles, and there is a growing demand for artificial silks, satins, cotton piece goods, pocket knives, safety razors, etc."

A further point to remember, though it has not yet arisen in a marked degree except in South Africa, is the danger of industrial competition. From the point of view of the White workman, the transference of machine

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

production into the hands of low-paid "coolie" labour, if it passes a certain point, means a complete collapse of the present industrial system, so far as the advanced industrial countries are concerned.

It only remains to add that our dependence on the African is increasing every year. It is one of the most tremendous facts in the economic situation of to-day, and deserves to be pondered on. So powerful, indeed, is the economic drive, that there is a danger that not only groups of people in the industrial countries, but those countries themselves as a whole, and even the White races as a whole, may become economically parasitic upon the vastly more numerous "backward" races.

### *Our Responsibility*

With regard to our own Empire, it is evident that this question of our relations with the peoples of tropical countries must be one of the most important. It arises, in fact, in every one of its possible forms—so varied are the populations, and the problems, included in the territories either directly under our control or under that of the Dominions.

## *THE BACKGROUND*

From the point of view of our own direct responsibility as Englishmen, our problem narrows itself down to the territories under the control of our Colonial Office. Africa includes the largest part of these. East Africa, and particularly Kenya, stands out, for the present, as the area of greatest importance, because the special problem of to-day happens to be illustrated there in its most controversial form. But the problem of Kenya is, in a greater or lesser degree, and under many varied forms, the problem of Africa. And in trying to place this question in its proper setting, we must not forget that what is done in East Africa at a critical time, when public attention is concentrated upon it, is bound to have reverberations upon many other parts of the Empire, and to influence the policy, not only of the Dominions, but of Colonial Empires other than our own.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TANGLED WEB

STRIVING to simplify the problem, I am conscious that I have not presented with sufficient vividness the vast and puzzling tangle of circumstances in which the processes I have described are to be seen in operation—the confused and changing “scheme of things” which we must make an effort to understand, if we are to “remould it nearer to the heart’s desire.” Of course, the idealist tends to forget it. But so also does the conventional Imperialist, whose simplification of the problem from an opposite point of view is at least as delusive. The practical statesman must not be the victim of either delusion.

From this point onwards I propose to deal with the problem as one affecting our own Empire, though much that will be said would apply no less to the territories of other Colonial Powers.

As honest men, we are bound to grapple

## THE TANGLED WEB

with the task; show a full recognition of every difficulty; realise that the facts of past history bind us to-day, whether we will or no; and make a really vigorous effort to sympathise with the point of view of Governors of Colonies, of administrative officers, of officials in the Colonial Office, of business men with hungry shareholders to satisfy, of missionaries, of settlers, of White workmen.

### *Distorted Views of Empire History*

It is worth emphasising that the history of our Empire has hitherto been written in such a way as to give an entirely distorted view of the relative importance of its different aspects. Owing largely to the interesting controversies of the thirties and forties with regard to White colonisation—controversies in which well-known men like Gibbon Wakefield and Charles Buller, and many of the leading figures in British politics, took a prominent part—the historians have concentrated attention upon the growth of self-government for White colonists. The story seems to attain a satisfactory culmination in the modern development of Dominion freedom. Native questions

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

appear to arise incidentally, as local problems about which the main issue was, how far they should be entrusted to the local White colonists. This is very misleading. The developments of Native policy, and the methods of Colonial Office control, if we judge by the greatness of the human interests affected, deserve far greater attention and are worthy of whole volumes of detailed study, which, in fact, they have never received.

Happily, to-day there is a strong counter-movement. Professor Macmillan's invaluable studies in South African history, *The Cape Colour Problem* (1927) and *Bantu, Boer, and Briton* (1928); Professor Coupland's *Wilberforce* (1923); Mr W. L. Mathieson's *British Slavery and its Abolition, 1823-1838* (1926); Messrs Bell and Morrell's *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy* (1928); and Mr W. P. Morrell's *British Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell* (1929) are typical of the change. Colonial Secretaries, who had been treated with contempt because they listened to the voice of missionaries in touch with the Natives rather than to that of harassed and angry White farmers, begin to occupy a somewhat more serious place in the picture. Attention is



## THE TANGLED WEB

directed, almost for the first time, to the Select Committee on Aborigines, over which Fowell Buxton presided from 1835 to 1837—a body which took the new and almost revolutionary line of regarding the protection of Native Races (Aborigines was then the equivalent term) as a single problem of supreme importance, arising in every part of the Empire in a greater or lesser degree.

### *The Achievements of the British Empire*

On a true consideration of the achievements of the British Empire, we must recognise the immense good that has been accomplished by it, however we may strike the balance between this good on the one hand and the effects of the inevitable economic drive on the other,

Exploitation, although it has gained a foothold both in South and East Africa, and in the islands in the Pacific, has seldom been a prominent feature of our Colonial government. It has little place in the West African territories, in which the beginnings of real Native self-government may already be studied. The most recent and most notable example is Nigeria, where the system of indirect rule has

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

reached its highest development. The same principles are followed in some degree in Tanganyika and Uganda in the east. The general policy is to favour the preservation of Native rights in the land, and to assist the Native population to develop its resources, by growing crops and cultivating or gathering products for export. Professor Macmillan of Johannesburg University notes the astonishing development in Uganda of the power of a "backward" people to govern and administer, and the number of men "sufficiently educated to fill so many posts of real responsibility." He adds: "And this—for the discomfort of those who make a mountain of 'colour'—by the effort chiefly of the Baganda, who are of the most shiny coal-black Bantu in Africa."

The brilliant work of men like Lugard, Clifford, and Cameron is worthy of all praise. Another remarkable undertaking, which owes its inception to the foresight of Sir Gordon Guggisberg, is to be found in the new school and college recently founded at Achimota on the Gold Coast. Above all, we ought to realise that the Colonial Office at home has stood constantly, though not always strongly, for a disinterested policy during the last

## *THE TANGLED WEB*

hundred years. Many humble officials, with this great tradition unconsciously ingrained in them, have risked their careers to maintain it. Faced by every kind of discouragement locally, they have stood up for Native rights, in a manner which exalts one's whole view of human nature when one understands what such action involves.

I have referred only to the direct operations of Governments, but behind these is to be found a still more important factor, which distinguishes the British Empire from all others, namely, the existence, ever since the middle of the eighteenth century, of a section of public opinion at home, deeply impressed with its responsibility, which has resolutely refused to allow the government of Native Races to be determined exclusively by the "man on the spot."

### *The Difficulties of the Settler*

When we come to this question of the "man on the spot," it is particularly important to appreciate the point of view of the White settler. It is well to recall that in East Africa his advent is a recent development, and that he has hardly penetrated West Africa at all.

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

I must emphasise again the necessity of sympathetic understanding. The White employer is never exposed to greater temptation than he is in tropical Africa, and this is none the less true because he is often unconscious of the fact. From the point of view of labour conditions, he finds himself in a situation to which his fellow-employer in Europe can never hope to attain. He has labourers to work for him who are not only docile, but entirely without combination, even of the most rudimentary kind. The government of the country is, in many cases, using its administrative machine to help him in obtaining labour. Wages are fixed by himself and his fellow-employers, with virtually no interference either from above or below. There is very little critical public opinion to influence or restrain him.

Moreover, he can make out a case for special assistance. He can often argue with justice that he has been invited, and even urged, by those in authority to take up land in the country; that he has been told beforehand that labour is plentiful; and that on the faith of these representations he has broken up his home in the old country, and sunk his capital in the new one. It is quite inevitable that the

## THE TANGLED WEB

obtaining of wage-labour should be, for him, the all-engrossing question.

It is equally inevitable that he should find (the African habits of work extremely irritating. The habit of continuous labour at the same pace, over a fixed period of hours, is not one that is inherent in human nature as such. It has been developed in the European worker largely by the steady drilling of our modern industrial system; the African worker does not possess it in the same degree. It is not that he is "lazy." He works in spurts, when the occasion seems to him to demand it, with great energy; but the occasion which is urgent to the employer does not always seem urgent to him.) African labour has peculiarities different from our own; they are a normal factor to be taken into account, not an abnormal obstacle which can be removed in a moment. "Industrialisation" cannot be ruled out; but the Native must not be called upon to fit himself into our industrial mould too rapidly.

It is, of course, a well-known fact, attested notably by the history of South Africa, that the psychology of a small White population, living in the midst of a vastly greater Black population, has a special character of its own

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

There is always present at the back of the mind the fact that, so far as sheer physical force is concerned, the Black population is overwhelmingly the more powerful. The idea of a Native rising—and such risings have not been unknown—sends a shudder to the heart. Hence the perpetual insistence on maintaining the White man's "prestige." And closely associated with these subconscious fears is the desire of the White man to preserve his distinct civilisation against the forces which might break it down—the mixture of blood on the one hand and industrial competition on the other. He fears that his economic standard of living would be lowered by any form of competition on equal terms.

These are only so many additional reasons for looking at the whole question sympathetically from the settlers' point of view. But they are also reasons for not looking at it from the point of view of the settler only. They show how overwhelmingly difficult it is for him to judge any question from the point of view of the Native, or from the point of view of an impartial arbiter between the Native and himself. He is immensely important as a witness in the case; he is quite inadmissible as a judge.

## THE TANGLED WEB

### *How Exploitation Works.*

I have spoken of "exploitation." It is now necessary to pursue a little further the concrete details with which we have to deal. It is not a question of "forced labour" in the legal sense of the term. That is indeed an important subject, but it forms but a small part of our problem. It is dealt with very fully in the Convention recently drawn up under the auspices of the International Labour Organisation at Geneva. It takes two forms—labour imposed by the central administration, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, for public works such as railways; and labour imposed, nominally by Native local chiefs, but often in reality by the Government, which has these chiefs in its pay, for local purposes, including roads and portorage. But forced labour covers but a small proportion of the whole ground. The question under discussion is a far wider one—the general question of the means by which the African is made to work for the White man on terms which he would not readily accept, if he were a perfectly free agent, bargaining on equal terms.

It is necessary to emphasise this point,

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

because the apologists for "White settlement," as at present practised, are apt to assume that they have completely answered all the charges of their critics if they can show that "forced labour," in the narrower sense, is but sparingly used. This, even if true, by no means disposes of the question.

The various methods of causing the African to work are not, of course, all put into force at the same moment. They are applied in various proportions, according to local needs.

(1) First and foremost, the Native population is deprived of its land. A portion is restored to it in the form of "Reserves" or "Locations," but in too small a quantity to maintain the population, so that a larger or smaller number of Natives are compelled to go out to work for Europeans.

(2) The power and influence of Government officials, acting sometimes through chiefs who are paid by the Government and are therefore under its thumb, are frequently used to apply pressure in the same direction—euphemistically described as "encouragement," "inducement," or "advice."

(3) The African is subjected to direct taxa-



## THE TANGLED WEB

tion, for which he cannot procure the necessary cash without wage-labour.

(4) The balance is weighted against Native producers in such matters as railway rates, customs duties, or State subsidies (preference being given in these respects to the settlers' production), and in the use of State agricultural and veterinary services.

(5) Breach of a labour contract is made a criminal offence. The offender is tracked down by the police, the process being facilitated by the obligation to carry identification papers, with a labour record made by the employer.

### *Indirect Compulsion to Work*

It is constantly contended that the East African settlers have no desire whatever to use this kind of method as a means of securing the labour that they need. In view of this contention, the evidence given before the Native Labour Commission (Kenya) in 1912-13 is illuminating. Settler after settler came before the Commission and demanded, in the most precise manner, that the Natives should be forced out of the "Reserves" to work for wages, by one or more of three methods: (a) reducing the area of their land so that

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

they should not have enough to support them; (b) increasing the taxes so that they could not pay without working for wages; and (c) pressure by Government officials. The principles urged at that time are still acted on to-day, though, fortunately, to a much smaller extent. Thus, as an example of Government encouragement, a declaration made by the Acting Governor of Kenya (*East African Standard*, 14th March 1925) may be quoted:—

“There is the strongest possible moral obligation on the Government of the country to give the fullest assistance it can in securing to the European settler in this country the benefit of the developments which he has created to the lasting advantage of the colony. I wish to make it perfectly clear that such is the policy of the administration, and that Government expects every administrative officer to give all possible encouragement to the labour within their district to work on the lands which have been opened up by the settlers.”

As regards the use of taxation for the same purpose, “A popular theory,” says *The Times* correspondent (9th March 1925), “is that the native taxation should be increased, the argument being that the more money the native is forced to earn for the State, the longer he will have to work.”

## *THE TANGLED WEB*

Coming back to the broader aspect of the problem, we can see more clearly the real significance of the exploitation to which I referred at the outset. So long as the African had access to the land, and was saved from poverty by the simplicity of his needs—and so long as compulsion, direct or indirect, was not exercised—no effective system of exploitation by wage-labour was possible. If he was not satisfied with his wages and conditions, he could return to a life of tribal agriculture and still support himself and his dependants. But over large areas of Africa this state of affairs no longer exists. It is no longer true that there is a free choice between wage-labour and the Native system of agriculture. Where there is no such choice, there one thing is certain; the actual wages and conditions are no test, no index, of what he would willingly accept, if the bargain between himself and his employer were a really free one.

## CHAPTER III

### THE SOLUTION

WHERE circumstances vary so much as they do in our African Empire, it is obvious that any principles laid down for the conduct of our administration must be of a very general character. We shall be justly blamed, however, if we are not prepared to lay down such principles and to face the challenge: "How would you carry out your policy in practice?"

Certain principles which should underlie all colonial government are that, after careful land survey, sufficient land should be allotted to the Natives for their present and future needs; that they should be made absolutely secure in the possession of this land; that land should only be leased to non-Africans on short leases, and that the unrestricted right of the Natives should be recognised to purchase land outside the Reserves upon the same terms as those applied to Europeans.

Native production should be regarded as of

## *THE SOLUTION*

equal importance with settler production. The Native should receive as much help as the settler from the resources of the State, and there should be no discrimination against his produce. Forced labour should be prohibited, except for local traditional purposes of public utility, and should then only be demanded in return for payment. Forced unpaid labour on roads should cease. The supply of labour to individual settlers should have no place in the duties of Government officials.

There should be an equitable incidence of taxation, according to ability to pay, and the taxation of the Native should not be so high as to force him out of his Reserve in order to earn the necessary money. The Natives should receive an adequate return for the taxes which they pay, and should not be left to feel that they are paying for the enrichment of the non-African community. Railways and public works should be planned with due regard for the Native populations.

### *The Problem of Government*

The Hilton Young Commission (Cmd. 3234, 1929) has rightly pointed out that the hardest

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

practical problem of statesmen to-day is how to design political institutions for a colony in which permanently settled communities, of British and other nationalities, have been established among vastly preponderant Native populations.

Where there are no such communities, the problem of colonial government, though difficult and complicated in the extreme, is simple when compared with that created by the immediate juxtaposition of Black and White in considerable numbers.

The best solution yet devised, in spite of all the criticisms that have been levelled against it, is the "Crown Colony" system of government in the British Empire, as developed through the past century, under the tutelage of the Colonial Office. Much ridicule has been thrown upon its alleged aloofness, ignorance, and want of sympathy with White colonists. But it must be remembered that it attempts to solve a problem for which it is impossible to find a perfect solution. I believe that no better means has yet been devised for securing fair administration. It is extremely elastic, as the vast variety of constitutions in the present-day Empire clearly shows. The representation

## *THE SOLUTION*

of White opinion can be allowed weight in proportion to its varying numerical importance.

The alternative is that a process of White representation should be set in motion, designed to end in a legislature responsible to a White electorate, and an executive responsible to that legislature—in other words, in the domination of the tiny White population over the Native population.

The Report of the Hilton Young Commission, which is the most authoritative recent pronouncement on these problems, contains a valuable analysis of the dangers of vesting powers of responsible government in a small White community. The Report, which condemns a proposal for an elected majority of Whites as bound to lead to full self-government for Whites only, says:—

“As individuals, the British settlers in Kenya are in no way inferior in integrity or in their sense of justice to the officials, and indeed would compare favourably with any body of men in the Empire. The difficulty lies in the fact that they constitute only one class in the community, and the question which we have to consider is whether it is a good form of government that political power should be concentrated in the hands of a single class, whose interests

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

may at times be in conflict with the interests of other classes. . . . Their interests may come into conflict with those of the natives in regard to land. They are, as a class, employers dependent on the natives, as a class, for labour. They may have different interests in the incidence of taxation. They are not in a position to take the same detached view of questions in which their personal interests are involved."

"Tutelage" under the Colonial Office must for a considerable time be maintained. But it is important to recognise that the ultimate ideal to be progressively and deliberately realised is not responsible government for the Whites only, but real self-government, in which all the sections of the community would share. It must be recognised, however, that the fulfilment of this ideal is at present remote, and can only come after education has spread and representation of Natives on the legislative bodies has become general.

One of the factors in the American Revolution of 1776 was the discontent of the American frontiersmen with the difficulties put in their way by the British Government when they wished to appropriate the land of the Red Indians. Like some of the White settlers to-day, they wanted self-government, so that they might not be restricted in their dealings



## THE SOLUTION

with the Native population. This confirms, as far as it goes, the views expressed at the time by no less a man than Dr Johnson. It is interesting to recall that, at a time when many Friends were still slaveholders, Dr Johnson was consistently raising his voice against slavery; and when the question arose of self-government for the American colonists, he opposed it on the ground that these colonists were asserting, not the principle of liberty, but the right to oppress the Blacks in their midst. "How is it," he said, "that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?"

### *The "Equal Rights" Doctrine*

While, in the words of the British Government's Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa (Cmd. 3573, 1929), "persons of every race and of every religion have a right to equal treatment in accordance with their several needs," there exists nevertheless a need for special safeguards for the Native communities "not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world." While all adverse discrimination must cease,

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

and in that sense equal rights, both political and economic, must be established for all sections of the community, the weakness of the Native places him in a position where he requires special care. Until he is able, thanks to the benefits of education, to guard his own interests from attack, we must fulfil our duty as trustees, and regard his interests as paramount, in the sense of being the first charge on the territory concerned. This I take to be the meaning of the much-abused term "paramountcy."

Subject to this consideration, and to the need of developing Native councils of a local character, the ideal of ultimate equality in the political as well as in the other spheres must always be kept in view. The backwardness of many tribes at present may make this ideal seem remote, and some may think it unnecessary, or even dangerous, to assert it. But there is far greater danger in allowing it to be forgotten. A Manifesto on the Franchise in the Cape Province of South Africa, issued by the Archbishop of Cape Town, Sir James Rose-Innes (late Chief-Justice), and many other leading men, states the case with striking force:—

## THE SOLUTION

“The Cape legislation has never recognised any distinction of colour or race in the fundamentals of liberty. . . . The importance of the Cape system is that it opens to the developed native the door to full citizenship in his own country. . . . There is no other path to safety.” (*Times*, 18th March 1929.)

The “Statement of the Conclusions of H.M. Government in the U.K. as regards Closer Union in East Africa” (Cmd. 3574, 1929) applied the Equal Rights doctrine as follows:—

“The goal of constitutional evolution, in Kenya as elsewhere, is admittedly responsible government by a Ministry representing an electorate in which every section of the population finds an effective and adequate voice.”

And again:—

“With regard to the franchise for the Legislative Council of Kenya, His Majesty’s Government are of the opinion that the establishment of a common roll is the object to be aimed at and attained, with an equal franchise of a civilisation or education character open to all races.”

It may be added that the civilisation or education test would admit so small a number at first, that the fear of “swamping” on the part of the White electorate seems quite unfounded. On the other hand, though the number of

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

Native voters would be small for many years to come, the essential claim would be conceded—that the terms of admission should be precisely the same for all, independently of colour.

These principles are, indeed, simply the logical working out of the declaration made by Mr Winston Churchill in 1921:—

“There is only one ideal that the British Empire can set before itself in this regard, and that is that there should be no barrier of race, colour, or creed which should prevent any man by merit from reaching any station if he is fitted for it.”

The Native policy of the British Government has now been embodied in the “Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa.” This document grapples seriously with the application of principles which had hitherto only been stated in a general form. It has provoked a storm of indignation and protest from the upholders of the old order. There is a feeling in the air that the problem is passing from the stage of words to the stage of deeds. It is a State Paper of historic significance.

## THE SOLUTION

### *The South African Policy*

General Hertzog, the Prime Minister of South Africa, at a dinner given in honour of the Dominion Prime Ministers and Ministers attending the Imperial Conference (1930), maintained that the policy pursued in East Africa would affect the interests of the Europeans in other parts of Africa. He vehemently protested, therefore, against the "Equal Rights" doctrine laid down in the British Government's "Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa" (Cmd. 3573). We have reason to be glad if our policy does react so directly as he maintained on that of the South African Dominion. We see in South Africa the Natives induced to come out of the Native areas in vast numbers to work for the White man, whether in the mine or on the land. And when the Native, thus detribalised, wishes to share in the benefits and rights of the new civilisation, he finds his progress barred by legislation. Economically, he is kept down and restricted; industrially, his development is limited by colour-bar enactments; in education and in social opportunity, his prospects are hampered at every turn, and, finally, the

### *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

full privileges of citizenship are denied him. The policy of South Africa towards the Native may be regarded as a warning. We see there what happens when the African's right to be regarded as a human being, with all the needs and all the potentialities of a human being, are denied.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT

I HAVE said little hitherto of that public opinion on which, in the last resort, the nature of our treatment of Native Races must necessarily depend. Vague and intangible, it is nevertheless the guiding factor in the broad movement of events. The most noteworthy recent development in this public opinion is that, from being a separate and more or less national force originating in the so-called "mother-country" of each Colonial Empire, it is beginning to take the form also of an international force. There is already a world opinion embodying the sense of world responsibility. The League of Nations has provided the framework for the growth of this idea. The Mandates Commission, and the work of the International Labour Organisation on questions such as Forced Labour, are giving it body and shape, year by year.

The great difficulty that stands in the way

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

is the deep-rooted conception of national sovereignty—far deeper, as yet, than the relatively new motive of international solidarity. Originally applied to homogeneous national States, with a considerable equality of education among the citizens, leading to a common consciousness, this conception has been extended, by long habit, to colonial Empires, to which it is not really applicable at all.

### *The Theory of Empire*

This conception of sovereignty is wholly inappropriate to a State, such as the British or the French Empire, which includes in one unit an advanced industrial Western country and every grade of "backward race" as well. The true theory of colonial government recognises the fact that the "backward" portions of the world should be developed for the world in general. For some years to come, the White Races will take the lead in this. Whether justly or not, they are, in fact, in possession, and have the responsibility. But they should develop the regions concerned for something more than their own benefit, or even that of the Native inhabitants of the territories concerned.



## *THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT*

It follows from this that the right principle of advance is that of increasing internationalisation. If the responsibility of the White Races as a whole towards the weaker races as a whole—the sense of the solidarity between us all—is constantly present at the back of our minds, it will undoubtedly lead in this direction. The principle of trusteeship, embodied in the League Covenant and the League Mandates, will be extended in range, so that it will be accepted not only in a few arbitrarily selected places, but in all the “backward” regions which are now governed by Imperial Powers. This view of Empire will also lead to greater co-operation between the White Races themselves, in place of the bitter rivalries which have hitherto been the main feature of imperial expansion. Important declarations on these lines were made by the “Copec” Conference in 1924, and the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council in 1928, which both strongly supported a greater degree of international control in the sphere of Native policy.

If this be the true theory of “Empire”—if the special gain of the mother-country, or even of the White settlers on the spot, be ruled out

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

as a guiding principle—then why should any State desire to possess an “Empire” at all? The answer can only be “Why, indeed?” The main reasons which have actuated men in the past in the direction of “Empire” are now being more and more exposed to view as either immoral, or logically fallacious, or practically unconvincing. An imperialist writer has lately published a book, *The Empire in Eclipse*. But it is not a question of this or that Empire being in eclipse. The very notion of Empire itself is in eclipse. Both the word and the thought are out of date. The conception of Empire is destined to merge into the conception of a world responsibility which, from every selfish point of view, we should wish to avoid altogether, but which must be undertaken, through the League of Nations, for the good of the whole.

### *The Danger of Racial Antagonism*

If thought on these subjects had not been so crude and primitive, the problems of colonial government would have been the very ones to lead men’s minds in the direction of internationalism. For it is the rivalry between the colonial Empires that has been, at any rate

## *THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT*

in modern times, the most fruitful of all causes of war. I would go so far as to say, that every war between great States in the last half-century has been traceable to such rivalries. This is explained by the fact that the backward and undeveloped portions of the earth present a field of expansion and exploitation in which no test of established right exists, and in which, therefore, there seems nothing to fall back upon but the "right" of the stronger to take and use for himself. At the present time the greatest danger to Peace is probably the belief held in great industrial States that, if they do not possess a close preserve in the shape of colonial territories, they will be shut out from essential markets, and deprived of essential raw materials. Hence the vital importance of Free Trade, and of the "Open Door," from the international point of view.

### *The Conception of Human Equality*

Over against the misunderstandings and fears, the pervading exploitation, the spirit of dominance, relieved by bursts of ill-considered generosity, it is our business to set a very simple conception—that of human equality in

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

its broadest aspect. The real basis of what we have tried to indicate as the true policy is simply this conception—the idea, that is to say, that the Native is not a being belonging to a different world than ours. The growth of interest in anthropology is all to the good, but there is a danger that it may lead us to contemplate the Native of Africa mainly as an interesting specimen. “This unique and wonderful being,” we say to one another, “can we possibly understand his mentality?” The safest policy is to go straight to the point—treat him as a man like ourselves, and see what happens. All the best evidence suggests, at any rate, that he is not placed on the other side of an impassable gulf. Primitive he may be, childish he may be, but there is no fundamental difference of gifts. The differences between us, infinitely varied as they are, are, at bottom, differences of opportunity, differences of environment.

Dr Friedrich Hertz of Vienna, in his remarkable work, *Race and Civilisation* (Kegan Paul, 1928), produces overwhelming evidence in support of his thesis that the differences between one section of the world's inhabitants and another are due to distinctions,

## THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT

not of race, but of environment and opportunity.

### *The Progress of the African*

A convenient summary of the position is to be found in the admirable Report of the Hilton Young Commission. On the question whether the people of Africa are capable of progress the Commissioners wrote:—

“The present backwardness of African races is capable of explanation by causes, both physical and social, which need not persist. . . . That the Bantu peoples are capable of producing natural leaders of marked ability, preserving gifts of organisation and statesmanship, is shown by the history of such chiefs as Moshesh, Lobengula, Lewanika, and Khama. The progress of the negro race in America in the half-century since their emancipation has, within certain limits, been remarkable. In South Africa 14,000 natives have gained admission to the electoral roll in Cape Colony. In West Africa the natives are already taking an important share in the political development of the country. Apart from the highly developed native political and administrative organisations in Northern Nigeria, the Legislative Councils in the Gold Coast and Nigeria contain native representatives. . . .”

Finally, even in Eastern and Central Africa, “within a generation there will be thousands of natives . . . able to read and speak English, and to

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

absorb ideas through books and through the press, and a very much larger number receiving new ideas through the medium of Swahili.”

To the above list of leaders we may undoubtedly add the name of Dr Aggrey. He stands out as a great figure, by whatever test one may judge him; his biography (*Aggrey of Africa*, 1929), by Mr Edwin Smith, is a striking record of great and beneficent human activities. Such men as Professor Jabavu, of Fort Hare College, South Africa, make an impression of outstanding moral force. And anyone who has seen Paul Robeson play Othello must have felt that there are no achievements in the artistic and imaginative spheres to which the African might not attain.

### *The Religious Basis*

Curiously enough, the doctrine of fundamental human equality was not challenged on any scientific grounds in the days of the Anti-Slavery struggle. It has only been challenged in recent years by the growth of a pseudo-scientific doctrine of racial distinction and racial superiority. This latter doctrine is really founded—if it can be said to have any solid basis at all—upon the fear of economic

## THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT

competition and lowered standards of living, and the need of justifying White domination. It usually goes side by side with the narrowest kind of nationalism, and a profound contempt for individual freedom and the democratic ideal.

The almost inexplicable strength of the Anti-Slavery Movement of a century ago was due to the fact that it rested upon a religious basis, which was, at the same time, a sound scientific basis. The main living force behind it was the Evangelical Movement. To the religious men and women who supported it with so much enthusiasm and persistence, the Black man was, first and foremost, a person "for whom Christ died." Some may think that the form of thought has become antiquated; the essential point, from the point of view of Native policy, is that this form implied the recognition of the Native as a man fundamentally like ourselves. Friends, accepting this view, and believing, as George Fox says in his *Journal*, that one should "walk cheerfully over the world, answering that of God in every man," quite naturally and simply endeavoured to "answer that of God" in the human being, whatever his colour. They looked upon the

## THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA

Native, not as if he were merely a weaker creature to be kind and good to, but as one who had a right, like the rest of us, to the development of his personality.

Charles Lamb, in the *Essays of Elia*, quotes more than once the old phrase of Fuller—"images of God cut in ebony." To him there was something attractive in its quaintness.

"I have felt yearnings of tenderness towards some of these faces—or rather masks—that have looked out kindly upon one in casual encounters in the streets and highways."

But to those inspired by the Evangelical Movement, the phrase was a simple and straightforward description of the fact that the Black man was made in the image of God.

This vital truth is being increasingly recognised to-day, not as a mere theory to be accepted with the lips, but as something to be acted on, something to be made a guide for practical policy. The modern missionary movement has raised it to a new position of prominence and emphasis in its outlook upon Native problems. The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, in 1928, spoke in the name of all the Protestant missionary bodies when it declared that Christian



## *THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT*

forces are bound to work for "educational, religious, and other facilities designed to enable all alike to enjoy equality of social, political, and economic opportunity." The Conference did not confine itself to vague generalisations. It urged the desirability, when peoples of different colour or race live side by side in the same country, of taking steps "to establish the utmost practicable equality in such matters as the right to enter and follow all occupations and professions, the right of freedom of movement and other rights before civil and criminal law, and the obtaining and exercise of the functions of citizenship, subject always to such general legislation as, without discriminating between men on ground of colour and race, may be necessary to maintain the social and economic standards of the community as a whole."

### *Our Responsibility*

The Lambeth Conference of Bishops (1930), representing the Episcopal Churches of all countries, carried the matter defiantly into the sphere of practical policy when it laid down, among other things, that "the ruling of one race by another can only be justified from the

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

Christian standpoint when . . . admission (of the subject race) to an increasing share in the government of the country is the objective steadfastly pursued." Perhaps it is more significant still that the Episcopal Synod of the Church of South Africa, in an official statement on Native Policy, declared (January 1930) that

"the duty of preparing its people of every race and colour, through education and every other uplifting influence, for fuller exercise of the responsibilities of citizenship, is one which no Christian nation can ignore. . . . Every man, of whatever race or colour, is of definite worth in the sight of God. . . . But if this is true, no follower of Christ can, without the gravest presumption, thwart or check the progress of even the least of God's children, nor deny to them the opportunity for the fullest development of which they are capable."

Utterances like these, expressing as they do the experience and conviction of a younger generation of missionaries, have aroused misgivings in the minds of settlers and officials of the old school of thought. They feel that, in spite of its dependence upon Government for educational grants, the missionary movement must in future be regarded as a potential source of independent criticism, and even of opposition to official policy.

## *THE WORLD-WIDE ASPECT*

The problem is difficult: the issues are many and confused. But the more one studies them, the clearer it becomes that the pursuit of short-sighted, selfish motives leads to disillusionment and disaster. The belief in the need for a new policy is not confined to those who have been critics in the past; it is beginning to permeate those people who, but a few years ago, were perfectly satisfied with the accepted methods.

Where can such a policy be found? It is my belief that the spirit of love and co-operation between human beings is not only applicable to what is known as practical politics, but is indeed the only solution of our admitted difficulties. At first sight, such is the force of tradition, this may seem a wild dream. But when we consider the actual problems which have to be faced, and when we seek the best means of handling them, it is seen to be the best, and indeed the only way.

We at home have each one of us a definite responsibility in the matter. It is the Home Government, and the people of Great Britain who place and maintain it in power, upon whom, in the last resort, the responsibility rests for seeing that justice is done to the dumb, unrepresented millions of tropical Africa.

## *THE RACE PROBLEM IN AFRICA*

It is the laziness and indifference of the electorate—in other words, of ourselves—which must bear the blame, if our administration is made the cat's-paw of short-sighted economic interests. It is by our attitude to this question, far more than by our attitude to many others which bulk larger in the public eye, that we shall be judged at the bar of history.

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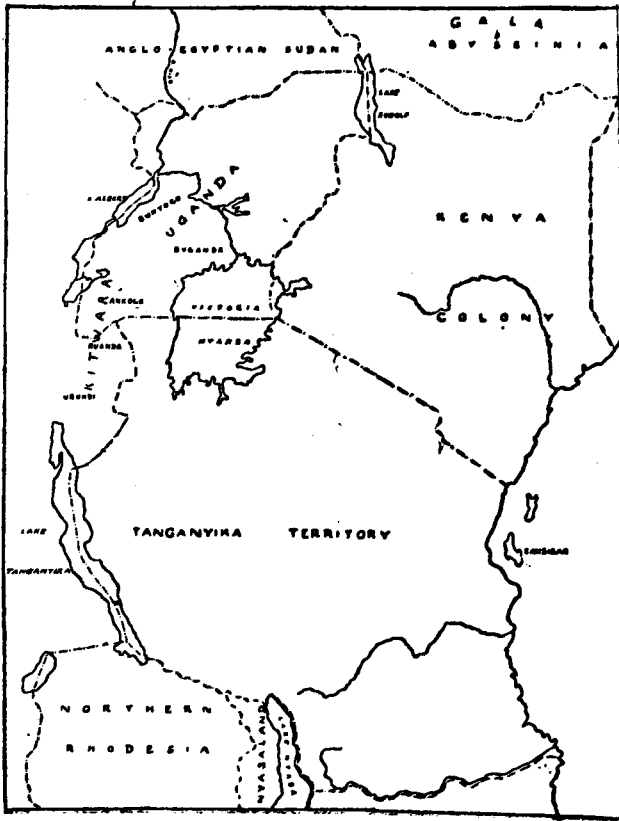
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# THE EAST AFRICAN PROBLEM

BY

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"People of the Small Arrow," etc*

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## CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
PROLEGOMENA	13
CHAPTER ONE	
AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE CONTACT OF CULTURES IN AFRICA	15
CHAPTER TWO	
NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE DEDUCTIONS	44
CHAPTER THREE	
THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT	77

## PROLEGOMENA

Europe regards its African possessions not as provinces but as commercial enterprises.—BISMARCK.

Science must make Africa safe for the white man to live in.—PROFESSOR JAN. H. HOFMEYER.

Sit no longer blind, O Lord, deaf to our prayer, dumb to our dumb suffering. Surely thou too, O Lord, art not also white.—AMERICAN NEGRO'S LITANY.

The said Yncas governed in such a way, that in all the land neither a thief, nor a vicious man, nor a bad dishonest woman was known. The men all had honest and profitable employment. The woods and mines and all kinds of property were so divided that each man knew what belonged to him, and there were no law-suits. The Yncas were feared, obeyed, and respected by their subjects as a race very capable of governing. But we took away their land, and placed it under the government of Spain, and made them subjects. Your Majesty must understand that my reason for making this statement is to relieve my conscience, for we have destroyed this people by our bad examples. Crimes were once so little known among them that an Indian with one hundred thousand pieces of gold and silver in his house left it open, only placing a little stick across the door as a sign that the master was out, and nobody went in. But when they saw that we placed locks and keys on our doors, they understood that it was from fear of thieves, and

when they saw that we had thieves amongst us, they despised us. All this I tell your Majesty to discharge my conscience of a weight that I may no longer be a party to these things. And I pray God to pardon me, for I am the last to die of all the discoverers and conquerors, as it is notorious that there are none left but me in this land or out of it, and therefore I now do what I can to relieve my conscience.—MARCIO SERRA DE LEJESAMA, his true confession and protestation in the hour of death.

I believe that white settlement in Africa is but a ripple on the sands of Time; that the future map of Africa will be coloured Black and that we shall be submerged as a white speck in a Black ocean. I trust that as Greece left us a legacy of Beauty, and Rome gave us the heritage of a great system of law, so we may leave behind a few gleams of white light to illumine the dark races of Africa long after our Empire shall have passed away for ever. . . . We stand at the parting of ways littered with past failures to find a just solution of the relations between Black and White; it is for us to blaze a new trail for opening up a civilisation which will confer justice, happiness and contentment on the native tribes of Africa.—J. A. CABLE, in evidence on the Native Lands Trust Bill before the Select Committee, Nairobi, in 1928.

There shall not be in the eye of the law any distinction of persons or disqualification of colour, origin, language, or creed; but the protection of the law in letter and in substance shall be extended to all alike.—Proclamation of QUEEN VICTORIA.

# THE EAST AFRICAN PROBLEM

## CHAPTER ONE

### AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF THE CONTACT OF CULTURES IN AFRICA

#### EMPLOYMENT OF GIRLS, CENTRAL KAVIRONDO

Mr. Rennie Smith asked the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he has yet received a Report upon the allegation that gangs of girls from the ages of 10 to 16 years were called out for the collection of thatching material in the North Gem area of Central Kavirondo, involving some of them in a daily journey of 30 miles; and what action he proposes to take in the matter?

Mr. Lunn: Yes, Sir. My noble friend is informed by the Acting Governor of Kenya that an official native headman illegally ordered gangs of girls to collect and carry thatching grass for use in the construction of certain rest-houses which were being built by the Local Native Council of Central Kavirondo District for the accommodation of elders of the tribe. This was done without the knowledge of the District Commissioner and in spite of the fact that the headman well knew that orders had been issued prohibiting the compulsory employment of women. As soon as the matter came to the knowledge of the District Commissioner, he gave the headman immediately explicit instructions to pay off the women, and to complete the work with paid male labour.

*Parliamentary Debates, 40, 24.7.29.*

Every sermon must have its text, and though its relevance may not be immediately apparent we shall have to recur to our text more than once before we are finished. It is not that the incident is of great intrinsic importance: for its chief

importance lies in the mental attitude which it reveals rather than in the concrete question of fact to which Mr. Smith objected. In the first place we find a comfortable assurance that even trivial details of administration are watched with a zeal for native welfare. That is satisfactory. But what is disconcerting is that this jealous solicitude for our native wards is not informed with that knowledge which should guarantee them the best guardianship. Despite equalitarian heresies we still continue to believe that there is a vocational barrier between men and women, and this belief when applied to primitive peoples (among whom the barrier is far more precise and rigid) is apt to take the form of imputing exploitation or at least hardship whenever there is a conflict with our own customs. Manual labour of this sort is not, with us, associated with women, and we accordingly assume that in no society should women be called upon to perform such work. Unfortunately for sentimental theorists the distribution of labour cannot be defined for all communities by reference to our own custom. Different requirements, due to the interaction of culture and environment, preclude any possibility of a uniform pattern of social adjustments. What work women do or may not do in England is no criterion of what women do or may not do in Africa. Procrustes did not offer a solution, but an expedient.

Though we find a certain comfort in our text, therefore, though we see in it a sincere attempt to do the best we can for our wards, we are depressed that as trustees we have not the one necessary qualification which a trustee should have, and without which, even granting benevolence, integrity and a high moral sense, the best endeavours are bound to prove futile or dangerous. That qualification is, of course, knowledge. We know little or nothing about our wards, and any steps which we take to ensure their protection or development are taken blindly and at haphazard. We have no formulated policy, because without this knowledge we are not in a position to formulate one. We blunder ahead with the best intentions in the world, but deny to ourselves—and incidentally to our wards—just those guiding principles which anthropology alone can give us. To return to our text, the reply to Mr. Smith might have been that among the Kavirondo the collection of grass for thatching is definitely women's work, and that the levy was a tribal obligation justly demanded and willingly conceded. An anthropologist would go on to say that no single social act can be completely separated from the complex of activities which bind a tribe together, and that a derangement in one direction is likely to lead to more serious maladjustments. He would point out that since labour is so

organized that for centuries grass-cutting has been traditionally woman's work, while men have more arduous and (in their estimation) more honourable employment, men would consider it a slur on their manhood that they should be asked to do this (to them) ignoble duty: that what is a legal obligation on women is an illegal exaction from men: that to tamper with tribal custom in this direction may lead to all sorts of complications in other directions, unsuspected by the uninformed. He might point out that among many tribes grass has a special sanctity as being the food of cattle, and that men, who are the cattle herds, are therefore prohibited on religious grounds from cutting grass under penalty of injury to their cattle. The implications of this simple act are almost unlimited, and the governor or the politician must have this information at his disposal before he can give a satisfactory opinion on the subject. If with this information at his disposal and realising the vast social implications of an apparently unrelated action the trustee still thinks that reform is advisable, that becomes another matter: he does it with his eyes open: he knows that there will be definite repercussions and is prepared to meet them: he believes that the ensuing modifications in its social structure will be to the ultimate benefit of the tribe: he makes the change knowingly and as the result of a considered



policy based on an appreciation of all the factors.

This instance, petty as it may seem to many, is an excellent example of the benefit which an anthropological survey would confer on our government of less cultured or differently cultured peoples. Such a survey, and only such a survey, would at once enable the Government to formulate a "native policy" and a rational policy of education. There are two ways of developing primitive peoples, and there can be few who doubt which way is better. One is the enforced superimposition of an alien culture: the other is an assimilation, largely spontaneous, an organic growth which based on tradition and rooted in the past will eventually blossom into a new culture, neither purely native, nor purely alien, but preserving what it is most desirable to preserve of each. The former way may seem quicker, but it must inevitably prove sterile and impermanent: the latter will have the slow and steady growth consistent with biological necessity.

This business of assimilation or superimposition, of adaptation or submission, is the crux of the whole question, and it is just here, at the most crucial point, that anthropology can be most helpful. For the anthropologist, having secured the data, can show in what direction any grafting process is most likely to succeed without destroy-

ing the original fabric of native society: he can predict with some certainty what effect any innovation can have on existing institutions: he replaces reckless intuitions and hazardous surmises by scientifically ascertained and correlated facts: he it is who offers, or should offer, to the statesman all those data by which a complete, stable and comprehensive policy can be determined. He is not an arbiter of the future, as many profess to fear, but a seer of the past: not a visionary, but a very practical realist: he does not offer new lamps for old, but shows how the old may be refurbished: his alchemy is not a transmutation, but a permutation.

Growth and progress demand some stimulus. The history of progress is a history of quiescence punctuated by clashes of culture. Without these external stimuli there would be no incentive to cultural development. This is so obvious as to be commonplace. Nevertheless whenever a clash of cultures arises we are apt to forget that contact is a natural affair. Carried away by the polemics of the moment we think that this particular crisis, whatever or wherever it may be, is unique. The clash of cultures in East Africa, for instance, finds us wallowing helplessly in a sea of ignorance, devoid of landmarks or compass bearings. We try first this expedient, then that: we experiment in one direction, then in another. And all the time

very sure clues are at our disposal: for cultural contacts are as old as culture and the crisis which confronts us now is of all crises the oldest, the most natural and the most imperative. In every case the solution of the conflict has been found in one of two ways, since no other way is ever possible, either in subjugation or in assimilation and rational adaptation.

Africa has passed through many such crises and it will be worth our while to see what lessons the past may hold for us in this matter. One might, for example, study the migration of the conquering Azande from West Africa to the Nile and see how they solved the contactual difficulties which they encountered and the process by which they eliminated them. But a far better subject lies to our hand in a cultural crisis of the fifteenth century, which affected the lake regions of Africa. This is a better example because in the first place the opposing cultures were very violently contrasted, and in the second because the conquering culture was forced by circumstances beyond its control to solve the problem in two different ways. Now four centuries later we are in a position to estimate the effects of this contact and to observe the relative cultural values of each solution. It is not unlikely that an examination of this event may hold some valuable lessons for us at the present juncture.

In the fifteenth century a primitive Bantu population was settled in the vicinity of the great lakes. (There were also a few pygmies, but they do not enter into the question and may be disregarded.) They possessed a certain amount of livestock, short-horned cattle, sheep and goats, but were primarily an agricultural people, cultivating cereals and leguminous crops after a desultory fashion. They were also skilful and ardent hunters and trappers, and had developed certain arts to a considerable degree of excellence, notably pottery and basketwork. We know little about their social and political organization at that period, but certainly they were broken up into a number of tribes, few if any of which possessed a paramount chief. Each tribe was divided into a number of clans, and at the head of each clan was a clan chief responsible for the clan lands and for the discharge of religious duties towards the clan ancestors. The political relations between clans were very loose and we only know of a few instances of a clan hero acquiring a tribal importance. There was in consequence little organization for war and no central authority in each tribe to correlate defence. Much less was there any cohesion between tribes, and as the primary economic interests of all these tribes were agricultural, they had little incentive to war, while there was more than a sufficiency of fertile soil for the compara-

tively sparse population of that date. Even the names by which these Bantu tribes were then known are lost to us.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the lake region was invaded by Hamites, who came from the North and settled between Lake Victoria and Lake Edward. Since the middle of the fifteenth century a wave of restlessness had been breaking over north-eastern Africa: whatever its origin—it may have been ultimately due to Portuguese activities on the east coast—this restlessness had started a ferment among the Gala peoples of Abyssinia: it started the Shilluk on their long wanderings northwards and brought a series of Gala emigrants westwards and then southwards till they invaded the fertile highlands to the west of Lake Victoria. These emigrants necessarily belonged to the warrior class, but being definitely emigrants and not a casual raiding party they took their cattle with them. For the Gala were then, as now, a pastoral people and the long-horned oxen which they introduced to the lake regions still bear their name. These Gala settlers belonged to a pastoral, democratic people, who though federated for war had no permanent political head. They were governed in early times by local chiefs and elders, but since the beginning of the sixteenth century by a system of associations with what, for want of a better term, we may call

two presidents elected for periods of eight years. The settlers, however, had either left their country before the new system was developed or for certain constitutional reasons which we need not now consider were unable to carry this system to their new homes. Nevertheless, whichever system of government was then in vogue, they may correctly be described as democratically minded.

This in itself is an interesting point, as it shows how a cultural contact may be two-sided in its effects. We shall note how these democratic herdsmen became the aristocrats of the lake regions. But first it should be made quite clear that both physically and culturally the invaders were in complete contrast with the Bantu inhabitants of the conquered area. The physical distinctions between Hamites and Bantu are unmistakable and are too well known to require comment. Culturally the main difference between the invaders and the Bantu occupying the invaded territory lay, as usual, in their economic activities. The invaders were herdsmen, who practised no agriculture and despised hunting as an ignoble art. They might occasionally hunt for sport, but never ate the meat of the animals which they killed. They were well organized for war and inured to military discipline. On the material side there were as big differences in details of costume,

weapons, cuisine and architecture. They brought with them their own religion, which again differed profoundly from that of the Bantu of that date.

Having arrived in the highlands which proved so desirable to a cattle-keeping people, the invaders deliberately occupied the country and established the kingdom of Kitwara, covering the area which we now know as Ruanda, Urundi and Ankole, from the three kingdoms into which the kingdom of Kitwara split at a later date. The local inhabitants were reduced to serfdom and the country was appropriated by the new-comers, much in the same way as we now declare all native territories to be Crown lands. A system of government was instituted which converted the erstwhile democratic herdsmen into a new aristocracy. Their newly acquired sense of prestige and the necessity for an organization to keep the serfs in proper subjection resulted in the establishment of a king and a royal family. Meanwhile a continual influx of settlers led to an extension of the kingdom of Kitwara to include Bunyoro and Buganda in the north, and other kingdoms of lesser importance on the south of the lake. To each of these new kingdoms a king was given from the royal house of Kitwara and each founded a separate dynasty loosely subordinate to the central authority. We can date the different kingdoms with considerable accuracy by the

genealogies of the present kings, and in the case of Buganda have corroborative evidence in the eclipse of 1680.

At this point a very significant change came over the fortunes of Kitwara. The flood of immigrants ceased, because communications with the Gala homeland were severed by the influx of other tribes into the intervening countries. The result of this was that complete colonisation only took place in the original kingdom of Kitwara, that is in Urundi, Ruanda and Ankole. Bunyoro was but partially colonised, and Buganda (a great deal of which was unsuitable for animal husbandry) was a mere frontier province held by military posts and a sprinkling of colonists.

We are now in a position to examine in greater detail the results of these cultural contacts. We shall find a complete contrast between Ankole and Buganda, with in Bunyoro a middle stage of development. This contrast is due to the various forms which the contact of cultures assumed in the different regions, and it is immaterial to our purpose whether the variation was due to the deliberate intention of the invaders or whether, as was in fact the case, it was caused by circumstances beyond the invaders' control. For whatever the cause, we shall find on the one hand indigenous institutions submerged, largely broken up and replaced by an alien culture: on the other the



indigenous culture assimilating and adapting the alien culture with which it was in conflict. Let it be remembered moreover that in both cases the indigenous culture was identical. We can, if we choose, go further and crossing the Nile may glance at the Bantu Kavirondo, who belonged to the same Bantu culture as that which came under the alien domination, but was untouched by that domination and has developed along independent lines. It is clear, therefore, that here we have very important material to guide us in the theory of colonial government; for we are able to examine the effects on one and the same people of independent growth and growth under two kinds of external stimulus. We are reproducing similar conditions to-day and it is reasonable to assume that the form which our cultural contact takes will determine the future of African societies along the same general lines as that earlier contact, the results of which are now before us.

Among the Ankole, the Hamitic invaders and the indigenous population have kept distinct. There has been complete linguistic assimilation owing to the fact that the Hamites were unable to bring many of their own women with them and had to take the local women to wife. In all other respects the separation has been complete and absolute. The invaders call themselves Hima, while the conquered Bantu are known as Iro,

which is said to be a Hamitic word meaning "serf".

The first thing which the invaders did was to usurp all the land. The Iro were not enslaved—there is a separate class of slaves, who consist of captives in war—but they were deprived of all political rights and were only allowed to cultivate land in return for tribute of agricultural products. They had no security of tenure and might be evicted at any time from the land which they cultivated. They were rarely allowed to possess cattle, and had to keep their Hima masters regularly supplied with grain and beer. Every Hima had a certain number of the serfs allocated to him (a chief might have as many as three hundred) and their services were at his disposal. This however was as much an administrative as an economic measure, as the Iro were at liberty to move from master to master and to change the locality of their dwellings. A chief, however, on migrating could compel his serfs to go with him to his new district. They had at all times to be under the administrative control of some Hima master and could never obtain exemption from paying their annual dues. The Iro were also the hunters, as well as the smiths, potters, and carpenters. Members of each craft were attached to the royal court, but while this service was compulsory they received generous recompense. They lived

(and still live) in small beehive huts of poor construction, scattered singly or in groups among their plantations.

The Hamitic invaders were originally nomads. The whole country was free to them and they could change their grazing grounds according to the seasons and their own convenience. None but they could own the long-horned humpless cattle which they had introduced. Nevertheless there were distinctions even among the Hima. Obviously there must have been a great wastage of cattle in the course of their migrations, and there arose a class of poor Hima. To a certain extent we may see here the same problem as has reproduced itself in South Africa—the problem of the superior culture, the poor whites and the servile indigenes. The wealthy Hima settled down and became no longer nomads, but sedentary villagers. Their villages are interesting, for they are obviously devised for protection against attack. They are usually built on a hill and are stockaded with strong fences of thorn or euphorbia, in which there is only one entrance for strangers and visitors, and two smaller entrances for the use of residents and those known to be their servants.

When the rich Hima settled down to a life of luxury such as they could never have visualised in their old homes, the poor Hima became the household servants and herdsmen of the rich,

and moved from place to place in charge of the cattle. There was, however, no real social cleavage between the poor and the rich Hima: it was an economic distinction only, carrying no social disabilities, and the poorest Hima could rise to a position of affluence, when he also would settle down as a member of the landed aristocracy. His employer always provided a poor Hima, not only with cattle of his own, but with a wife, and these gifts were irrevocable, even though at a later date the employee quitted his service, as he was fully entitled to do.

From these aristocratic Hima one clan segregated itself and became the royal clan. We may presume that the leader of the migration found that a successful termination of his enterprise had given him a peculiar position of authority and he consolidated this into an assumption of autocratic dominance. It is not to be supposed that an essentially democratic people would immediately assent to such an assumption of power: it is probable indeed that several generations passed before so complete a transformation occurred. But during that period of transition the system of inheritance which the invaders brought with them made it easy for power, once assumed, to be retained by one clan and even by a certain family in a clan: and the interaction of the two cultures was such that with the creation of an aristocracy

of wealth and culture associated with a servile population and with the emergence of the poor Hima problem there could eventually be but one natural outcome, the establishment of an absolute monarchy.

This ruler has become the centre of social and political life. His dominant position is given concrete expression by the royal residence, which is a large and elaborate structure, including a house for pages and about a hundred separate houses for his wives and entourage. He holds all the occupied land in trust and distributes estates to chiefs and superannuated pages. No cattle can be transferred out of the tribe without his sanction and he directs the proportion of bull-calves which herdsmen may slaughter. He delegates his autocratic powers to chiefs, who administer their respective districts on his behalf. These chiefs of course are always Hima, as no provision was ever made for the admission of Iro to political rights. Taxation is entirely in the hands of the ruler, and it should be noted that the Hima are taxed as well as the subjugated Iro. On the other hand, though the Iro contributed to taxation by tributes of grain and beer, the educational system did not embrace them, but was restricted to the children of Hima alone. Hima taxation consisted in a fixed number of cattle levied on every herd above fifty, and these cattle were largely expended on the

entertainment of royal guests, subsidies to poor Hima and the maintenance of children during their period of education. The only educative influence which the Iro experienced was quite unpremeditated and was confined to the craftsmen who were from time to time attached to the royal entourage.

We have seen that few of their own women accompanied the invaders and that they were forced to find wives among the women of the country. Nevertheless the rules of marriage were extremely strict. No Iro man could ever marry a Hima woman or even the half-caste daughter of a Hima, with the rare exception of an unmarried Hima mother, whom no Hima could possibly marry. Iro clans were left unimpaired by their conquerors and continued to regulate their marriages. Among the Hima marriage was also regulated by totemic clans, but princes of the royal house practised endogamous marriage, and economic necessity and exclusiveness conspired to make polyandrous marriages not uncommon among the Hima, though there has never been any trace of such unions among the Bantu Iro.

Destructive though they were on the economic side, the invaders left to the Iro their religious beliefs, while importing their own pantheon to serve their own specific needs. Thus the two sets of religious observances have continued to exist

side by side. The Hima rulers recognised that the native divinities were probably more potent where problems peculiar to the country were concerned and did not hesitate to adopt whatever beliefs might prove to be advantageous. Thus, having no rainmakers, they had to rely exclusively on the Iro rainmakers, who received generous gifts for their services both from Iro and Hima, and from the king himself. The Iro on their side also adopted the divinities of their conquerors, on the principle that it is always advisable to be on good terms with the supernatural world of those in power. In the adjacent and analogous kingdom of Ruanda the spiritual *rapprochement* was not so complete, but in Ankole the one aspect of culture which shows any sign of assimilation between the conquerors and the conquered is religion.

To sum up our survey of the Ankole, therefore, we find that the immigrant settlers made no real attempt to impart their culture to the local natives. They largely destroyed their economic life by depriving them of their land and prevented any possibility of development by depressing them to the status of serfs and allotting to them all the menial tasks. Education was reserved to the settlers and their system of administration was solely concerned with keeping a tight control over the subjected serfs. In actual fact they were not unduly oppressive and they did not much

worry what happened to the Iro so long as they did their duty and gave no trouble. They found them indispensable in certain directions, and this was sufficient to secure the Iro lenient, if not sympathetic, treatment. But the Hima did not introduce an atmosphere favourable to cultural development, and the rigid separation which they imposed, both social and economic, naturally reacted unfavourably on what was left of Iro culture after their subjection. That the Iro still continue to survive is a tribute to their vitality but they exhibit no sign of cultural growth as a result of their contact with the Hamites, but very definite signs of cultural decay.

The Baganda present us with a different picture. The earliest travellers were astonished at the amazing civilisation which they found existing in the heart of darkest Africa. Greater knowledge has only served to increase this early admiration. All competent observers concur in their estimate of the Baganda as a keen, intellectual, singularly gifted people. So strongly impressed was Sir Harry Johnston by their past achievements and future possibilities that he did not hesitate to compare them with the Japanese. The social structure which they have built up gives evidence of great shrewdness and political ability.

The Ankole kingdom was an autocracy, but of that shepherd-king, paternal quality which is



essentially uncreative. We have seen its effects on the indigenous Iro, which is all that concerns us here. The cognate Ruanda monarchy rose to a higher political eminence and shows greater constitutional development, but it also was based on the complete subjection of the conquered peoples, who had none but a helot's place in the constitution and show no cultural benefit as a result of contact with the higher civilisation. In Buganda the two elements were the same—the same indigenous Bantu and the same Hamitic incomers—but the admixture was different. The result was that there was assimilation instead of subjection, a blending of cultures, not a superimposition.

Buganda was one of the latest provinces to become incorporated into the empire of Kitwara. It has been sufficiently indicated that the geographical and climatic environment was not so completely favourable to animal husbandry as in Ankole and Ruanda. This must naturally be taken into consideration in appreciating the different effects of cultural contact. Though this may have coloured the nature of the contact, however, it was not in itself a decisive factor. It was not the environment which produced the modern Baganda as has been suggested: it only assisted in making possible the form of contact which has produced this result.

Hima authority was never fully consolidated in Buganda: the local population was never completely dominated. The country could not carry the same proportion of pastoral settlers. If in Ankole a chief had three hundred serfs attached to him, an unofficial Hima had far fewer. Added to this the poor Hima, being themselves servants, in the majority of cases possessed no serfs at all. The proportion of immigrants to natives in Ankole, therefore, was probably never less than one in twenty and possibly much higher, and their superior organization enabled them to take complete control. In the frontier province of Buganda, on the other hand, the disparity must have been immense. Settlers were few, as we can judge to-day by the comparative absence of cattle of the Hamitic breed and by the typically Bantu features of the Baganda themselves. A few military posts and administrative headquarters doubtless sufficed to command trade routes and to make safe the frontiers of the settled districts of Ankole. The local culture was treated with tolerance, as the country was considered a buffer State rather than a colony, and persuasion or education would have had to take the place of force. The result was that, when the kingdom of Kitwara broke up, the aliens were assimilated by the local Bantu, who had already begun to absorb some of the immigrant culture. Let us examine

some specific directions in which there is evidence of such assimilation.

Physical assimilation has been almost complete, and a purely Hamitic type of features is rarely observable. This, however, is not the type of assimilation which we are here studying and the question of miscegenation need not detain us. It is only necessary to state that here there has never been any class barrier to marriage, as in Ankole, though we shall find that intermarriage with the Hamitic invaders has led to certain important modifications of the clan system.

We noticed that in the matter of domestic architecture the Iro learnt nothing from the Hima but continued to construct insignificant beehive huts scattered through their plantations, while the settled Hima built fenced villages with partitioned courtyards. We may trace back to a combination of these two elements the type of garden village which we find among the Baganda. The homesteads still preserve their original garden character, but the houses are much larger and more elegantly constructed and not even a peasant's house dispenses with the courtyard and fence. It is the fenced courtyard which is characteristic of the alien culture and which, together with the greatly improved architecture, has added a distinct quality to the indigenous garden settlement. The houses have a stateliness superior to the

ordinary African hut and the partitioned interior proves how far the Baganda have travelled along the road of adaptation since the seventeenth century.

While the alien influence is very clearly defined on the material side, their weapons being particularly significant, it is the social organization of the Baganda which bears the deepest impress of this contact. Nevertheless it will become clear that the process of adaptation was deliberately selective the results do not suggest either slavish imitation or a compulsory adoption. A particularly interesting point is the question of dress. It would be most unseemly for a male to appear improperly clothed, and it used to be a capital offence for a Muganda to appear in the king's presence unless he were fully clothed in a bark-cloth gown hanging to his ankles. That this is a characteristic of the indigenous culture is clear from the fact that in Ankole, while the Iro are scrupulously careful about conventional decency, it is no uncommon sight to see a Hima man stark naked. This is, of course, no more than what one would expect in view of the fact that the Hima spend all the time among their herds, but it does indicate the persistence of local culture and does show that the nature of the assimilation has conformed and expanded with the economic and social lives of the indigenous peoples: the growth, that is, ha

been organic and not imposed arbitrarily from without.

It is clear that on the dissolution of Kitwara as an empire there was no immediate change in the political conditions of the country which we now know as Buganda. The royal governor remained and exercised his functions independently of his suzerain, and his countrymen continued to hold office as ministers and provincial chiefs. There was no *coup d'état*, no reversal of fortune, such as the Gala experienced in at least one other locality, and from this we may assume that the rule of the aliens had been in the main benevolent and intelligent. Even now, long after the process of assimilation has been complete, traces of the former domination exist in the social ranks into which the Baganda are divided. While there is no political distinction between aristocracy and serfs, there is a very real social distinction between the various classes. Minor distinctions may be disregarded here, but broadly speaking there still remain two main classes—the peasants, on the one hand, who are completely free, hold their land on a species of feudal tenure, but are denied no political rights and form an integral part of the constitution: on the other hand the aristocracy, which includes the royal family, descendants of the original alien rulers, the great landholders and hereditary dignitaries, who claim descent

from the former provincial governors, minor chiefs whose ancestors were traditionally the soldiers who originally garrisoned the country, and finally petty functionaries who hang on the fringe of the aristocracy and form a kind of middle class.

It is fairly clear that given the original alien governors and their entourage, given also a state of friendship between the two peoples, this is the sort of evolution which would naturally have taken place. The aliens were bound to have taken wives from the local families, and they and their descendants, with an ever dwindling proportion of Hamitic blood and with no prohibition such as the Ankole had against daughters marrying out of the oligarchy, would gradually form a noble class, no longer regarded as foreigners but retaining their former prestige. From alien governors they would come to be regarded as feudal lords, tied by marriage and descent to the peasants who lived as tenants on their estates, members of one body politic and endowed with one nationality.

One curious result of intermarriage with alien governors was clearly unpremeditated, though obviously on consideration quite natural. This is the fact that the clans of the Baganda are graded in social status. Certain clans are nobler than others and carry a greater prestige. But this prestige is not always constant, as the clan from

which the reigning king's mother comes is always highest in social prestige. Tribal duties and privileges, of alien inception, also serve to differentiate clans, and six clans are debarred from presenting a prince as a candidate for the throne, even though the king may choose a wife from them. This disability dates to an act of treachery during the early days of occupation, but the political genius of the Baganda has succeeded in neutralising what was clearly a very severe punishment in view of the social importance of prestige. These clans accordingly ally their daughters to other clans by the ceremony of blood-brotherhood, in order that if the king chooses one of them for a wife she is by a legal fiction presented to him as belonging to the allied clan and her child would be thus considered competent to ascend the throne. It will be seen therefore that not only has the alien influence been accepted but it has been completely assimilated as a functioning element in the tribal organization. It has been assimilated and transformed to meet the requirements of the community and has become so much a part of the tribal consciousness as to modify some of the most fundamental characteristics of the tribe itself.

So much for the process. The result is that the alien culture, thus slowly absorbed, has completely revolutionised the people, who were once on a cultural equality with the Iro. Not only

have they acquired the culture of the invaders, but the contact has proved so fertile and stimulating that they have progressed far beyond the cultural attainments of their masters. The king and his capital (which even so late as in Speke's day retained the name of the foreign invaders) form the centre of the social and political system. He exercises direct and absolute rule, assisted by three ministers and an assortment of lesser officials. All departments of State—the law, army and navy, finance and public works—are fully organized. A hierarchy of chiefs, each with a minor court modelled on the royal court, control the provinces and are responsible for the king's revenues, for the administration of justice and the maintenance of order. Broad roads connect the whole country with the capital and society is closely integrated by a series of constitutional links which connect the peasant with the king. This civilisation which the Baganda have built up is a great achievement, worthy of the admiration which it has received. It is an achievement to which the indigenous culture could not have aspired without the stimulus given to it by alien invasion; and it is an achievement to which the alien culture in Ankole failed to contribute, because in that case there was no fusion, no reciprocity, but the subjection of the conquered and the domination of the higher culture. With



the Baganda, however, the contact resulted in the assimilation of what was acceptable to the indigenous culture, and this resulted in a natural, organic growth and the creation of a new culture far outstripping its predecessors.

## CHAPTER TWO

### NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE DEDUCTIONS

There is no need to extend our investigations beyond the two tribes we have been considering. As the particular problem which immediately concerns us is that of contact, the present development of the Bantu Kavirondo is not really relevant. It is sufficient to state that they have attained a stage in development far ahead of the depressed Iro, but fall very considerably short of Ganda culture—a fact which shows that not only does subjugation fail to promote cultural development, but it may even result in cultural retrogression.

Our survey has been necessarily brief, as we do not wish to burden the reader with details which are of anthropological rather than of social and political interest. But brief as it has been, the facts adduced are sufficient to show that the problems of contact are not new, and that modern problems have been anticipated to a quite remarkable extent. To recapitulate, on the one hand we find that among the Baganda, where the conditions approximated to those in a modern protectorate, the indigenous peoples were not deprived of their land: they remained an integral part of the constitution with full political rights:

their own culture was respected and allowed the fullest scope for development. The persistence of local culture did not prevent the Baganda from assimilating whatever of the foreign culture was desirable, but the assimilation was deliberately selective and resulted in a natural and consistent growth, which eventually blossomed into a civilisation, whose roots were in the tribal past, however novel its efflorescence.

In Ankole, on the other hand, the Gala established what we should call a colony, and we have noticed with what fidelity their problems anticipated the problems which concern us at this day. While the Iro were not enslaved, they were deprived of their land and political rights, or (as we should put it) all their lands were declared to be Crown Lands. They had no security of tenure, which is just what is agitating the tribes of East Africa to-day. They were not allowed to own a particular type of cattle, just as to-day in at least one colony a particular species of coffee may only be cultivated by the dominant invaders. The Iro had much the same sort of rights as the native squatters on white farms have to-day. They had then to pay tribute, as now they have to pay tax, and just as their contributions did not entitle the Iro to the advantages of State education, so to-day native education in Kenya is not commensurate with native taxation.

The reaction on the Gala colonists themselves is equally paralleled by the reaction on the modern white settlers. There was the same colour prejudice which debarred the Iro from social and political intercourse, and this resulted, then as now, in the growth of a landed aristocracy which enjoyed a new luxury to which it had previously been unaccustomed. There arose in consequence the same problem of the poor Hima as exercises us to-day in the poor white, and it is significant that the poor Hima, like the poor white, suffered no social disabilities. It was an economic distinction, and the poor Hima and the rich Hima were regarded as socially and morally one against the peoples whom they had conquered and whose lands they had usurped. The history of Trade Unionism in South Africa repeats this heresy of a social alliance divorced from economic reality. There was in Ankole a rigid social and economic separation between the conquerors and the conquered, who could never overstep the barriers of segregation, whatever their technical or economic abilities. The invaders made no attempt to improve the status of the Iro or to assist in the evolution of a higher civilisation, and the conquered were never in a position to benefit by their enforced contact with a higher culture. They remained hewers of wood and drawers of water and, deprived of the stimulus of self-expression and the possi-

bility of creative endeavour, gradually drifted into a condition of apathy and cultural decay.

The question of miscegenation alone presents no real analogy. In Buganda the invaders were few and there was no colour bar nor prohibition against intermarriage: the descendants of mixed marriages were not placed in a separate category. In Ankole, where they were relatively numerous, the invaders had in the early days to take local women as wives, but even the daughters of these mixed marriages could not be married to the Iro. Sexual separation eventually became as complete as the social and economic separation, and was in fact only one aspect of social separation. Consequently the physical types of the conquerors and conquered remained distinct. In modern times in British Africa there has been miscegenation without, as a rule, marriage. The Griqua are an interesting exception to the general rule that, where the offspring of mixed marriages are numerous, they form a class apart, assimilated neither by the whites nor the blacks. In South Africa alone coloured peoples of mixed descent number considerably more than half a million; but elsewhere extra-marital unions between white and black have generally been unfruitful and the few children there have been have remained with the native mothers and have been aggregated to the mother's tribe.

It has been suggested that wherever white immigration has been extensive, as in South Africa, the solution of the problem of contact will eventually be found in the removal of the sexual tabu against intermarriage. This may or may not be the case, but at present at any rate sentiment, both black and white, is against it. If we are to fall back on the precedent which we have been examining, we might be tempted to assert that the maintenance of a sexual colour bar would be contrary to the lesson which the history of the Baganda has to teach us. Such a view, however, would be superficial. We have to take into consideration the fact that the environment of the immigrant whites is not the same as that of the immigrant Gala. The latter, though at a relatively short distance from their base, had a difficult and inhospitable country to traverse: they were threatened all along the route by warlike tribes who resented their intrusion: they had little or no military advantage over their neighbours other than superior organization and cohesion: in arms and weapons of offence there was little disparity. Consequently the Gala were not able to take many of their women with them and their line of communication was broken at a very early stage. The settlers were left to their own resources, and where their own women were more numerous, as in Ankole, it was not long before the colour bar

was rigidly enforced, whereas where their own women were few, as in the frontier province of Buganda, it was quite impossible to maintain a sexual barrier between the governors and the governed. The nature of the occupation was such as to compel intermarriage and physical assimilation between the immigrants and the indigenous peoples. The Banyoro, neighbours of the Baganda, formed a separate province of Kitwara, more colonised than Buganda, but still regarded by the Gala rather as a frontier province than a settled area. Their constitution as it exists to-day indicates that there was a larger Hamitic intrusion, and a larger number of Gala women must have accompanied the invaders there than in Buganda. Consequently the problem of mixed marriages was solved in a different way—by the creation of a separate class of freemen, known as Banyoro (whence is derived the present name of the tribe). These at one time formed an intermediary class between the aristocracy and the indigenous serfs, occupying much the same position as the coloured peoples of South Africa do to-day: but by now the class distinction has almost entirely disappeared with increasing intermarriage and the descendants of the pure-blooded aristocracy are so few as to be altogether negligible.

It will be seen, then, that the question of miscegenation is not *necessarily* involved in the

wider problems of contact. It may always become a major issue, but it is largely determined by adventitious factors. These were in the case of the Gala geographic and environmental, but in these days of easy and rapid communications they do not operate to nearly the same extent. While immigrants are not cut off from their homelands and the conditions of life are such as to make colonial life yearly easier for white women to take up colonial life. It is becoming less and less necessary, therefore, for white immigrants to have liaisons with the native population and the question of mixed marriages hardly arises as a problem of contact. Should some catastrophe occur to isolate the white community, then it would become necessary to review the situation afresh and to decide whether the sexual segregation of the Anko or the sexual assimilation of the Baganda were the more desirable. For the moment, however, the problem does not arise and may be dismissed from our consideration of interracial contact. It is equally unnecessary, therefore, at present to examine the question whether the Gala immigrants, being genetically nearer to the indigenous Bantu, were likelier to propagate a mixed breed successfully than the remoter whites.

Following from this, there is one other point for which we must not expect to find an analogy in this early example of contact. There has been



complete linguistic assimilation between the invading Gala and the conquered peoples, and it is the language of the latter which has prevailed. This is a natural result of intermarriage, and where, as among the Ankole, intermarriage was restricted to the early stages of contact, it is interesting to observe that though the Bantu speech has prevailed, subsequent sexual segregation has preserved Hamitic intonation and gutturals, and that certain elements of Hamitic grammar have succeeded in becoming incorporated in the Bantu languages of the Lakes. With the maintenance of a sexual colour bar there is little likelihood of the native language prevailing over the language of the present-day immigrants, but whether the immigrant language will oust the native speeches is a matter for the earnest consideration of educationalists. We can expect no guidance on this point from the experience of the Gala in a similar field.

An impartial survey of the facts which we have adduced can leave no doubt of the correct attitude towards the simpler peoples whom we are privileged to control. It is not possible to disregard the fact that the world is much smaller than it was and that Africa has its part to play in the development of world resources. Africa has a duty to the world, and our own colonists who are assisting in this development at the invitation of

the local governments have also a claim on our consideration. But neither can we disregard the claim of the Africans on our sympathies and on our benevolence, a claim based on natural right and on all those principles of humanity which successive governments have unequivocally affirmed. Further than this, however, claims which are largely emotional in character are re-enforced by other, less emotional, considerations. If Africa, and more particularly tropical Africa, is to develop her own resources to the full in order to meet the economic demands of the world, she can only do it through the medium of her own children. Experience has shown us that the destruction of indigenous cultures is no way to achieve progress. The contrast between the Banyankole and the Baganda drives this lesson home to us. To debase a people to servitude, to exclude them from political rights, to deprive them of their land and of their own institutions, is to ensure their decay and gradual dissolution. To superimpose a new culture without any thought of its suitability is merely to uproot a people from its past and to leave it helpless, without traditions, restraints and those sentiments which alone can foster stability and a national consciousness. Sentimentality apart, it is in our interests to preserve as much as possible of the culture of our African wards—not out of any

antiquarian interest, as though they were specimens in a museum, but only because a continuity of tradition is the one thing that can save them from destruction. It is the one thing which can ensure them that mental equilibrium, that moral purpose, which will enable them to benefit by contact with our alien culture. Our ambition is, not to build a new heaven and a new earth, but to make the old earth more heavenly. Remembering the Baganda and the solemn warning of their neighbours we can only hope for a slow extension of their old culture, a widening of its basis so that it may accept all that is relevant and to them worth-while in ours, so that out of the fusion something new and distinctive may arise for the benefit of our wards and for the advantage of mankind. The last thing that we want is a drab uniformity of culture: if there is a national or a tribal genius, it must express itself in its individual way. All that we can do is to give it the opportunity of self-expression. Then and then only will Africa fill its appointed rôle in world economics. The foundation of all development in Africa must rest on an African civilisation, not on an American or European civilisation. There will be much in common, no doubt, but however much of our civilisation Africa absorbs it must remain spiritually African, lineally connected with its tribal origins. Whatever elements we have added to our own

culture, be they Roman, Norman or what you will, yet we can and do trace a continuity with our remote past, and it is that continuity which gives us what stability we have. It is as necessary to maintain continuity in the case of peoples who are no more savage than we once were ourselves.

In our character as trustees we have to give that stimulus to African tribes which is necessary for their self-development, and in order to impart that stimulus some form of control and education is necessary. Which of the Gala methods are we going to adopt? The time for drifting has passed and we are forced to consider what our policy is to be. We know what we want. We desire primarily, if we are honest with ourselves, that Africa should be developed and should yield up her wealth of raw materials.<sup>1</sup> Wanting that, we also want to make the Africans capable and intelligent producers, we want them eventually to stand on their

<sup>1</sup> We cannot meet the situation, however, by attempting economic impossibilities. We should not try to persuade the Masai, for instance, to forswear the pastoral life and to embrace agriculture. Attempts have been made to do this in the past. (Cf. Kenya, Native Affairs Department, Annual Report, 1927: "The Masai . . . are now adapting themselves to changed conditions. *Helped by famine conditions even the Masai men are modifying their traditional diet of blood and milk, and have also been induced to sell surplus stocks of cattle.*") But it is no solution of the problem to make herdsmen grow cereals as a response to economic pressure, while a great deal could be done to improve their stock and to educate them in modern methods of animal husbandry.

own legs as economic entities, producers and competitors. We want, therefore, to create a genuine African civilisation capable of doing all this.

Looking back on the examples we have been considering (for it would be both invidious and premature to expect an answer from the haphazard systems prevailing to-day), we find that there are three main dangers to avoid.

The first thing to avoid is a social cleavage divorced from economic reality. There must be no dichotomy into the free and the slave, the enfranchised and the disfranchised, rulers and ruled: colour may, and probably for long will, remain a discriminating criterion for emotional reasons, but it should rest at that: it must not be permitted to become an economic and political bar. There must in short be complete equality of opportunity.

Secondly, and following from our first point, we must avoid both the appearance and the reality of depriving native tribes of their land.<sup>1</sup> Whether it be by appropriation and dispossession in favour of immigrants or whether it be by ordinance

<sup>1</sup> "We met no body of natives in Kenya who did not express their disapproval at the uncertainty which prevailed regarding their boundaries, and various arbitrary acts by which they alleged they had been dispossessed of tribal lands without compensation."—Report of the East Africa Commission (Cmd. 2387 of 1925), p. 174.

declaring all lands Crown Lands, a specious but a dangerous policy, the sense of insecurity at once creates a feeling of distrust and marks a definite cleavage between the native and the white. Rightly or wrongly the white is looked upon as an usurper, the black feels himself relegated to a position of landless serfdom, and gradually acquires a serf mentality and a consequent lack of confidence which inhibits any spiritual growth. Conversely, such a policy always has resulted, and always will, in the creation of a landed aristocracy of aliens and a "poor white" jackal community. These three elements, the landless, the landed and the hangers-on of the landed, are the unvarying ingredients of political trouble and disruption.

Thirdly, there must be no inequality of taxation and no taxation without commensurate benefits. The Iro received nothing for their annual tribute, not even the education which might have given them something of Hima culture. There should be no taxation of natives for the sole benefit of the immigrant community: the State should distribute its services proportionately to the contributions of the component elements.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Report of the East Africa Commission (Cmd. 2387 of 1925), p. 187: "The Chief Native Commissioner in a paper submitted to us estimated that in 1923 the maximum amount that could be considered to have been spent on services provided exclusively for the benefit of the native population was slightly over one-quarter of the taxes paid by them. As a concrete

The positive aspects of cultural contact may be briefly summarised. This is not the place for an intensive examination of details. All such questions as labour, law, primitive economics, hygiene, biological factors, sex and morality, social and political organization, require the most earnest consideration of specialists, but here we are attempting to deal, not with details, but with the broadest lines of general policy.

The first positive injunction, then, which we have to observe is to go slowly.<sup>1</sup> The fusion of cultures, the assimilation of one culture to another, is a process requiring infinite patience. measurable in centuries rather than in decades.

example, we were informed that in the last ten years the Kitui Akamba have paid £207,749 in direct taxes alone, and that 'You may travel through the length and breadth of the Kitui Reserve and you will fail to find in it any enterprise, building or structure of any sort which Government has provided at the cost of more than a few sovereigns for the direct benefit of the natives. The place was little better than a wilderness when I knew it first twenty-five years ago, and it remains a wilderness to-day as far as our efforts are concerned. If we left that district to-morrow the only permanent evidence of our occupation would be the buildings we have erected for the use of our tax-collecting staff.' "

<sup>1</sup> Amanullah has shown us how not to do things. He fell into the fallacy into which we keep falling, the fallacy of trying to do things too quickly. He met the fate which he deserved. He tried to cut a people away from its own background and to wrench it from its ancient civilisation. But the people refused to have their old beliefs and institutions uprooted in this abrupt way. Sooner or later Africa will give the same answer. But there is yet time to set our house in order.

We have rejected the view that one culture can be arbitrarily superimposed on another, but there is still a danger that, impelled by our economic wants, we may attempt to force the pace of development to a tempo which would be suicidal to our own ambitions and no less lethal to the interests of our wards. We are apt to forget, too, that in the diversity of tribal cultures which exist in Africa not all of them can respond to our "civilising" stimulus with the same alacrity, and one of the defects of our administration has been to set the pace by the standard of the most responsive. We can only hope to make a success of assimilation if we take account of these differences in tribal development and culture, and we can only do this if we have a complete knowledge of what the tribal cultures really are. The text with which we started shows how little we know of them in actual fact, and we find accordingly an additional reason for going slowly in our ignorance of the material out of which we have to fashion a new civilisation. It is not sufficient to offer our civilisation to the simpler cultures of Africa and to say, "Here you are: make the best of it: assimilate." We must be in a position to show them that assimilation can best be achieved in such and such a way: we must show them what to reject as well as how to accept, for the new civilisation must be a harmonious, skilfully woven pattern, not a crude



palimpsest. Our first duty, therefore, is to study our wards intensively, intelligently and sympathetically, and meanwhile to go slowly.

It is the background that we have to consider rather than specific details, for it is the background which dominates all these problems of contact and conditions their character. We have to consider, not cannibalism for instance, but what cannibalism stands for, what part it plays in the social and economic life of the community. For unless we do that we do not know what cannibalism is, and unless we know that we cannot know what social harm we may be doing by prohibiting cannibalism. We can see in existing communities to-day the ravages resulting from a blind insistence on monogamy, and the social wreckage flung up by the wave of Western morality should deter us from an unintelligent surrender to our proselytizing instincts.<sup>1</sup> We must realise that all culture is integrated and to destroy or to prohibit a single element may be to destroy the whole

<sup>1</sup> Uncritical reformers wish to abolish the *lobola* system, whereby a man hands over a certain number of cattle or equivalent property to the family of his wife. It is argued that this system implies the purchase of women, which it most emphatically does not. Wherever experiments have been made by way of abolition, the results have been disastrous. Marriage and family life have been destroyed and the door has been flung open to prostitution and venereal disease, both gifts to Africa from an alien civilisation too careless to look for the correct interpretation of an unfamiliar institution.

culture and to leave a people absolutely unfitted to cope with either their own conditions of life or with ours. Cannibalism, witchcraft, infanticide are only symptoms and we must approach the fundamentals.

Added to this we have to recognise the persistence of cultures and their resistance to change, especially in religion and morals.<sup>1</sup> Prohibition and illegalisation may destroy a whole culture or on the other hand it may drive the prohibited element underground. As we know, cannibalism is still practised, though often prohibited, but it is practised in secrecy, and this secrecy is in itself a new element which may profoundly affect culture

<sup>1</sup> The tenacity of indigenous cultures is not sufficiently appreciated. It is this tenacity which, apart from all other considerations, would make it a hopeless business to try to develop an African civilisation on any but African foundations. Professor Melville J. Herskovits, writing on "Race Relations" in the *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. xxxv, No. 6, p. 1055, gives an excellent example of this. "... Even when thought and foresight are given to suppression and change of indigenous culture, this is not always brought about. The experience of New Zealand, where the aboriginal Maori have been so thoroughly Europeanised that they have attained high office in the government of the island, may be cited as a case in point. For there a 'Young Maori' movement has developed, led by a native genius who has had all the benefits of a European education, and not only have the remaining fragments of the Maori culture been retained, but research into early reports has given Maori scholars leads by means of which they have been able to give their people instruction in the civilisation of their ancestors. To-day the Maori are making rapid strides towards the re-establishment of many phases of their old civilisation."

for better or for worse. A ritual publicly performed, a practice of public importance, cannot be the same when it has to take refuge against authority in secrecy. It is bound to modify the whole culture and almost certainly the modification will be for the worse. We see this to-day in the Voodooism which has survived transportation, repression and prohibition in the islands of the West Indies.

What, then, should be our attitude towards two peoples having relations with each other in regard to diversity of customs, morals and religion? The reply is not to attempt any immediate change, to respect existing usages together with the sentiments which accompany them. We must recognise mental differences due to differences in environment and social structure, and recognise the fact that our past activities have themselves largely conduced to resistance. Slavery and exploitation in the past have engendered a suspicion of our motives and our best endeavours may be frustrated by these suspicions. We must go slowly and not look for immediate transformation: still less must we attempt to achieve transformation by injunctions and prohibitions. Let us carry the method a step further and apply it also to our social contacts. Suggestion, education, example should be the avenues of approach, not compulsion. New customs should be introduced by example, by a

demonstration of their social utility, just as the only way to introduce economic innovations is by a demonstration of their economic advantages.

The most barbarous customs serve a social or economic end and very often both. Barbarous customs, or what we consider to be barbarous customs, should be changed only slowly by the development of new sentiments and habits and by the intelligent substitution of a new element for an old. There must be no gap left in the culture by direct prohibition.<sup>1</sup>

In our political relations the possibility of change must be left to time, to new needs, to utility and the tendency to imitation. Education is the only sound and safe method. We have to prove that infanticide, for instance, is harmful and not essential to their culture before it will be abandoned. We have to teach the economic disadvantages of cannibalism and the social dangers of witchcraft, and when this has been accepted

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. W. Y. Stead, a missionary of Grahamstown, offers his testimony in the following words: "It is a great pity that the unhinderable advance of the native races, however slow, could not have been by the development of their own ethics, under the ancient organization of the clan under the chief, and by helping them to assimilate, as they went forward, what suited their state, in acceptable selections out of the civilisation of Europe; instead of being forced by the crushing power of our strange laws to enter into a condition of mere rapid imitation of what we think is our best, and becomes in them their worst, raising antagonisms and hatred against the white race, or at least irritation instead of trust."

the practices will be voluntarily abandoned. But so long as the necessity for these practices remains, prohibition will probably do more harm than good.

The main point is that whatever change is necessary it should be as gradual as possible. We must avoid a sharp break between the new and the old dispensations. Adaptation is needed, not root and branch abolition. This has been our greatest mistake in the past. There is no need, for instance, to abolish communal land-tenure and communal cultivation, if that has been the pre-existing system. It makes no difference to us whether isolated individuals grow cotton or individuals working as a group, and legislation should be so framed as to take group activities into account. It will inevitably follow that economic development with its attendant external contacts and legislation regulating these contacts will bring in its train new viewpoints, new ways of looking at aspects of social organization which are purely internal. Old standards will be questioned, the validity of tribal laws will not be so readily accepted, the diffusion of modern inventions, the plough, the bicycle, the motor, will rationalise the magical, ordeals as a test of conduct will be discredited. Society will reach that stage, equivocal, standing on the threshold of new adventures and yet not entirely dissatisfied

with its past, which we see in so many parts of the half-civilised world to-day.

What is to be our attitude towards this phenomenon? We cannot stand aside and let things take their course. That way leads to certain destruction, for the contacts between peoples are no longer what they were in the past. The world has so filled up, so shrunken and narrowed, that a rapid development of all natural resources seems to be the only solution of our civilisation. This rapidity, however, is the most dangerous and pernicious thing for the simpler cultures and may mean their ultimate extinction, unless we exercise the greatest care. We must retard the advance of civilisation, therefore. It is inevitable, so we do no harm in applying the brake. We do not wish old cultures to disappear. The world has need of all the richness and vigour which cultural variety brings. We want to preserve all that is best in the primitive cultures. We do not want to supplant, but to supplement.

With these principles, then, in our minds we are forced to admit a progressive adaptation, and we shall find that, if we keep this always before us, there will be no sharp line between the savage, the semi-savage and the detribalised. The old order will change and be transmuted through an infinite number of almost imperceptible gradations. In all cases we must work through the

native constitutions: indirect rule is always preferable to direct rule, for there is no society entirely devoid of its own governmental system, though they may be infinitely diverse. We must among the most primitive administer their own laws through their tribal chiefs, elders or councils, as the case may be. Where humanity and justice demand modification, the modification must be introduced gradually and only as the result of complete knowledge, which satisfies us that the modification is desirable and will not result in social disturbances more disastrous than the inhumanity which we deplore. With economic innovations and new contacts the people will themselves see the necessity and desirability for some change in their legal and social organization, and its introduction will be easy. That is the whole point. We must avoid the arbitrary introduction of legislative innovations. The need for them must first be apparent to the people themselves, that is to say they must first be conscious of a gap in their own culture.

Our second positive injunction is to rid our minds of intellectual snobbery and to realise that our own institutions, however appropriate to our own needs (and not everyone would concede even that), are not necessarily appropriate for all cultures and environments. The least advanced tribes have their representative institutions—

differing from ours, yet representative—but that does not mean that there is any virtue inherent in the ballot-box that we should thrust it upon them. When therefore we are told by a responsible authority that “the goal of constitutional evolution, in Kenya as elsewhere, is admittedly responsible government by a Ministry representing an electorate in which every section of the population finds an effective and adequate voice,”<sup>1</sup> we are forced to wonder what kind of political myopia it is that can envisage parliamentary institutions, votes and the abracadabra of our own political organization as necessarily the highest form of cultural evolution. It is not even a democratic form of government such as we find in some of the African tribes: it is contrary to the spirit of pastoral democrats like the Masai, on the one hand, and of the monarchical Bantu on the other. If we are obsessed with the belief that our political institutions are the only ones which can save the African from extinction, then the sooner we abandon our trusteeship the better. Half our troubles have been due to our inadaptability, and more than half our wars to a proselytizing belief that what is good enough for us must be good enough for savages. Experience has proved that

<sup>1</sup> Statement of the Conclusions of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as regards Closer Union in East Africa: 1930. Cmd. 3574.



such a belief in unfounded, and we are only now learning that it is possible to have political institutions different from our own but no whit less effective. The trouble in the past has been our assumption that culture can be dissected and itemised, and that each element of culture can be independently submitted to excision, amendment or substitution without affecting the whole organism. We have discovered, however, when it is nearly too late, that this is an impossibility. Religious, ethical and political ideas are all woven into one fabric. Culture consists in the interaction of all its component elements. We cannot dissociate economics from religion, or religion from politics, any more than we can dissociate a people from its environment. Consequently it is impossible to substitute a new political organization without upsetting all the social, political and economic standards with which the political organization is involved.<sup>1</sup> If we refer back to our first chapter,

<sup>1</sup> One of the great dangers of all European administrations lies in an arbitrary change in the status of chieftainship. There has been an ever-increasing tendency to regard the chief as a subordinate official rather than as the representative of his people. Both in French colonies and in our own protectorates chiefs have frequently been appointed who have no qualifications under native laws of succession: they represent no one and are impotent except for the force which imposed and upholds them over people who give them only the show of respect. From time to time they are "transferred" like foreign officials to govern peoples with whom they have no ties of blood or sentiment. We even find it categorically stated under

we shall have no difficulty in seeing what constitutional changes were introduced into the culture of the Baganda by their enforced contact with the Hamitic invaders. Recollect that in their case the Gala had no intention of imposing an alien culture, but were content to govern them tolerantly within the limits of security. This contact is reflected in the existing constitution of the Baganda, but if we follow down the course of evolution with patience, we can readily see that the innate wisdom of the Baganda selected just those elements of political organization, as of everything else, which they found in Gala culture that could

the new Criminal Code of the Uganda Protectorate that "government servants" include all servants of the native administration, *not only chiefs*, but also clerks. Even where the actual status of the chief remains unimpaired and he is the chief *de jure* as well as *de facto*, European administration finds itself involved in a hundred difficulties. If the chief is strongly supported by the Government, this often leads to a cleavage between chiefs and commoners—emphasized by the superior education normally given to chiefs' sons and a consequent difference of viewpoint between the two. The chief gets ahead of his people: he owes his economic and intellectual advancement to the alien rulers: he considers them his allies against the reactionary elements which he has to control. His ability is judged by his progressive attitude, and to prove his ability he has to force innovations on an unwilling people. He loses touch with their hopes and ambitions, and tends to become a tyrant. In the past there were constitutional checks which made tyranny hazardous, but under alien protection these have been abrogated. If on the other hand, however, the chief is insufficiently supported, the result is anarchy. The chief, robbed of his power, loses heart and gradually his office falls into contempt and ceases to function as a political institution.

be assimilated to their own. Even these elements were not swallowed wholesale, but were adapted by the genius of the people in such a way as to blend harmoniously with the traditional institutions to which they were accustomed. Both their own institutions and those which they adopted were so altered that a new culture arose from the alliance, but a new culture consistent with their past and therefore stable and protected by their old sanctions, a growth rather than a transformation, conscious and voluntary, not arbitrarily imposed by external compulsion. We have observed the results, that they are good, and this

Now the remedy for this dilemma is not to change the character of chieftainship (which, let it be remembered, was one of the main causes of the Egba rising in 1918), but to study what chieftainship means to the various peoples whom we aspire to protect. It is useless for us to go among them with ready-made ideas of kingship and to suppose that these ideas will fit their cultures. The chief's functions are manifold—political, religious and economic—and each of these functions serves both to enhance his prestige and to provide definite checks on a misuse of his opportunities. The very sanctions of his authority are their own safeguards: he is involved in an intricate system of counterbalancing duties and privileges, and it is only when the one or the other is unduly stressed that the system breaks down. We have arbitrarily assumed that the chief is a despot and have not sufficiently studied the chief in relation to all his social and other activities, with the result that his position has been divorced from its ancient realities and more often than not the political institutions of the tribe have been completely thrown out of gear. It is impossible to dissociate the chieftainship in this way from the tribal culture as a whole, but that is precisely what we in conjunction with other colonising powers of Europe have been trying to do—with disastrous results.

is the only process that experience can justify. African tribes cannot build on our civilisation and we have no right to aim at a reflection of our own culture. All we can do is to offer them the best that is in us and to guide them during the difficult period of selection. But ultimately they have to work out their own salvation on the basis of their own culture and, rejecting the meretricious and the specious attractions of a ready-made culture, they must apply themselves with our help to the incomparably more difficult task of building up a new African civilisation, which shall include in it all that is valuable and permanent and consistent in the two cultures.

To enable them to do this, they must have territorial security, and that brings us to our third essential. The Iro, we saw, were deprived of their land and we find them a decaying and disintegrated people: the Baganda retained their clan and tribal rights to land and have flourished. Our own policy has not been consistent. In the past there has been too much expropriation of land and we have as a consequence laid up for ourselves a heritage of trouble and frustrated endeavour. It may not be possible to remedy the errors of the past, but it is not too late to acknowledge them and to ensure that there shall be no more trafficking in a business as nefarious as it is despicable. It is a crime against African cultures,

because to them land is far more than an economic asset. Land is a part of their religious complex, and to deprive them of their land is to lay sacrilegious hands on their beliefs and to strike an assassin's blow at the whole fabric of their culture. In Africa the life-stream is not broken at death, and the collectivity of the dead ancestors of the clan or tribe are the real landowners, who though dead continue to take a lively interest in the land from which they had their origin, which they once occupied and to which they have returned. Living owners hold the land as tenants at will from the dead and are their trustees. This religious element in the land complex is the decisive factor in defining the nature of land tenure, and it is their belief in the earth spirits, the local representatives of which are the tutelary guardians of the people and the soil, joined to the worship of the ancestors who dwell in it, that has largely prevented the individualisation of land and has prohibited its sale as an impious and sacrilegious act.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Individualism is not necessarily a panacea and it is possible that, taking the religious complex into consideration, the African system of land-tenure may, for the present at any rate, lead to the highest economic development. It is ignorance of the true position that land holds in the culture as a whole which makes possible such a remark as the following, culled from a public speech of one who is considered an authority on African affairs: ". . . the mind of the natives being rightly trained towards individualism. . . . Individual ownership and all that goes with it in the shape of self-respect".

Now it does not matter in the least whether this attitude towards land is scientific or not scientific, praiseworthy or absurd. Even in our own culture mortmain is not extinct. We may call the theory retrograde and unprogressive, but in itself it does not conflict with any real development of land by the living tenant: it only bars its sale. Theoretically at any rate the ancestors, the spiritual owners—who, be it remembered, in accordance with the belief in reincarnation are also heirs presumptive—would be gratified at the economic development of their land to its utmost capacity by the rightful occupiers. If these beliefs are inconsistent with our own conceptions, this inconsistency does not make them any less valid to the African. The remedy, then, is not to ride rough-shod over their religious beliefs by depriving them of their land or by giving them the impression that their tenure is precarious, but by precept and example to prove to them that such beliefs, whether rightly or wrongly held, are not incompatible with the economic development of their property. We have to convince them that the surest way to retain the title to the land of their ancestors is to make it productive, and that they must play their part and meet the economic requirements of the world, if they are to survive and to maintain their cultural integrity. To remove them from their land or to deprive them

of their security is to cut them away from the religious and social background of their culture. In the past whole tribes have been moved *en bloc* from territories which were considered suitable for European settlement, and they have been planted elsewhere on land which we are bound to confess has often fallen far short of their inheritance in fertility and climatic environment. These disabilities, however, are as nothing to the moral damage which these tribes have suffered by being cut off from the graves and shrines of their ancestors. The Giriama trouble in Kenya Colony, for example, was much more due to a religious than an economic affection for their land. What we have failed to realise is that such a substitution of land, even if the land were better in quality and economically more valuable, is no real remedy. For the outstanding fact remains that the spirits of their ancestors have power and validity only in their own territory. Time after time it has been observed that an African on leaving his country does not hesitate to disregard those tabus which he is scrupulous to observe in his own home. The explanation is always the same, that away from his country he is out of reach of the spiritual powers which control his actions: he is no longer responsible to his ancestors for what he does and can act without any fear of retribution for offences against the tribal code. Land and

religion are for him intimately associated as a single facet of culture. To deprive Africans of their land, therefore, is to deprive them of all those influences which conspire to make them good citizens: to guarantee their land in perpetuity is the only way of offering them an opportunity to develop that African civilisation, the growth of which it is to our interest to foster. Whatever else we do, therefore, we must satisfy them that their tenure is inviolable, and it is essential that in whatever way this is done, whether by land trusts or otherwise, the trustees of the integrity of native lands should be men or bodies having absolutely no personal interest in dispossessing the natives of their inheritance.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion a word must be said on the question of education. The African cannot become a producer capable of standing alone in the competitive markets of the world unless he is intellectually fitted to cope with the situations he is destined to meet. "Education, sanitation and a progressive raising of the economic standard of

<sup>1</sup> It may be remarked in passing that the religious question is also involved in the problem of labour. Africans working at a distance from their homes outside their tribal territories are no less absolved from their religious loyalties, and this accounts for the fact that sober, well-behaved men, scrupulous in their ritual observances, are often said to behave at labour camps with incredible licence and irresponsibility, because they are away from their tribal environment.



life should therefore go hand-in-hand.”<sup>1</sup> This is of course the same thing as saying that culture is an indivisible whole and that progress in one element is impossible without a corresponding growth in *all* the component elements. If there has been any moral disintegration in Africa of recent years, it is due to the fact that since the war economic development has been forced upon Africans at such a pace that their culture has been twisted awry. Political and social evolution has not kept pace with it, and our educational efforts have not been sufficient to enable them to harmonise their lives and activities with the new conditions to which they have been exposed. They have for the moment lost their equilibrium, and this can only be restored through the medium of education.

Unfortunately the education which they have been offered has been moulded almost exclusively along European lines. What is good enough for us is often bad enough for them. The elementary and public school systems have been transported to Africa and attempts have been made to educate them into good Europeans. This is all wrong. The wisdom and learning of Europe, both scientific and humanistic, must be at their disposal, but they must be given an opportunity to absorb it gradually and to fit their acquired learning into an evolu-

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa: 1930. Cmd.3537.

tionary scheme of African culture. It is of no use whatever to displace their own arts and crafts with the arts and crafts of Europe.<sup>1</sup> They must expand from within, benefiting by a knowledge of new technique, but not at the expense of their own souls. The fault for this is not only that we have been niggardly, but also that we have failed in perception. We have entirely overlooked the fact that there were indigenous systems of education.<sup>2</sup> Positive education is necessary in addition to a passive display of the more banausic aspects of European culture, but it must be an education which is deftly worked into the African scheme of things. For that reason we should lose no time in making an expert examination of the various African systems of imparting education, in order that what we may have to offer may, if possible, be incorporated into the living tissue of belief and action rather than be superimposed as an alien accomplishment divorced from African consciousness.

<sup>1</sup> "Indian art proper is dead. . . . Our painters are producing work without character, because they have lost touch with the essential Indian feeling and seek to copy your methods here. . . . I think they should learn to become good Indian artists, on Indian methods, instead of attempting the impossible and trying to become like artists of the West."—Mr. Fyze Rahamin, reported in the *Sunday Times* of 4th August, 1929.

<sup>2</sup> This important point is almost completely neglected, for example, in *The School in the Bush*, the author of which, Mr. A. Victor Murray, gives an otherwise valuable survey of educational theory and practice in Africa.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

We have seen that what is wanted for Africa is a gradual adaptation, the acquisition of new ideas assimilated into the culture, not superimposed on it, and consequently the development of several types of culture, not an inflexible standard model. So far as possible we have to avoid interfering with the fabric of tribal life, as only so shall we be able to ensure the development of the tribe by methods of organic growth and rational adaptation.

Now to ensure that such a policy will be conscientiously carried out, not only do we require an anthropological survey of existing African cultures, but our administrators also require education no less than the African. A soldier has to go through a rigorous schooling at Woolwich or Sandhurst, but the infinitely more difficult task of administering primitive peoples is supposed to be a divinely inspired gift, the secret of which is open to any European with a university degree. It is time that this fallacy were knocked on the head, and the Dutch Government has led the way by insisting on a five years' course for probationers. During this period the candidate is taught all that he should know about the tribes with whom he will have to deal, their languages,

history, social organization, law, religion and so on. The result is that administrators know what they are doing, can appreciate the native point of view and are less likely to introduce any revolutionary change detrimental to native welfare.

There has certainly been some improvement in this country and a year's probationary course is now required of future administrators, but that is not enough. For one thing the course comes at the end of a university career during a period which is generally one of mental relaxation after strenuous examinations. Neither inclination nor environment predisposes probationers to the intensive study of a number of new subjects.

Secondly, a year is too short a time. To demand that probationers should assimilate in one year all the knowledge which should be part of their mental equipment as administrators is to demand a fantastic impossibility. If our view of the future of African civilisation is correct, the most important thing for administrators to know—and indeed for all those whose business takes them to Africa—is the habits and customs of the people who are to be entrusted to their charge. Such knowledge and the theoretic background of sociology, which alone can enable them to interpret these customs and enable them to envisage the cultural evolution of the future, cannot be acquired in a single year, even if all other studies be excluded.

There is only one possible solution. Our future administrators, like our soldiers, require specialised instruction extending over a period of four years. There are two ways by which this can be secured. The first is by the provision of an institution comparable with Woolwich or Sandhurst, to which they would be admitted by examination and from which they would have to qualify for service in one of the protectorate governments. The second way would be to institute an appropriate honours course at one of the universities, only successful candidates in which would be admitted to the service.

While the former would probably offer a more rigorous discipline and a training more specifically adapted to their future needs, it would have the disadvantage of creating a too specialised atmosphere. The education of administrators demands a broader basis than does a military education. The science of society is essentially humanistic. Human relations cannot be learned by laboratory study only. The type of governing ability which is required is as much an art as a science, and a purely scientific background would stifle those emotional and imaginative qualities which are requisite in the sympathetic administrator. For this reason the humaner atmosphere of an university would be preferable to that of an administrative institution, even if this would

entail a less exacting standard of scientific attainment. The education would be wider and the atmosphere more conducive to the development of a philosophic rather than a purely scientific viewpoint. Nevertheless whatever the actual process of education, the first requisite for a successful application of our policy is the adequate instruction of our future administrators in all that concerns their relations with the peoples whom they will have to understand and to direct, and this cannot be achieved except by early specialisation, on however broad a basis, and over a period extending for at least four years. This suggests that they should enter into the preparatory course at an age when they would normally be leaving school for an university or some other institution.

It is not sufficient, however, to ensure the correct education of our administrators. We have described the general lines of our policy without going into details, which must vary in accordance with variations in tribal culture and which can only be determined after a thorough anthropological and economic survey. Assuming, however, that such a survey has been made and that a detailed policy embracing all aspects of culture has been framed and approved, how are we to be certain that our administrators will apply that policy consistently and conscientiously? However detailed a policy, it cannot embrace every possible

contingency. Time and time again a combination of factors may arise which will make interpretation dubious. There may be serious conflicts of opinion, as there have been in the past. Economic or political influences may be brought to bear on local administrators sufficient to predispose them to accept an immediate advantage at the sacrifice of the real, though distant, benefit which the policy seeks to confer. The long view is often obscured for the man on the spot by adventitious circumstances, the irrelevance of which may not be readily apparent. But the long view is necessary if we are ever to build up an African culture, and it is no derogation to local administrators to insist that there should be certain constitutional checks to ensure the right government of primitive peoples. For our facts we have to rely on the men on the spot, but their interpretation is often only possible when the facts are reviewed in relation to material which is not locally available. After all there must be a clearing-house for ideas: it is often assumed that the problems which arise for solution in each protectorate are unique, but our earlier survey of cultural contact, if it has done nothing else, has taught us that problems have a habit of repeating themselves and the difficulties of one protectorate may be solved by reference to another. We are coming to realise that there must be greater co-operation in the treatment of

African problems, and that isolated action, however well-intentioned, may in the end prove to be the least advantageous for the ultimate welfare of Africa. This does not imply that our administrators are unintelligent or depraved. Equipped scientifically and emotionally with the education we have advocated, they will be infinitely better capable of appreciating the meaning of situations as they arise, but they will also realise better than they do now that these situations are not without parallel and, being scientifically trained, will themselves be prone to look elsewhere for confirmatory evidence where the deductions are not immediately obvious. In matters of urgency and crisis the local administrator will still have to make the immediate decision, but with the advent of wireless and the general speeding up of communications the occasions will be progressively rarer when access to fuller information will be impossible.

A check, then, which appears to be very necessary, however well-informed and well-intentioned our administrators may be, consists in a clearing-house of ideas, a central bureau of information immediately available to meet any crisis or unexpected combination of circumstances. The experience of all the protectorates would there be accumulated, analysed and statistically tabulated. The Colonial Office, the obvious home for this



central bureau, would have to be assisted, therefore, by a trained staff of statisticians, economists and sociologists, engaged solely on the correlation and interpretation of the data which the new methods of scientific administration would put at their disposal.

But even this would not be sufficient. There is no informed public opinion in this country and there are few specialists, and none in the only place that matters, the House of Commons, whose duty it is to see that our guarantee to the subject races is honourably fulfilled. How are we to create such a body of informed opinion, to replace the unformed emotionalism, which is now the sole currency of many who profess an interest in the government of the subject races? There is a way and, revolutionary though the proposal may sound, there is no alternative. At present, university seats fulfil no especial function. Theirs is a different kind of electorate: they are, or should be, representatives of ideas and culture. University candidates already have more specialised interests than their colleagues, and what is required is that this specialised interest should be given a definite orientation. We are not concerned with the question of party affiliation, which our proposals do not affect. But the number of university seats is at present insufficient to allow of their having much weight in the deliberations of the House.)

It is suggested, therefore, that the number of these seats should be enlarged and that they should be reserved for specialists in colonial government and policy. The candidates should satisfy the electors, not on such matters as beer tariffs, armaments, nationalisation and so forth but on their views as to the sociological development of the simpler peoples of the Empire, on the functions of the League of Nations in relation to mandates, and on the part played by economics in Empire policy. This does not imply that the candidates must all have achieved academic distinction in the subjects which would come within their special purview, but it would ensure that they possessed a good general knowledge of sociological questions affecting primitive tribes and that their specialised interest would create a critical sense in the House, which would be competent to give adequate consideration to any subject affecting the pledges which we have given to the subject peoples. Such a body of opinion would have immense influence on the parliamentary control of colonial governments, and it should ultimately be possible to reserve the appointment of the Secretary of State for the Colonies for a member of this specialised group. It is even possible to envisage a further degree of specialisation and to revert to the practice of earlier days, when in theory at any rate certain

of our colonies were attached to English constituencies and were represented in the House by the member for that constituency. Each of the university members could represent some specific protectorate or group of subject peoples, for whose well-being he would be personally responsible in the House, and with whose problems and cultures he should be particularly conversant.<sup>1</sup>

A final check may be found in the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. It is perfectly true that the Commission has not yet determined what it means by such phrases as the well-being and development of its native wards and also that it lacks authority to enforce its opinions on the mandatory Powers. It is generally admitted, however, that not only has the League done a great deal to ameliorate the conditions of mandated natives, but that this amelioration has in addition reacted very favourably in the territories held by the old forms of absolute tenure.

Actually the principles underlying the government of a mandated territory and of our own

<sup>1</sup> Such representation does not of course imply a necessary evolution towards the full representation of African peoples which we find in France. Such a theory conflicts with the views which have here been expressed. The word representative, indeed, is hardly adequate. The member would look after the interests of his tribe or protectorate, but he would receive no mandate from them, the trust being inherent in the seat which he has successfully contested.

protectorates are identical, and it may be said without exaggeration that the high purpose which has theoretically informed all our policy in our conduct of native administration has been accepted as the basis of the mandatory status. "In the case of Tanganyika, His Majesty, by accepting a Mandate . . . in respect of the territory as one inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, has reaffirmed the principle, long an axiom of British policy and now embodied in the Covenant of the League, that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation."<sup>1</sup> The same document reaffirms the dictum of the British Government that "the interests of the African natives must be paramount", and it is not an unreasonable deduction to draw that our object is to develop an African civilisation capable ultimately of standing alone as an independent and competitive unit among the civilised States of the world. It is impossible to discover any distinction in policy between our own protectorates and the territories administered under mandate.

This being the case, is it not possible to make extended use of the League for the benefit of our wards? The publicity afforded by the annual

<sup>1</sup> Memorandum on Native Policy in East Africa: 1930 Cmd. 3573.

reports to the Commission by mandatory Powers makes successful co-operation possible between different Powers and often suggests a common solution for problems of world-wide occurrence, which have hitherto been attacked piecemeal and unscientifically. If we can establish a clearing-house for ideas at the Colonial Office, based on the experience gained in our scattered protectorates and colonies, it is legitimate to assume that the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations would be a far more efficient and comprehensive clearing-house, in so far as it draws on the experience of all the Powers, which each in its individual way is attempting to solve problems of interracial contact and cultural development. Here then is an opportunity for a grand gesture, which would enable us once more to reaffirm in the most practical way possible the high principles which we have always professed and to assure a sceptical world of the honesty of our pretensions. We stand to lose nothing, because the Covenant of the League stands for all those principles which we profess and aims, as we do, at the "well-being and development" of the simpler peoples to enable them to take their social and economic place in the world as independent units. But we stand to gain immeasurably, not only in moral prestige, but in everyday practice, by inviting the co-operation of the world in the task to which we have

set our hands. Working in the name of humanity we have no right to reject what will undoubtedly prove to be the greatest factor for harmony in the relations between advanced and simple cultures. Let us, then, voluntarily submit our protectorates to the highest tribunal in the world. No question of sovereignty is involved: no fundamental change would be required in the mechanics of administration. All it would mean is that our government of native peoples would be subject to a criticism more public and better informed than has been the case in the past. It would enable us to draw on the collective wisdom of the administrators of all nations: it would stifle the ignorant censure of jealous rivals or too candid friends: it would lift the whole question of native policy out of the morass of party intrigue: it would provide for us just those safeguards for which we are looking to ensure that the policy which our conscience approves is fully and equitably put into practice.<sup>1</sup>

The publication of the Report of the East Africa Commission and the recent "Statement of the Conclusions of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom as regards Closer Union in

<sup>1</sup> This is not entirely a novel suggestion. As long ago as November 26th, 1927, it was suggested in the *Manchester Guardian* that, as guarantors of the integrity of the Portuguese colonies, we should insist on Portugal arranging some form of mandate with the League of Nations to enable her to perform her functions as a protecting Power with greater efficiency and humanity.

East Africa" have been greeted with considerable resentment in Germany, where our sincerity and good faith have not unnaturally perhaps been called in question. Whether Tanganyika Territory can or cannot be legally brought within a federation of East African dependencies is a matter for international jurists to settle: but in any case it is obviously a matter legally so disputable on the one hand and sentimentally so provocative on the other that its inclusion is certain to give offence, however honourable our intentions. Were we, however, to reverse the procedure and to assimilate our own protectorates to the status of Tanganyika, neither Germany nor anyone else would be in a position to impute sinister motives. A federation of mandated territories would silence the cavillings of the malicious more effectively than any legal justifications which jurists might contrive in favour of any other form of closer union.

In areas such as East Africa, where a definite conflict of interests has arisen between a relatively numerous immigrant community and the native population, it is obvious that there is a danger that native interests may be subordinated to those of the incomers. We are in fact confronted with the same situation as arose between the Gala and the Iro. The invaders, like their prototypes,

<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 3574.

demand political control, which of course means economic control and social segregation. They are not interested in native culture as such and, being members of the dominant community, may be forgiven for believing that their own culture is so demonstrably superior that only by embracing it, albeit in a subordinate capacity, can the natives hope to find political salvation. We have already examined the fallacy underlying this view and it is clear that such a policy, though in the beginning it may confer a spurious benefit on the immigrants by providing cheap labour, yet in the end is bound to lead to economic disaster both for the immigrants and for the natives themselves. For the latter moreover such a policy would not only spell in the end economic disaster, but would lead to the disintegration of the tribe spiritually, morally and politically.

In such a situation there is only one thing to be done, and that is to convert the social into a territorial segregation. Economic contacts once established cannot be eliminated, but provision must be made for a sanctuary in which tribal culture may be preserved and transmuted under the guidance of sympathetic officials, and to which the natives may always return as to their home. The two governments should be separated as the only means by which the dual mandate may be given expression, and in order that we may carry



out our professions and give native culture the opportunity to evolve into something different from what it now is, but something distinctive and rooted in its past. The one thing which would be fatal would be to aim at a "responsible government by a ministry representing an electorate in which every section of the population finds an effective and adequate voice".<sup>1</sup> We do not wish to impose government by the ballot-box on the native communities of Africa, but to let the form of government grow out of their existing institutions, which are often more democratic than any ballot-box democracy known to Western civilisations.

The case for such a racial segregation has been well put by an anonymous writer in *The Spectator*:<sup>2</sup>

. . . Whatever may be said of the merits or demerits of white settlement in what was once a native territory, the fact must be recognised that white settlement in Kenya is an established reality, and any solution of the constitutional problem must pay regard to the legitimate aspirations of the white community. The point at issue may be summarily described as the self-determination of the whites and the protection and the economic and social advancement of the native population. Though the two points of view should not be incompatible, yet by the

<sup>1</sup> Cmd. 3574.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by courtesy of the editor from the issue of March 29th, 1930.

very nature of things there is a grave danger that what has happened elsewhere may again happen in Kenya, and that native interests may be subordinated to the needs of the dominant white community. It is not fair to ask the representative of a white community to vote for a Bill, regulating labour for instance, which his conscience approves but which he knows would be inimical to the interests of his constituents. He would be placed in an intolerable quandary, and whichever way he voted a feeling of resentment would remain, that would increasingly operate against harmonious relations between the two sections of the community.

The appointment of a High Commissioner to co-ordinate the different territories of East Africa would only afford a partial solution, even were native policy a subject strictly reserved to his discretion. There can be no guarantee that successive High Commissioners, the importance of whose office would make Colonial Office control less effective than it now is, would always be guided by principles which would give due weight to native interests. These must therefore be guaranteed by a system and not by personalities. In Uganda and Tanganyika Territory the system already operates, but in Kenya, as at present constituted and even as visualised by the Hilton Young report, any extension of self-government to the white community must endanger the integrity of native interests. The statement is one of political fact which cannot be burked, and casts no aspersions on the benevolence or humanity of the white community.

It is assumed then that the white community is entitled to a further measure of self-government, but this measure

must not jeopardise native interests. There is only one way by which these apparently incompatible ends may be attained, and that lies in some scheme of territorial segregation. Safeguard the homes of the natives and their economic interests are also safe. The principle that native reserves must be established has been freely conceded by the white settlers, and the only logical corollary is to reorganize Kenya into two independently functioning units. Already Kenya is essentially divided into two parts, the settled areas which alone can be described as a colony, and the native reserves together with Turkana and the Northern Frontier Province. Let what is an actual fact receive the seal of official authority. The first step, then, towards the solution of Kenya's difficulties should be an Order in Council constituting separate administrations for the settled areas and the native reserves. The settled area, approximating 12,000 sq. miles in extent, should remain the Colony of Kenya with its own Governor, budget and administration. It could then be granted a considerable extension of control over its own affairs, while the native population of an average number of about 230,000, consisting of temporary immigrant labourers from the reserves and of artisans, clerks, squatters and so on resident in the Colony, would be safeguarded in the first place by nominees appointed for the protection of native interests on the Kenya Legislative Council and in time to come by native representatives.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Obviously we cannot expect natives who, thanks to our educational system, are already detribalised to revert to tribal life and conditions. A place must therefore be found for them in the alien organization, though it is difficult to see how they can ever make themselves articulate in such an environment.

The rest of the territory would revert to its former status of a Protectorate, under a separate Governor, equal in rank and responsibility to the Governor of the Colony and to the Governors of the neighbouring Protectorate and Mandated Territory: he would not be subject to interested pressure from the Government of the settled area. The Protectorate would have its separate staff and budget, and would be developed economically and politically as a separate State, though natives would be able, should they wish to do so, to leave the territory to seek work in the adjacent Colony, guarded by passports and competent to return at will to their protected homes. Labour contracts would be considered civil obligations and would no longer be subject to criminal law.<sup>1</sup>

The economic and scientific services of the two Protectorates, the Mandated Territory and of the Colony, would be co-ordinated by the High Commissioner, together with the general direction of policy inherent in his office, and on all economic boards and similar inter-territorial institutions the four governments would have precisely equal representation, so that there would be no danger of purely white interests dominating, for example, railway or road developments or, as now unfortunately happens, the classification of imports for customs purposes. . . .<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The policy of territorial segregation has been more fully discussed in a privately circulated memorandum by Mr. J. A. Cable, who has also been its most consistent advocate in the *Times of East Africa*.

<sup>2</sup> The broad lines of native culture suggest that both Nyassaland and Northern Rhodesia should, if possible, be included in this federation. Too often political exigencies have led to the

In endeavouring to ascertain the general principles which should inspire our government of simpler peoples, we have perhaps laid undue emphasis on this specific instance of cultural contact. It is because the case is exceptional in tropical Africa that it has required particular consideration. In Kenya conditions are being reproduced which recall the Gala occupation of Ankole on the one hand and the modern evolution of South Africa on the other. Both these stand as examples to us that when the immigrant community is of such a proportion as to necessitate the introduction of a Western political system and so to endanger the stability of native organizations, it is imperative to make a complete territorial break in order to give the native institutions a chance of quiet growth and readjustment. The alien institutions may be extremely valuable as an example to imitate or to avoid, and native cultures can doubtless benefit by watching the system in operation at their doors, but something so characteristically alien must not be forced upon them and they must be constitutionally free to develop arbitrary division under separate administrations, often differing in policies, of tribes culturally linked together, and there are instances of single tribes which have been artificially bisected in this way, and even of one tribe which was cut into three parts, each under a separate administration with the effective power of its king confined to one section only. Such anomalies which strike at the very heart of tribal culture should be rectified under any scheme of reorganization.

their own political genius in the direction which only experiment and their natural aptitude can decide. The broad theory of self-determination underlies this proposal of territorial segregation, which is only a special example of the general principles which we have been considering. If, as we are forced to conclude, the Gala were successful in Buganda, while they failed in Ankole to establish a culture in which the indigeneous peoples could participate, if even after several centuries as a result of that system the Iro have retrogressed rather than advanced, it behoves us to examine with the utmost care the basic principles which contributed in each case to the results which we have before us, and to ensure that in our own protectorates the living organism of native institutions will have as ample an opportunity for a natural and constructive evolution as was open to the Baganda under Gala inspiration.

BRITAIN IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA

(No. 2)

BECHUANALAND  
PROTECTORATE

BY

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	<i>Page Nos.</i>
CHAPTER I.	
GENERAL DESCRIPTION .. ..	1-18
CHAPTER II.	
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT ..	19-31
CHAPTER III.	
PRESENT CONDITIONS .. ..	32-63
CHAPTER IV.	
ADMINISTRATION .. .. .	64-83



## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

The Bechuanaland Protectorate is the largest and probably the most 'complex of the three territories administered by Britain through her High Commissioner in South Africa. It stretches from the Molopo River on the south to the Zambesi on the north, its boundaries marching with those of the Union on the south and east, Rhodesia on the north-east and north, Angola on the north-west and South-West Africa on the west. In area it covers approximately 275,000 square miles, that is, as much as the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Natal and Basutoland combined. The chief feature of this great area, however, is its waterless character which hampers the development of what should be a very fine ranching country. The only surface waters of which the territory can boast through the greater part of the year are the Marico and Crocodile Rivers which form the eastern boundary, the Zambesi and Chobe Rivers which form part of the northern boundary, and in the north-west, the Okavango Marshes and their feeders which still render that corner fairly well-watered. For the rest, it is dependent on summer rains which, if good, fill the tributary rivers for a brief period in the year and if bad, as so often happens, leave the country drought-stricken. Much of the territory is occupied by the Kalahari Desert, so called only because of its dearth of accessible water, for its luxuriant bush bears little resemblance to the accepted idea of a desert, and suggests the existence of supplies of underground water which have not as yet, however, in spite of various and costly efforts, been tapped.

#### *Population.*

The population of the Protectorate according to the census of 1911 was 1,692 Europeans, 353 Coloured persons and 123,303 aboriginal Natives, or a total of 125,548 persons; according to that of 1921, 1,743 Europeans, 1,055 Coloured persons and

150,185 Natives, or a total of 152,983 persons. This means that, in 1921—no census has been taken since but there is little reason to suppose that there has been any marked increase in this last decade—the population was less than one per square mile. This, however, does not represent the real relationship of population to land, for the comparatively small population is not spread out over the whole territory. The great waterless stretches of the Kalahari, unsuitable in their present state for anything more than the most precarious existence, probably operated in the first instance to keep the people towards the east where water is at least less inaccessible. At any rate, the bulk of the population, with the exception of the Batawana tribe in the better watered north-west, was in this area when England extended her protection over Northern Bechuanaland, and the delimitation of Native reserves which followed the establishment of the Protectorate served to fix it permanently where it was found. The European population is also confined to the east, to a strip of territory along the frontier of the Protectorate, with the exception of a small Boer settlement at Ghanzi on the north-west side of the desert. Outside of Native reserves and lands already alienated to Europeans, there are approximately 100,000 square miles of crown land in the centre and west of the territory. This vast area is theoretically unpopulated but actually scattered Bushmen and Makalahari carry on an existence which can be little better than a continuous war with drought and hunger.

#### *Character and Distribution of the Population.*

In the character and relative distribution of its population, the Bechuanaland Protectorate differs from both the other High Commission territories with which it is linked through the High Commissioner, as it does in the problems which its natural features present. Unlike Basutoland, where there is no alienation of land and where the European population consists solely of traders, missionaries and civil servants, and a few private professional people in a town like Maseru, all existing on sufferance in a Native territory, of Bechuanaland's European population, something more than half represents settlement in specific White areas. The remainder are, like the European population of Basutoland, traders, civil servants, and missionaries in Native reserves where they can stake no permanent

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claim. Each trader holds his trading site only so long as he holds his trading licence, even, though the buildings on the site are his own. All sites are rented from the tribe, the rents being paid to the chief.

In Swaziland, White settlement has also taken place. Yet to the conditions in that territory the Bechuanaland Protectorate also offers a contrast. In Swaziland, two-thirds of the land is in the hands of European settlers, while areas reserved for Native occupation are interspersed with European areas all over the territory so that Black and White live in close contact with one another. In Bechuanaland, the areas at present in European occupation are only a very small part of the whole territory and, with the exception of the settlement at Ghanzi, they all lie on the eastern frontier of the territory. To the west of them, the Native areas stretch for varying distances into the desert. Thus only on one side do European and Native territories meet, a circumstance which accentuates the separation which territorial segregation implies.

#### *Native Population—Tribal Groups.*

In the character of its Native population as in that of its White population, the Bechuanaland Protectorate differs from the other two High Commission territories. In both Basutoland and Swaziland, there is a national unity among the Natives symbolised by a single paramount chief who speaks and acts for the whole tribe. In Bechuanaland, instead of a single tribe under a paramount chief, there is a number of tribes. Most of these tribes are not independent but recognise and submit to the overlordship of other stronger tribes. These stronger tribes, of which the principal ones are the Barolong, Bangwaketse, Bakwena, Bakhatla and Bamangwato, all in the east of the territory, and the Batawana, a now independent branch of the Bamangwato in the north-west corner, are mutually independent, each under its own paramount chief. Within its own defined reserve, each of these great tribes, with its subordinates, leads its own life, centring in its own stad or town—for the Bechuana, unlike most of the southern Bantu, live, not in small villages or scattered family groups, but in large towns built round the chief's Khotla, or courtyard, which serves as the meeting place of the tribe and the court house of the chief. In

the town, every member of the tribe has a place and all are gathered under the eye of the chief for those months of the year, approximately June to October, in which they are not actually engaged in ploughing, cultivating and gathering in the harvest ; all that is, except the boys who are out at the cattle posts tending the cattle, or the men who have gone out as wage earners either among the Europeans in the territory or, more usually, in foreign labour centres, the Union or Angola.

#### *Communications.*

Thus the chief external feature of the life of the territory is its group character. The Native population lives in separate tribes, each in its own definite tribal area. Within these areas, Europeans exist on sufferance ; within the European areas, Natives exist merely as servants except where, by arrangement with the British South Africa Company in whom the rights of the three southern European blocks are vested—the Lobatsi, Gaberones and Tuli Blocks—land has been allotted to small Native tribes which were resident there when the land was alienated, or as in the Tati District, the Government hires land for Native reserve.

That this territorial segregation and group life represents a real separation is suggested by the state of communications in the territory. The territory boasts one railway line, the main line from the Cape to Rhodesia and beyond, which runs through the eastern part of the territory. It was originally intended that the line should traverse the strip along the eastern portion which is now European area and which was alienated by the chiefs expressly for the purpose of building the railway. It does in actual fact, run through the southern blocks, the Lobatsi and Gaberones blocks, but it then diverges, leaving the Tuli block and traversing the Bakhatla and Bamangwato Reserves, entering European area again at the southern end of the Tati District and traversing that district to the Rhodesian Border. The isolation of the Tuli Block was due to natural difficulties which made the eastward bend necessary to take in that block, impractical.

More or less parallel to the railway, runs the Great North Road which, although it bears little resemblance to its prototype except in its direction, does accommodate in some fashion, the increasing motor traffic between north and south, i.e. between

Rhodesia and the Union. For the rest, except for a fairly good branch road to each of the large Native stads, all of which, with the exception of the Bakhatla town of Mochudi, lie at considerable distances\* from the railway, branch railway lines and feeder roads suitable for ordinary motor transport are conspicuous by their absence, while the activities of both motor lorry and ox wagon are rendered peculiarly difficult, not only by the sand through which most tracks have to be cut but by the absence of regular and dependable water supplies. Indeed, the west, Ghanzi and N'Gamiland, and the east where the main tribal reserves and European areas are situated, are to all intents and purposes cut off from one another, the former looking towards Angola, South-West Africa and to Rhodesia through Livingstone just as the latter looks to the Union of South Africa and to Rhodesia through Bulawayo. The proposed new railway line to Walvis Bay, much of which will run over Bechuanaland soil, will no doubt do something to break this separation, but as it will also skirt the territory, it can do little to alleviate the personal and group isolations which are so great a feature of the life of Bechuanaland. These could only be overcome by a great extension of road transport, and the difficulties attending such a development are so great that it cannot be looked forward to in the near future unless some considerable change takes place in the economic character of the country or the policy of the Government. The Protectorate Administration is exploring the possibilities of developing aerial communications in the territory. Such a development would no doubt facilitate administrative control and to that extent would have everything to recommend it, but its effect on the social and economic life of the territory must in the nature of the case be very limited.

The telegraph, telephone and postal facilities of the territory are as limited as its rail and road facilities. The telegraph and telephone lines in the Protectorate are controlled by the Southern Rhodesian Government. The only Native stads connected with these services are Serowe, which has a branch line from Palapye Road, a distance of thirty-five miles, and Mochudi, which has a branch line from Pilane Siding, a distance of nine miles. The cost of extension to the other stads

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\*The average is thirty miles.

has so far operated against the connecting up of these stads with the main line services. The failure to obtain either telephone or telegraphic service, however, has given a particular significance to the limited nature of the postal service in these stads. At Kanye and Molepolole, only two mails per week are received. Complaint of this was made at the Native Advisory Council Meeting in 1929, when one of the Barolong representatives stated " At Kanye, we understand there is some business growing up, and we are told that these people would like to have their mails delivered more frequently. Mails come into the Protectorate on about four days in the week, but at Kanye and Molepolole only two mails a week are received. We would like the Government to go into this matter and see if other days could not be included in the postal time table. There is also the desire we have of telephone installation in these places; we should also like the Government to enquire into that . . . . . We would like to find out what it would cost to instal telephones between Lobatsi and Kanye, and Gaberones and Molepolole, and other places, including Gaberones Station and camp. We have been getting on very badly in past years. I think all the chiefs have suffered to-day in regard to the rations on account of not having a telephone here."

*Economic Life of the Protectorate (Economic Segregation).*

It is difficult to say to what extent the presence or absence of adequate means of communication between one part and another of a young country are cause or effect of the character of the economic life of the country. Without endeavouring at the moment to assess the relative weight of cause and effect so far as the Bechuanaland Protectorate is concerned, the fact is that the group arrangement of life and the very limited nature of its communications do represent a real separation, a separation not only between Black and White but between one Native tribe and another.

*A. European.*

Since there are no secondary industries in the territory, the settler population of Bechuanaland, except for a small number of traders and professional men, are farmers, carrying on their activities on the comparatively large scale common among the

European community in South Africa. In the three southern European blocks, the Lobatsi, Gaborones and Tuli blocks, the total population, men, women and children, is only some 600, and the area of the blocks is 2,000 square miles, allowing over three square miles per head.

The chief interest of the Bechuanaland farmer is cattle, and for this he has to seek a market outside, for in a country where everybody, Black and White, rears cattle, there is no internal market either for beef or milk. The finding of markets has not at any time been a simple matter. From the beginning, the Bechuanaland cattle trade has suffered not only from the territory's own past record of cattle diseases but also from its proximity to other centres of infection. In 1895, rinderpest wiped out practically all the cattle of the territory. In 1905, when the stock had increased sufficiently again to give a surplus over local wants which could be used for export, lung-sickness made its appearance in the northern Protectorate. At that time, also, East Coast Fever appeared, not in the Protectorate itself but in the Transvaal and in Rhodesia, and although the Protectorate, by precautionary action or by good fortune, succeeded in escaping the dread infection, restrictions were placed upon the import of her cattle into the Cape Colony, then her best market. When South Africa was united by the Act of Union in 1909, these restrictions were not only retained in respect of the Cape Province but were extended to the other three Provinces of the Union.

Until 1923, these quarantine regulations remained in operation. In that year, when they were at length terminated and prospects seemed to be improving for the Protectorate cattle trade, a new setback was given to the trade by a cattle surplus in the Union which induced the Union Government to prohibit the importation of Protectorate cattle to the open market, leaving open only the market for slaughter cattle. In 1924, even this latter market was made subject to severe restriction. All animals exported to the Union for slaughter had to weigh 800 lbs. live weight and to dress not less than 50 per cent of that weight. In 1926, the live weight standard was raised to 1,050 lbs. for oxen but fixed at 790 lbs. for cows, while bulls were entirely prohibited. The trade was also restricted to the Johannesburg abattoirs.

These restrictions of the Union market, together with the complete exclusion of Bechuanaland Protectorate stock from Rhodesia and South-West Africa, which at present holds, have been a serious burden on the trade, particularly on that of the northern Protectorate. In the southern Protectorate, the effects have not been so seriously felt owing to an outlet which, although in the nature of an illicit trade, has been very extensively used. In spite of the cattle surplus in the Union, inferior Bechuanaland stock have found a ready market in the Transvaal and the Cape Province. It is true, cattle exported from the Protectorate to the Union are supposed to pass through a port of exit appointed by the High Commissioner, but the long boundary between the Transvaal and the Protectorate which consists only of a fence has been impossible to police effectively, and large numbers of Protectorate cattle which have made no pretence of conforming to the regulations laid down by the Union Government have found their way into the Transvaal. The boundary between the Protectorate and the Cape Province is formed by the little spruit of Ramatlabama and the Molopo of which it is a tributary, a line of over fifty miles with only two effective police camps, one at Ramatlabama Siding, the other at Philsame. Across this line also thousands of underweight cattle are driven annually into the Cape Province.

No such fortunate outlet has presented itself to the Northern Protectorate. There, the only means of disposing of non-regulation cattle has been through the Imperial Cold Storage which, for some years, has held the contract to supply meat to the Italian Government. At its best, this was a limited outlet of uncertain duration. Already the Company has lost half of the contract in favour of the Argentine, and it is doubtful how long it will retain the other half. In the circumstances, with all these difficulties attending its cattle trade, the Northern Protectorate has had to seek other avenues of development. In the last few years it has been trying, with some success, to develop a market for cheese in Rhodesia and has found an outlet for dairy produce generally, butter, butterfat, and for eggs both there and in the Union. Here again, the Union is the larger market; but Union farmers are themselves increasingly interested in dairy produce. However, the Protectorate has been included in the operations of the Dairy Industry Control



Board which has recently been established in the Union to develop the trade in dairy produce, an inclusion which guarantees the territory equal treatment with the Union in the latter's markets, at least for the time being.

Thus the European settler in his economic activities, looks outwards towards the neighbouring States rather than inwards towards the people to whom he is tied politically. This is due probably less to the effects inseparable from territorial segregation than to the life of the Native himself which offers little scope to European enterprise.

#### *B. Native.*

The Bechuana are still a semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural peasantry, living under tribal conditions and carrying on their activities largely on the customary basis which prevailed when they first came into contact with the European. Land among them is still tribally owned and inalienable, but every man holds from the tribe sufficient land for cultivation for his own needs and shares the common grazing lands of the tribe.

The interest of the Bechuana has always tended to centre particularly in cattle rather than in agriculture, owing probably to the difficulties attending the cultivation of the soil in a country where water is so scarce, discouraging effort by the uncertainty of the return. The cattle, however, do not live under the eye of the owner as is customary among the southern Bantu ; they are kept at cattle posts which may be, and usually are, at a distance of some days' journey from the village or stad. Here they run together in the open veld, finding what pasturage they can, a matter of considerable difficulty in the dry season when the absence of water adds the dangers of thirst to the dangers of starvation. But it has never been the custom of the Bantu to provide food for their cattle and in Bechuanaland water is difficult and sometimes impossible to provide.

The ploughing fields are also at some distance from the stad, not usually so far away as the cattle posts yet far enough to necessitate the erection of temporary dwellings to accommodate the people during the ploughing and cultivating seasons of the year. The interests of the Bechuana are thus more scattered than is customary among the southern Bantu where the usual thing is for the people to live in villages or small family groups

near their fields, and to pasture their cattle in the vicinity. This has necessarily affected the conditions of life and work among the tribe.

*The Work of the Tribe.*

When the present Bantu population of Bechuanaland entered the territory, they did so as conquerors, reducing to an indefinite position of servitude, both the Bushmen and those other Bantu tribes, also of Bechuana stock, who had come in on an earlier wave of migration. The Bushmen had not so far achieved a settled existence; they neither herded cattle nor cultivated land but lived on the products of the chase and the tuberous roots which the desert provided in varying abundance. These people became hunters for their new lords to whom they were required to send not only the best parts of the flesh of the animals which they killed but also all the skins and in the case of elephants, the ivory. The Makalahari, as the conquered Bantu were generally designated, had the Bechuana's own interest in cattle and were often given the duty of looking after the cattle of their lords at the cattle posts under the supervision of the boys of the tribe, while they too had to bring in the skins of all animals slain in the chase. Much of the livelihood of the tribe then was produced by the vassals of the tribe. The remainder mainly devolved on the women, who hoed and planted, cultivated and, when fortune favoured, reaped the harvest. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and fighting. The economy was a simple subsistence one in the maintenance of which all played their part.

To-day, the mode of life among the Bechuana has to all outward appearances, changed little. With the establishment of the pax Britannica, and the end of intertribal wars, the population has increased, with the result that the towns, already large, have grown in size. There is still land enough, however, and each man still has his arable land and his share of the pasture land, although these tend to be further and further away. The Makalahari have to all intents and purposes become free men, thanks largely to the demand of the British administration that they shall pay tax like the ordinary Bechuana; but their places at the cattle posts have been taken to some extent by the Bushmen (Masarwa), who continue to occupy a position of undefined

servitude, recognised at least indirectly by the Administration in that no tax is exacted for or from them. Cattle remains the chief interest of the tribe and the main responsibility for its care still devolves on the boys of the tribe. It is indeed part of the education of the boys to learn to care for the cattle, and where the use of a common grazing obtains, that care means simply more or less continuous herding. The result is that practically all the boys spend the major portion of their lives between the ages of ten and twenty away from the stad at the cattle posts.

So far as the arable lands are concerned, these are still largely the responsibility of the women although the introduction of ploughs, less extensive in Bechuanaland, except perhaps among the Bakhatla, than elsewhere in South Africa, has, where it has taken place, transferred part of the responsibility to the men, owing to the tradition that women shall not work with cattle. Sometimes the Masarwa are called upon to perform the work of ploughing but they are not satisfactory workmen, disliking the regularity of the task and naturally not inspired by the absence of remuneration. The Bechuana find them very tiresome servants in any capacity other than cattle herds. Indeed the attitude of the Bechuana to the Masarwa provides an interesting parallel to that of the early Dutch Colonist to the Hottentot, and in many respects to that of the modern South African to the Native and Native labour generally. According to the Bechuana, the Masarwa "don't like to work." They are lazy and, unless carefully watched, will run away and hide in the bush. They like to eat and so long as they can eat, they will not work, a familiar cry to South African ears, as is the cry that "you can't civilize them. They are uncivilizable."

The one section of the population which has largely lost its old occupation by the establishment of the *pax Britannica* is the men. The termination of intertribal warfare and the progressive diminution in the possibilities of the chase consequent upon the increase in population and the absence of any check in the past on the destructive propensities of the Native, has closed entirely or partially, their old fields of activity. One field, however, still remains open to them—that of tribal work. The men of the tribe were in earlier days, divided into regiments, each regiment containing all those who entered manhood through the initiation school at the same time. To-day those

initiation schools have vanished save among the most backward tribes, but the practice remains of dividing the tribe in this way, a purely formal ceremony being in some cases now observed to celebrate the introduction of the youngest age group to the responsibilities of manhood. From the moment of such introduction, each man serves the tribe when called upon to do so, with the other members of his age group. Originally, of course, the main service was war; now it is public work of various kinds, the decision as to which regiment shall be called out for any particular service being made by the chief and announced to the tribe by the official tribal crier, who heralds the dawn by calling to the sleeping town from any eminence or position of vantage, the instructions for the day. The penalty for not answering the summons is generally a flogging, willingly administered by the other members of the regiment who resent the added burden imposed upon themselves through the absence of the defaulter.

The coming of the Europeans, however, although it has deprived the tribesman of much of his old responsibility, has in its turn, provided him with a new one, that of finding money to pay the tax which European protection has involved—£1 hut tax and 5/- special tax for Native development, payable by all able bodied male Natives over eighteen years\*—and of satisfying the demands of himself and his family for such European commodities as have become, in the course of three-quarters of a century's contact with Europeans, part of his standard of living. This he does where he can, reluctantly, by the sale of cattle which has been comparatively easy in the southern Protectorate in the past, where the so-called "two-penny tube" † has helped him as it has helped the European. In the northern Protectorate, where the outlets for cattle have not been so good, a few Natives have, on the example of the Europeans, taken to dairying, while some two hundred sell their milk to Europeans either for separating or for cheese making. Not all, however, can meet their obligations and their desires in this way, and many are forced back on the necessity of hiring themselves out to work for wages while the boys and women carry on the work

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\*This year, 1932, the tax has been raised from 25s. to 28s. per annum.

†The illicit exit above referred to.

connected with the land and the cattle as before. A few of those seeking employment find it with the wealthier members of the tribe. This latter avenue, however, is very small, for generally the men who could afford to employ others to plough their fields or look after their other interests have Masarwa whom they can use for those purposes. Generally then, the search for employment takes a man beyond the borders of the territory, either to the mines or farms of the Union or into Angola. In the early days of the Protectorate, the Bechuana used to go mainly to Kimberley but gradually, since 1908, when a slump in the diamond market resulted in many of them not being taken on again, they have turned more and more to the gold mines of Johannesburg. Recently, the alluvial diamond diggings at Lichtenberg attracted considerable numbers not only of men, but also of women and children. Under this impulse to go out and seek work, to which is added in these days, no doubt, something of the impulse to seek adventure, considerable numbers of Natives go out of the territory. A permit from the chief is supposedly necessary before the police at the border gates will issue a pass to any individual to cross the frontiers. According to the records of those permits kept by the chiefs and the police, some 8,759 passes were issued in 1929. That this does not, however, represent the real exodus from the territory may be gathered from the repeated petitions\* from the chiefs to the Administration to do something to control the exodus of persons without passes, mainly children and women from whom, until recently, the Union Government did not demand passes. The chiefs are always anxious about this labour exodus even where they do not understand its economic implication, because it invariably involves a certain amount of loss to the tribe since always a proportion of those who go out do not return. The long Bechuanaland frontier, however, offers no effective barrier to those who, wishing to leave the territory, doubt the advisability, for one reason or another, of asking the permission of the chief.

Thus the Mochuana remains a peasant, with his horizon almost entirely bounded by his reserve. He has his tribal holding designed to meet the needs of the family in the simple

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\*Native Advisory Council Minutes 1927

conditions of tribal society, still cultivated much as it has always been, and his cattle still running on the open veld, surviving as best they can in a continual war with drought and starvation. From these he derives a living which differs little from that of his forefathers. His demands are few even in these days. What he does obtain from outside are mainly manufactured goods, cotton dress materials, shawls and blankets, men's clothing, mostly European cast-offs, some hardware, kettles, storm lanterns, etc. These he pays for as he pays his tax from the proceeds of his land to which is added when that is inadequate, the proceeds of his work as a hired labourer. It stands to reason then, that while he offers but a small market to anybody, he offers no market at all to the European settler who, like himself, is engaged in primary production, even though the products of the settler are vastly superior to his own. Thus within the territory there exists no economic relationship to counteract the influence of territorial segregation and to bring the people together in a common national interest and with a common national outlook.

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

The history of the Bechuanaland Protectorate gives the impression less of a continuous development guided by a settled policy than of a series of accidents. The character of the territory is so much a product of this history that some knowledge of the one is necessary to a due appreciation of the other.

The territory known to-day as the Bechuanaland Protectorate was visited by Europeans early in the 19th century. It did not, however, begin to play a part in the affairs of South Africa generally until after the middle of the century. Two events marked the opening of this new phase of its history, the beginnings of missionary enterprise among the Bechuana by representatives of the London Missionary Society—in 1818 among the Bakwena, followed by Robert Moffat whose activities among the Bechuana, dating from 1821, resulted in the establishment of the Mission Station at Kuruman, and later in 1840 joined by Livingstone, his son-in-law, who afterwards moved north of the Molopo River into what is now the Protectorate; and the Sand River Convention of 1852 by which England recognised the independence of the Transvaal Boers. The Transvaal Boers with that passion for expansion which characterised them, and that dislike of the London Missionary Society which they had carried with them on their trek northwards from the Cape Colony, viewed with disfavour Livingstone's activities among their neighbours and determined to oppose their extension, if necessary by establishing their own control over the Bechuana tribes. To Livingstone, the extension of Boer control threatened not merely the Bechuana with whom he had temporarily made his home, but the future of all the Native races to the north, and he began to urge the extension of British protection over these tribes on the two-fold ground of saving the Bechuana from dispossession and exploitation and of keeping open the road to the north, both for missionary effort and for trade.

In the middle of the 19th century, however, England was more concerned to decrease her imperial responsibilities than to increase them. The old imperialism of the 18th century was dead, killed by the combined influence of the loss of the American colonies and the rise of free trade. Livingstone's proposals, therefore, fell on deaf ears. It was not until 1885, twelve years after his death, that his ambition was realised. By that time, several influences had occurred to force England to modify her attitude to imperial expansion. Already it was clear that Europe, after all, would not follow her free trade lead. In the meantime, the products of the tropics had begun to assume the new importance which they have maintained in this century, and the scramble for Africa had begun as the nations of Europe looked for sources which they could monopolise and control in their own interests. In the circumstances, Bechuanaland acquired a new value as the Suez Canal to the north, that value being enhanced by the discovery of gold at Tati and the rumour of great mineral wealth in Matabeleland and Mashonaland. Until 1884, however, missionary and commercial interests alike had failed to persuade England of the advantages of assuming direct control. In that year, the open declaration of a nationalised Germany to seek her place in the African sun, and the suspicion that she intended to move forward from South-West Africa to take control of the road to the north herself, succeeded in driving England into the path along which she had for so long refused to be led. Following upon the Conference held at Berlin in that year, England at last declared her claim to a sphere of influence extending from the northern frontier of the Cape Colony to the 22nd parallel of latitude, and gave effect to her declaration by her commission to Sir Charles Warren to go and announce to the Bechuana chiefs the extension of her protection over them. Subsequently, she increased the area of the Protectorate to take in the whole area claimed by the Bamangwato chief, Khama, up to the Zambesi River.

#### *Unwilling Expansion.*

In proclaiming this protectorate, however, England's hand had been forced by circumstances which she could not control. The failure of the free trade principle to gain that acceptance which she had hoped for it, coupled with the new imperialist



tendencies of post-1870 Europe, faced her with the alternatives of losing all share in the future trade of tropical Africa or of joining in the scramble and extending her own dominions where and while she could. She accepted the latter alternative, but reluctantly. The arguments against expansion still seemed stronger than those for it, particularly in respect of expense. She consequently sought to limit her financial responsibilities as far as possible and saw a promising way out of the dilemma into which she had been forced in the idea, increasingly popular in some quarters, that expansion should be the work rather of the Colonies than of the mother country.

She cast round then, for Colonial shoulders to which to transfer the burden of the new Protectorate. From the beginning it was assumed that the southern part of the Protectorate, which was almost immediately constituted the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland, would in the near future be annexed by the Cape Colony, but it was early plain that the Imperial Government and the Government of the Cape Colony would not easily agree as to the conditions on which the northern part of the Protectorate might be similarly transferred. In 1889, then, when the British South Africa Company obtained its Charter, the opportunity was seized to make provision for the transference of the Protectorate to the Company, the field of operations of the Company being defined as "the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland and to the north and west of the South African Republic and to the west of Portuguese dominions," an area which included practically the whole of the present Protectorate.

It was not until 1895 that the transference of the territory became a matter of immediate concern. In that year, British Bechuanaland was at last absorbed by the Cape and the separate administrative service of that Colony, to which the Protectorate had so far been attached, came to an end, whereupon a definite move to effect the transfer of the Protectorate to the Company was made. The move, however, encountered a determined opposition from a source which the Imperial Government could not afford altogether to neglect. The tribes with one accord protested against their being subjected to the rule of the Company, the three great chiefs, Khama, of the Bamangwato, Bathoen of the Bangwaketsi and Sibebe of the Bakwena proceed-

ing to England to register their protest personally to the Colonial Secretary. In the face of such opposition, the immediate transfer of administrative rights over the Native tribes was not pressed. The chiefs were informed, however, that England had no intention of keeping them permanently under her control, that sooner or later, they would be handed over to the Company, and they were advised to consider carefully the possibility of making better terms with the Company at that moment than might be possible later, and the advisability of attempting to make such terms, advice which the chiefs refused to take.

In the meantime, preparations were made to hand over to the Company all territory outside the actual areas occupied by the tribes, together with a strip of land on the eastern frontier which the chiefs agreed to cede for railway purposes. Within those limits, it was proposed to give to the Company both administrative powers and rights over the land, the scheme having one advantage in the eyes of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, that the policing and administering of the railway strip by the Company would involve the control of the territory's relations with its most dangerous enemy, the Transvaal, and the duties of the Imperial Government in the Protectorate would be correspondingly lightened. The Jameson Raid in 1896, however, wrecked the whole scheme before it had really got on foot and the transfer was never effected. Provision was indeed made for the construction of the railway which was to connect the old Colony of the Cape with the new Colony of Rhodesia, but the administrative control of the whole territory remained in Britain's hands and the idea of its ultimate transference to the Company faded.

That this did not, however, mean that the Imperial Government had resigned itself to a permanent responsibility for the Protectorate is shewn by the schedule to the Act of Union of South Africa which provides for the eventual inclusion in that Union of all the High Commission territories, including the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

#### *Bechuanaland a Native Territory.*

The Bechuanaland Protectorate then, was an unwelcome child in the British family and the hope of its adoption by somebody else, which has been continuously entertained by

Britain has been one of the most important factors in its history. It has exercised a great, if not the greatest, influence on the character of the territory and on the form of its administration. In short, it has resulted in Bechuanaland being what it is to-day, socially and politically a Native territory.

#### *A. Population.*

The small White settler element in Bechuanaland, so definitely isolated from the Native population is the first result of England's desire to get rid of the responsibility of the Protectorate and of her inability to realise that desire, the result, that is, of chance rather than of design. All those, including the missionaries, who had urged upon Britain the desirability of extending her control over Bechuanaland, had seen in such an extension, not only the control of the road to the north but the opening of a new field to European enterprise and European settlement in Bechuanaland itself. Mackenzie,\* the missionary-politician, persistently declared that he was not in favour of the idea that the Natives should own great tracts of land which they could not use. Those lands he considered should be used for settlement by Europeans. He was only concerned to see that such settlement should be British rather than Boer, in the belief that the British tradition would of itself safeguard the rights of the Natives. That the Imperial Government did not contemplate Bechuanaland's remaining a Native preserve either may be gathered both from the terms of the British South Africa Company's Charter which specifically included rights of settlement in the areas conceded by the Charter, and from the policy pursued both in British Bechuanaland and later in Rhodesia.

So long as the British Government remained directly responsible for the territory, however, so long were they anxious to limit European settlement in order to avoid the administrative complexities which such settlement must inevitably involve. Very soon after the establishment of the Protectorate, the chiefs were asked to postpone grants of land to Europeans, a request which was followed up by the declaration that no alienation would be regarded as valid unless sanctioned by the High

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\*Austral Africa.

Commissioner.† In the meantime, concessions of all sorts, other than land, were being sought feverishly by European concession hunters, activities to which the Imperial Government and its representatives were not opposed, although an attempt was made to reduce such concessions to a regular form which would safeguard the interests of the Natives.

By 1895, then, when it was proposed to hand the territory over to the Company the only European settlement which had taken place was in the Tati district which did not strictly belong to the Protectorate but had come to be treated as part of it for administrative purposes. Had the negotiations of that year proceeded as had been anticipated, the settlement of the territory would have passed into the hands of the Company and would certainly have followed the lines of Rhodesia. When the first intention of transferring the whole territory failed, the proposal to transfer all territory not specifically Native, together with the strip ceded by the chiefs, involved rights of alienation of land. The Jameson Raid, which stopped the transfer of administrative right, stopped the grant of those rights in land also and the process of European settlement received another check.

Shortly after this, the Imperial Government proceeded to a final delimitation of Native reserves and in 1899, the boundaries of those reserves were defined by proclamation, the area of the reserves being determined not according to existing needs but with an eye to all future needs. In 1904, the Crown, by Order-in-Council, assumed sovereign rights over the ceded strip and proceeded to vest the land in the British South Africa Company, which thereupon threw it open to European settlement. In 1910, a further Order-in-Council declared as Crown land all other lands outside of Native reserves, the Barolong farms in the south of the territory and Tati. This gave to the Crown great stretches of land in the centre and west of the territory for purposes of settlement, but the terms of alienation

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† *Proclamation 10th June 1891 No. 43.* "No occupation or ownership, or claims of right to occupation or ownership, by any person of European birth or descent in respect of any land within the limits of the said Order, and no concession or grant of any right, title or privilege to deal with or authorise the occupation or ownership of any such land, shall be recognised as valid or legal unless or until approved in such mode as the High Commissioner shall appoint."

of those lands have never been decided upon and they still remain unalienated. Thus after fifty years, the sole European settlements are in the ceded strip on the extreme east, Tati on the north-east frontier and on the western frontier Ghanzi, a small settlement formed in 1898 when farms were given to a number of Boers who had gone there prospecting, settlements so small as to leave the Native character of the territory almost unmodified.

### *B. Administration.*

While the Imperial Government's combined desire and inability to transfer its responsibilities in respect of the territory to other shoulders has had its effect in keeping the Bechuanaland Protectorate predominantly a Native territory in character, it has also operated to induce Britain to administer the Protectorate mainly as a Native territory.

In 1885, when Britain eventually decided to move in the matter of Bechuanaland, she chose to clothe her action in a form which would involve the minimum of change in and outlay in connection with the territories involved while their ultimate destiny remained undecided. A protectorate was declared over the whole region from the Orange River to the 22nd parallel of latitude. In the same year, southern Bechuanaland was constituted the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland, the Governor of the Cape being made the Governor of the new Colony. Northern Bechuanaland, however, remained a protectorate in spite of the protests of those, including Mackenzie, who had hoped that it would be thrown open to European immigration under Imperial control, and who were anxious that the Imperial Government should signify its intention of assuming permanent responsibility for the territory by annexation. To-day it is still a protectorate, although in the course of the intervening half century, the implications of protection have changed out of all recognition.

### *What is a Protectorate ?*

In 1889, Sir Herbert Jenkyns\* defined a British Protectorate as a country which is not within the British dominions but,

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\*"British Rule and Jurisdiction Beyond the Sea," pp. 189-190.

as regards its foreign relations, is under the exclusive control of the King so that its government cannot hold direct communication with any other foreign power nor a foreign power with that government. According to this definition, a Protectorate is a country in which sovereignty is divided rigidly between two powers, the protector who exercises external sovereignty and the protected power who exercises internal sovereignty. This did, indeed, represent England's conception, expressed at the Berlin Conference in 1884, as distinct from the conception entertained by those European powers who were also extending their influence in Africa in this guise. Germany in particular denied this rigid division of sovereignty and held that the protector might assume any part of the internal sovereignty necessary not only to the security but to the well-being of the protected State.

It was in the spirit of the conception for which she stood in 1884 that England established her Protectorate in Bechuanaland and committed such responsibilities as she considered she had assumed to the Governor of the Cape in his capacity as Governor of the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland, who in his turn, deputed them to his representative, the Administrator of British Bechuanaland, to be met with the assistance of the Bechuanaland Border Police. The attitude of these representatives of the Imperial Government in South Africa to the nature and extent of those responsibilities necessarily reflected the Imperial Government's own conception. At first, they hesitated even over the degree to which responsibility for protecting the territory from outside interference committed them to direct action on its behalf. In reply to a complaint from Khama that the Baselika, whom he regarded as his subjects, were rebelling against his jurisdiction and were being assisted by Boers, the Governor sent back the reply through the Administrator: "Khama is an independent chief and he cannot be allowed, while retaining his sovereignty, to put us to the trouble and expense of policing his country. A Protectorate entails no such obligations. Khama is quite strong enough himself to deal with refractory subordinate chiefs, and if any Boers enter his territory and take part against him, he should expel them."\*

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\*Imperial Bluebook. C. 5237-1887.

In 1887, an Assistant Commissioner for the territory was appointed, Mr. John Moffat, ex-missionary, being chosen for that office. He was expected to represent the British Government throughout the territory but the functions assigned to him were simply "to influence the chiefs for good in the government of their people and to advise them as to their relations with their neighbours."\*

It was not long, however, before Britain was forced to modify her attitude in regard to the powers exercisable by the protecting power. The position which she had taken up in 1884 had presupposed the existence of a well-organised and effective government in the protected State, as well as in the protecting State, a circumstance which had in the past, existed where protection had been established in Christian civilised countries. In the 19th Century, however, the system of protection was being developed in a new field, that of barbarian Africa where settled, ordered governments capable of absorbing and controlling new elements were conspicuous by their absence. This England was forced to realise as concession hunters and traders flocked into her new protectorates, and flouted the claims of Black men to exercise jurisdiction over them. In 1889, then, she took her first big step towards the continental view when, by Order-in-Council issued under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, she assumed powers of control over her own nationals within the limits of her protectorates. In order to make this jurisdiction a reality, a second Order-in-Council which applied specially to the Bechuanaland Protectorate was issued in May 1891, authorising the High Commissioner to provide by proclamation "for the administration of justice, the raising of revenue, and generally for the order and good government of all persons within the limits of the Order, including the prohibition and punishment of acts tending to disturb the public peace." Under the powers conferred upon him by this Order-in-Council, in June 1891, the High Commissioner issued a Proclamation providing for the appointment of one or more Resident Commissioners "each of whom shall, within such parts of the territories comprised within the limits of the said Order-in-Council as shall be assigned to him, exercise such

administration and control, and shall be invested with all such powers, authorities, and jurisdictions, as may be by law, including this Proclamation, and by the terms of his commission conferred upon or committed to him, subject always to the directions and instructions of the High Commissioner, and for the appointment of Assistant Commissioners and Resident Magistrates, any Assistant Commissioner or Resident Magistrate, duly appointed, to be empowered to hold a court at such place or places as shall be fixed, and to exercise such jurisdiction as shall be conferred by law or defined in and by his commission." In 1892, a further Order-in-Council was passed, which brought the nationals of foreign states within the Protectorate under the jurisdiction of Britain in terms of the order of 1889 as applied to British subjects.

Thus Britain had definitely departed from her first standpoint and had made provision for the establishment of a British administration which should exercise jurisdiction within the limits of the protected State. In so doing, however, she affected to leave the Native administration intact within the limits of the tribe and to deal only with those relationships consequent upon the regular contact between Europe and Africa with which the tribal authorities had proved incompetent to deal. In the Order-in-Council of 1891, the High Commissioner was instructed that in the issue of any proclamation under that Order, he should "respect any Native laws and customs by which the civil relations of any Native chiefs, tribes or populations under Her Majesty's protection were at the date of the Order regulated, except so far as the same might be incompatible with the due exercise of Her Majesty's powers and jurisdiction." Thus by the Proclamation of the 20th June, 1891, making provision for the establishment of a Bechuanaland Protectorate Civil Service, the jurisdiction of the magistrates was confined to cases involving Europeans or to cases involving Natives of different reserves but was not to extend to any matter in which only Natives of the same reserve were concerned "unless, in the opinion of the magistrate, the exercise of such jurisdiction is necessary in the interests of peace, or for the prevention or punishment of acts of violence to person or property." This discretionary jurisdiction was still further limited by Clause 9 of the Proclamation which declared that, wherever such jurisdiction should



be assumed, the decision should follow the laws and customs of the Natives concerned unless those laws and customs are incompatible with peace, order and good government.

Provision was subsequently made for the automatic reservation of cases involving the death penalty to the Court of the Resident Commissioner, a jurisdiction which has since been transferred to the Special Court of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, established in 1912.

Under the system established under these Orders-in-Council and the Proclamation of June 18th, 1891, the Bechuanaland Protectorate is still governed and administered. The territory is divided into twelve districts in each of which, in normal times, is stationed a European Resident Magistrate. The functions of the magistrate are still those assigned to him in 1891. These functions are primarily judicial and are confined almost entirely to Europeans or to Natives of different tribes with a discretionary jurisdiction in cases involving Natives of the same reserve. By rights he should deal with Native hut-tax defaulters but in practice these cases are left to the chiefs, who are also the hut-tax collectors.\* In 1919, he acquired an appellate jurisdiction within the tribes in co-operation with the chief from whose judgment appeal is made, while in 1926 he was empowered to deal with the distribution of property in case of divorce of persons married according to Christian rite or in the case of the demise of one of the spouses, unless the parties should ask to have their case tried in the chief's court. In 1928, however, the Government itself proposed to hand back this jurisdiction, suggesting that, in future, such cases be tried in the chief's court unless the parties should request to have their case tried by the Magistrate.†

With these exceptions and modifications, the government and administration of the tribe remain, as before, in the hands of the tribal authority; that is in the hands of the chief, for the Bechuana chiefs early developed an autocratic power although the tradition remains that they should rule by the advice and with the consent of a tribal council consisting of the elders of the tribe. To-day the chief still controls the activities of the

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\*Minutes of the Native Advisory Council Meeting 1925.

†Minutes of the Meeting of Native Advisory Council 1928.

tribesmen according to custom. He confers upon the individual member of the tribe lands for his use, both for ploughing and for grazing. He gives the order to plough, and when the harvest is gathered in, although the produce of the soil is held in private ownership, he has a limiting power over that ownership, in that he has the power to prevent his people selling the produce in the interests of the food supply of the tribe. Where a man infringes tribal custom or offends his neighbour, the chief administers justice according to Native customary law in his Khotla, uncontrolled until 1919, by any right of appeal on the part of the individuals involved. But since Native customary law is unwritten, it tends to be fluid, so that in his capacity as law giver, the chief becomes also law maker, and thus indirectly as well as directly he exercises a legislative power in respect of the tribe. Finally he has also a power of taxation for tribal purposes. He can claim from the tribe payments either in money or in kind. For the last two years, Chief Tshekedi, Acting Paramount Chief of the Bamangwato tribe, has exacted a tax of 1/6 per hut tax payer, to be applied to education. In 1930, he demanded further an ox or its equivalent from each adult male, to defray the expense of a voyage to England in connection with the mining concessions granted by his father, Chief Khama. In 1927, Chief Isang Pilane, Acting Paramount Chief of the Bakhatla, exacted a fat ox or its equivalent from each adult male of the tribe to meet the cost of water-boring operations in the reserve. In 1930, Chief Bathoen of the Bangwaketsi imposed a tax of 2/6 on each tax payer as a sort of sickness insurance, the money to be paid over to a medical officer who should serve the tribe. These taxes are not on the same footing as the Government tax in that they are not enforceable by the Magistrate, but the chief is within his power in imposing them and can hold what he can collect.

The reservation of administrative power to the tribal authorities, however, only thinly disguises the extent to which Britain has altered the whole basis of her relationship to the protected State. She has, in the course of the last half century assumed and exercised powers of internal sovereignty not merely for purposes of foreign relations and of police but for a large number of other purposes which have definitely infringed upon the province of the old authorities. She has imposed

taxation, defined Native reserves, declared Crown lands and issued titles to land ; finally, she has regulated and curtailed the power of the tribal authorities either explicitly or implicitly by proclamation. In short, she has constituted herself the source of tribal authority, which therefore can no longer claim to be sovereign.\* Experience, indeed, has shown that, under the Foreign Jurisdictions Act, there are no limits to the powers which the protecting State may assume in respect of the protected.

At the same time, Britain has, as a matter of policy, attempted to disguise the change in her position. She has preferred to leave the administration in the hands of the chiefs and to encourage the idea that she cannot do otherwise without a change in the legal status of the territory because it has had the advantage of limiting her own responsibilities and avoiding any definite and sudden change in the form of the territory so long as its future remained uncertain. Hence the territory has remained predominantly Native on the administrative side with one strange anomaly. In 1922, a Native Advisory Council was established to consist of the chief and five representatives from each of the great tribes. This Council meets once a year for two days to discuss with the Resident Commissioner matters of interest to the Natives and to decide upon the distribution of the money raised for Native development by the special tax of 5/- on each hut-tax payer. In 1923, a European Advisory Council was established to consist of representatives elected by the European population. This Council meets the Administration twice a year and considers the estimates for the expenditure of the general revenue of the territory, even though the greater part of this revenue is derived from Native sources.

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\*Note :— In the Privy Council decision in the appeal of *Khama v. Ratshosa* (No. 4 of 1930) (Decision given July 20th 1931) it is stated that in the course of the trial of the appeal a letter was produced to the Board on behalf of the Secretary of State for the Dominions to the effect that the appellant was not recognised by His Majesty's Government as having sovereign rights.

## CHAPTER III.

### PRESENT CONDITIONS.

In the last few years, the question of the future of the Bechuanaland Protectorate has again been raised, not, this time, by the Imperial Government but by two other interested parties. In recent years, the bulk of settler opinion has tended to feel that so long as the territory remains, as it is at present, a Native territory in character and organisation, the interests of the settlers themselves would be better served by the absorption of the territory by the neighbouring Union. In 1925, the farmers of the three southern blocks, Lobatsi, Gaberones and Tuli, presented a petition to the Imperial Government requesting that they at least might be severed from the Protectorate and handed over to the Union.\* They urged that they are an oasis of civilisation in a desert of barbarism; that they have nothing in common, either in material or spiritual interests, with the Native population to which they are tied. Their standards, they pointed out, are those of their neighbours across the frontier rather than those of their neighbours within their own state, and their material well-being depends on those neighbours rather than upon their own large Native population.

In 1931, following upon the statement made by General Hertzog after his return from the last Imperial Conference, that the time was approaching when the Union should take over the British High Commission territories in South Africa, one of the leading South African weekly newspapers, *The Sunday Times*,† in a leader, urged the powers that be to proceed at once with the absorption of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

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\*It has been suggested from time to time that, while the interests of the southern part of the Protectorate point to inclusion in the Union as its ultimate destiny, the northern Protectorate has more in common with Rhodesia, and, in the event of Britain abandoning the Protectorate, this portion should go with its northern rather than with its southern neighbour.

†“*Sunday Times*,” January 18th, 1931.

The other two territories, it maintained, were a less pressing concern; Basutoland was not ready for incorporation, while Swaziland had missed its opportunity in 1925, when the Union might have taken it over and now there was no reason why the Union should saddle itself with that burden. So far as the Bechuanaland Protectorate is concerned, however, it pointed out that its absorption by the Union would have one distinct advantage for the Union itself; it would provide, through its great stretches of land, an outlet for the surplus Native population of the Union and thus help the Union towards a solution of its own Native problem.

More recently,\* one of the Nationalist Members of the House of Assembly, on the occasion of his crossing the House from the Government side to the Opposition, issued a statement in which he blamed his leader for not having already assumed administrative control of the British High Commission territories. Such control, he urged, would provide the Union Government with an outlet for its own Poor White population to whom the great stretches of Crown land in Bechuanaland might be thrown open. Such a use of the territory, together with the control of the administrative services in all three territories, would have the added advantage of guaranteeing the spread of a specifically Afrikaner culture in South Africa to the exclusion of any alien influence.

In regard to the petition of the Bechuanaland Protectorate farmers, while it was not to be expected that the Imperial Government would sanction the separation of the European area with its inclusion of the best lands of the territory and the control both of its main surface water and of practically the only developed communications of which the territory can boast, there can be little doubt that, in the existing circumstances, the European farmer has much to gain and little to lose by incorporation in the Union. Forced as he is, by the absence of any internal trade in primary products, to seek his markets abroad, he is checked at every turn by the attitude of his neighbours towards him. To them, he is a foreign competitor, and regulations discriminating against him hamper his trade on their markets. As has been shown, his cattle may not be exported to

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\*Mr. van Hees in the "Star," Johannesburg, March 18th 1922.

Rhodesia or South-West Africa on any conditions and only a limited, highly controlled market is open to him in the Union, with heavy costs involved,\* while the export of his stock in transit through the Union is also severely hampered both by the costs of the long railway journey and by the risks consequent upon the refusal of the Union to allow a quarantine camp on the journey between Mafeking and the coast. It is true that recently Bechuanaland has been given representation on the Dairy Industry Control Board established by the Union Government to encourage the development and to assist the marketing of dairy produce, but how long this equality of treatment will last depends entirely on the will of the Union Government.

In spite of being a foreigner in the markets of the Union, however, the Protectorate has a close administrative connection with the Union. This connection is derived, no doubt, from the long association of the office of High Commissioner with that of Governor General, an association only terminated in 1930. As a result of this connection, the services of the Union's technical departments have from time to time been made available for the High Commission territories, an advantage to territories without the resources to maintain specialist services of their own. As against that, however, it has involved a tendency on the part of the administration to fall into line with the Union on matters in which the interests of that country and the Protectorate are not necessarily identical. The most notable illustration is customs duties. The arrangement by which Bechuanaland, like Basutoland and Swaziland, leaves the collection of its customs in the hands of the Union's Customs Department and receives a fixed proportion of the whole revenue collected by that Department, although it has possibly brought into the territory in revenue, a larger return than the consumption of the Protectorate has justified, has in its turn tied the Protectorate to the fiscal policy of the Union. In the last few years, that policy has become highly protectionist, aiming at the building up of secondary industries in the Union. The

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\*Memorandum of Tuli Block Landowners & Farmers Association, June, 1931. "The costs of marketing cattle in Johannesburg are in the region of £1 10s. per head, and in the case of medium cows of which every farmer has usually a number for disposal, this represents 30 per cent of what is actually obtained for them."

Protectorate, however, has no secondary industries and no likelihood of their development in the present circumstances. The only direct effect then of this policy on the territory, has been to cause a considerable increase in the cost of living, a matter of vital importance to a young country where living is already high, owing to its great distance from the coast and the high transport costs.\*

In other directions also, the taxation of the territory has tended to follow that of the Union. The incidence of the income tax established in 1922 was arranged on the basis of the Union's income tax, and recent changes in the direction of increase in the Union's tax have been followed by the Protectorate. Again last year, when the increasing depression threatened decreases in the returns from the old sources of revenue both in the Union and the Protectorate, the Protectorate found itself brought into line with the Union's attempts to raise fresh revenue. In September 1930 the European Advisory Council met and discussed the impending deficit in the revenue. In surveying possible new sources of revenue, an increase in postal charges was proposed by the members themselves and rejected, but a number of small new taxes proposed by the administration were agreed to by the Council. "Two months later," in the words of the Tuli Block Farmers Memorandum, "the country found itself saddled with an additional petrol tax, a doubled postage and a number of increases in the customs tariff," all adopted in accordance with the action of the Union. The attitude of the farmers and landowners of the Tuli Block to this situation is summed up in the final paragraph of their Memorandum—"when the Government has so far lost the control of its own affairs as to be compelled to accept, willy nilly, taxation imposed elsewhere, an anomalous position would seem to have

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\**Tuli Block Landowners & Farmers Association Memorandum 1931.*

"When flour, which can be grown in Australia, railed to port, shipped nearly 6,000 miles and landed in Durban at 8s. 9d. per 100 lbs. costs the consumer £1 8s. 7d.; when sugar which is quoted wholesale delivered in England at under 1d. per lb. costs him 4d.; when petrol, an essential item to-day in a farmer's expenditure, reaches the port at under 8d. and is retailed at 3s. 6d. per gallon; and when wine for which the producer receives 1½d costs 2s. 6d., surely no excuse is required for asking that the Government should take notice."

In 1926-7 the administration reported a 50 p.c. decrease in the import of cotton blankets owing to the new duty of 1s. per lb. imposed by the Union Government.

arisen fraught with the greatest danger and to call for serious investigation."

The Bechuanaland farmer then, finds himself at a disadvantage both through his legal separation from and his close administrative connection with the Union. In one respect, that is in his entry into Union markets, he is treated as a foreigner; in other ways he is treated as a member of the Union's family (in the matter of customs and the methods by which he is taxed) although so long as he remains outside the family, his interests are different from those of the other members of the family. Undoubtedly inclusion in the Union would level the situation up in his favour since then he would have a political value and would share such advantages as are derived from the Union's policy by the Union itself.

While there are obvious justifications for the assumption that the European population of Bechuanaland would be better off under the Union of South Africa, there are several interests in the Union which would undoubtedly benefit by the transference of the Protectorate to their control. South African commercial circles have viewed with alarm the tendency exemplified in the Bechuanaland-Rhodesia trade agreement of 1930 of Bechuanaland's import trade to look north to Beira through Rhodesia instead of south to the Cape through the Union. Further, the prospect of the development of the Bechuanaland mining concessions which have so long been unused, has stimulated in industrial and other circles in South Africa a new interest in the Protectorate and its possibilities. Finally, to those who subscribe to the Afrikaner policy in so far as it affects Natives and Poor Whites, the attraction of Bechuanaland's extensive Crown lands is obvious, as is the advantage for the Union of removing the possibility of the development on its frontier of a State which might set the uncomfortable example of encouraging and developing the interests of the Native majority instead of making those interests subservient to the interests of a White minority.

As against those two influences which tend to favour Britain's at last transferring her burden in respect of Bechuanaland to other shoulders, one interest is still exercised on the other side. The Natives of the Protectorate are now as opposed to absorption by the Union of South Africa as they were thirty



years ago to absorption by Rhodesia. They cling, now as then, to the Imperial connection with a tenacity and a solidarity not often found on political questions. To the Native of Bechuanaland, the transference of the Protectorate to the Union means the compromising of the whole of his future, the loss of all his hopes of remaining a free man and of becoming a "civilized" one. He clings to the liberal tradition of Britain as he dreads the illiberal tradition of South Africa.

To-day that attitude will find a stronger body of support in England than it could have hoped to do at any other period in the history of South Africa, for the new consciousness of human values which is increasingly expressing itself in terms of the rights of the backward races to consideration and care has created a body of opinion which regards as a betrayal of civilisation the openly avowed policy of the Union of South Africa in regard to its great Native population—a policy which emphasises the present inferiority of the Native and assumes and provides for its permanence. If, however, the Government of the Union of South Africa should become actively desirous of absorbing Bechuanaland, it may demand proof that the future of the Natives of the Protectorate is more hopeful under the present regime than it would be under their control. If and when the challenge comes, proof will have to be sought not merely in the tradition of British liberalism but in its actual achievements as revealed by the present state of the country on which alone all hopes for the future must depend. If it were to come this year, as it might well do, would Britain be justified in the claims made on her behalf?

*Bechuanaland To-day. An Undifferentiated Society.*

It is now close on fifty years since Britain proclaimed her protectorate over northern Bechuanaland, and over forty since she abandoned her first conception of protection to accept as her obligation not only external defence but responsibility for the peace, order and good government of the territory. If the measure of her success in this undertaking can be judged by the extent to which she has preserved Native society in its old form, then she is indeed justified.

To-day the Bechuana are, to all outward appearances at least, less affected by the new influences which Europe has

introduced into Africa than any of the other Bantu tribes of the south. The traveller in any Native reserve in South Africa must tend to feel that he has stepped out of one world into another, but nowhere is this feeling so strong as in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In every other reserve in South Africa, the pace of the motor car has largely been substituted for that of the ox-waggon. Here, it is not so. If you inquire as to distance, you will be told how long it will take a man to walk; if you inquire as to a road, other than the Great North Road, even if there should happen to be a road passable for motor traffic you are as likely as not to be guided on to a waggon track—quite impossible for a motor car—that is, if you are given any direction at all, for the Natives of one reserve travel little beyond their own boundaries unless to European centres for work, and so they know little of their own country beyond their immediate surroundings. The circle of the life of the individual is still his own reserve. Within that circle his life is still regulated by tradition and custom and by the command of the chief.

#### *Undifferentiated Society.*

Within the tribal circle, society remains almost entirely uniform. That differentiation which comes sooner or later in the life of every progressive community has not yet taken place although it might have been expected to follow upon the regularised contact of Africa with the complex civilisation of the West. Trade, the first and most obvious line of differentiation, is still entirely in the hands of Europeans. Other occupations in which posts are open to Natives and for which Natives are specially required, such as teaching, posts in the Native police and the few more attractive posts which the civil service offers to Natives, such as Court Interpreters, have not generally been filled by Bechuana but are at present largely in the hands of Basutos.

Only one occupation of any importance which may be said to be derived from contact with Europeans has been adopted by the Bechuana, that is ox-waggon transport of which he has to-day practically a monopoly. In all the reserves, there are at least a few men driving waggons and oxen who have made a fairly comfortable living out of transporting goods from railhead to the stads and beyond to the trading stations scattered over the

territory. Recently, however, this occupation has been threatened by the beginnings of a railway bus service on the more frequented roads, a development which is viewed with alarm both by chiefs and people who see a valuable avenue of commercial development being taken out of their hands. The new service, however, has not so far been a great success. It has been advantageous to those farmers marketing cream to be able to get their cream more rapidly to railhead than by the old method, but for the rest, transport charges are higher than the old charges and the trader himself, to whom time among a primitive society is no object, still clings to the old service, partly because it is cheaper and partly because much of what he pays in transport charges comes back to him in purchases, while the money paid to the railway bus service is lost to him and comes back even to the territory only in the one form of income tax on the railway company. Thus this still remains an opening for those who can find the money necessary in the first instance to procure the stock-in-trade, by no means an easy matter for waggons are not cheap, the average cost being £120. But it is an opening in which the profits are already declining and which must be increasingly precarious as time goes on. There are no evidences that the substitution of motor transport for ox-waggon transport will find the Native willing or able to respond to the demands of what will be a new occupation.

#### *Cost of Protection.*

This undifferentiated Native society suggests that, in defending tribal life from sudden invasion by outside political forces, Britain has also preserved it from the influence of those economic forces which are the greatest factor in modern life, that not only has the form of tribal society been maintained intact, but the content as well. In actual fact, this is not the case. In spite of all appearances and whether Britain has consciously willed it or not, the establishment of the Protectorate has struck at the very roots of the tribal system in its old form. In spite of Britain's determination to interfere as little as possible she has achieved the greatest interference of all. By her own action she has brought the Bechuana into the stream of western life ; she has introduced into the very heart of Bechuana economy and therefore into the very heart of Bechuana social life, the

values and the conditions of European effort and enterprise. And this she has done, not by the introduction of European settlers, not by the extended activities of the traders which incidentally followed upon the security which settled control afforded, but by putting upon the Native himself the cost of the maintenance of the Protectorate. Protection means taxation as Khama fully realised from the beginning. Taxation is not unknown in tribal society but taxation according to European standards is something different from taxation according to Native standards. It is a regular payment in money as against a spasmodic payment in kind. Such a demand from a uniform community organised for and producing at the level of a subsistence economy involves a complete change of focus, a looking outward instead of the traditional looking inward, production for exchange, a purpose which can only be realised through an external relationship. Not that trade was a new thing to the Bechuana. The advent of missionaries and traders had alike stimulated a desire for new commodities, guns and European clothes in particular, and early travellers like Chapman, and missionaries like Mackenzie, had noted the increasing influence of trade on the life of the tribes. But then it was spasmodic and confined to the few; now it became the urgent need of the many, for the burden of taxation is not a tribal responsibility but an individual responsibility carrying penalties for non-fulfilment. To every Mochuana, then, with the establishment of the Protectorate, the world around him assumed a new importance as the purchaser of anything he has to sell, a purchaser whose desires must be considered since he must be induced to buy if the Mochuana is to pay his tax. Thus, in spite of all outward appearances, the conditions ruling the lives of the Natives of Bechuanaland to-day are the conditions of the modern industrial state, not those of the ancient tribe.

This is particularly true in that the undifferentiated character of Bechuana society, involving the absence of a home market, forces the Mochuana to look outside his own people to the developed markets of his European neighbours for the exchange which will bring him the money necessary to finance his life in these days. But what has he to offer that those markets will pay for? The obvious thing is the product of his land which for the Bechuana means cattle. For this, as has

been shown, he has found a more or less ready market as he has for hides and skins. But many have been unable to meet their obligations in this way, in which case their only alternative has been that one which is common in South Africa—the sale of their labour instead of its product, a commodity which has also found a ready market, particularly in the mines of the Witwatersrand. This has always, however, been an unattractive alternative to the Bechuana—one only to be accepted when all other possibilities fail.

*Cost of Uniformity.*

Thus it is in spite of new obligations that Bechuana society has retained its uniform character. Even those who go out to work can scarcely be regarded as a separate class. They still retain their lands in the territory, these being tended by other members of the family during their absence. Indeed, until the mines of the Witwatersrand began to insist upon a 270 days' contract which almost inevitably takes a year to complete, instead of the old shorter contracts, their labour had the character of seasonal labour covering the period between one ploughing and another, when their services could be dispensed with. Where those who go out seek avenues of employment other than the mines, it still largely retains that seasonal character.

Whether this survival of the old ways of life in the face of new obligations and in the midst of highly complex societies is to be regarded as an evidence of strength or of weakness may best be judged by the general level of life in the country, and whether it shows marked improvement since European control was established, or the reverse.

*Bechuanaland's Economic Position To-day.*

Bechuanaland to-day, both Black and White is, like every other country, labouring under the shadow of depression, a proof, if not a happy one, of the invasion of its isolation by outside influences. It may be argued that a period of depression is not the best time to take stock of a nation's assets. As against that, however, it may be argued with some justification that for purposes of stock-taking, a period of adversity in the case of nations as in that of individuals has the advantage of shewing what resources, both material and spiritual, have been

stored up against possible demand; what assets, both material and spiritual the nation can count upon.

#### *Scrub Cattle.*

It must be admitted that, so far as the Protectorate is concerned, the stock-taking is not encouraging. There is no blinking the fact that the territory is in a very bad way indeed. The restricted Union market for heavy slaughter cattle still remains open, though with costs increased in 1930-1 by weighing fees at the station, veterinary inspection for reef abattoirs and weighing charges in Johannesburg. Few, if any, of the Native's cattle, however, have ever gone on to this market, for in spite of the optimistic suggestion made by the Government Secretary in his annual reports to the Dominions Office that the restrictions have helped to improve the stock of the territory, Native stock has in actual fact never been improved. When the Bechuana first began to sell their cattle as a business, the Union market could absorb all the slaughter cattle it could get and a beast fetched anything from £7 to £10 in the early years of this century. Later, when the restrictions were placed on the export of cattle to the Johannesburg abattoirs, the Native still found an outlet for non-regulation stock in the same way as did the European. The result was that the impulse towards the improvement of stock was less strong than the Government Secretary in his annual reports implies, and Native stock remains what it has always been, scrub stock, existing as best it can on the conditions which the veld provides and inevitably starved and lean in winter because of the paucity of pasturage. A few years ago, an attempt was made by the administration to encourage improvements in Native stock by the purchase of well-bred bulls at the expense of the Native Development Fund, but the effort was very spasmodic, and dependent on the chiefs for its success, and, judging by results, the money was simply wasted. The chiefs could not be induced to see that proper camps were made for the bulls and food provided for them in the dry season; the animals were allowed to run with the whole herd and were knocked about by the Native bulls, while they could not stand up to the conditions of the open veld. The result was that they soon died, Native stock remained unimproved and in the conditions of to-day's trade it has no market.

*Inferior Hides and Skins.*

The same thing applies to another commodity which has stood Bechuanaland in good stead. It is an ill wind that blows nobody good, and in the past, a drought which starved and killed the cattle was partly redeemed by the market which offered for hides and skins. A few years ago that was a hungry market consuming all that offered, and out of a total export trade of £293,851 in 1927-8 £70,424 was realised under this head for 1,576,008 lbs. while in 1928-9 £73,842 was realised for 1,436,304 lbs. To-day that market, like every other, has contracted and is purchasing only products of good quality. The result is the closing of Bechuanaland's export trade. In March 1931, the Chief Veterinary Officer reported to the European Advisory Council\* that Bechuanaland hides and skins can no longer be exported in transit through Union ports unless they conform to certain conditions laid down by the Union Government. The trade is in the hands of Union firms whose export of skins and hides is now controlled by Government regulations. These regulations are the result of notification from English traders of the futility of sending overseas inferior hides, and in the interests of the retention of the overseas market, they prohibit the export of skins and hides which are not prepared in certain prescribed ways. In this prohibition are included hides and skins originating in any of the three High Commission territories which for this purpose are treated as part of the Union. Bechuanaland's skins and hides are prepared by the Natives and do not conform to the standards set by the Union Government, consequently their whole sale is now banned. This means a very considerable loss to Bechuanaland involving the whole hide industry of N'Gamiland and indeed practically the whole hide industry of the territory. In the course of the discussion on this matter in the Advisory Council in March 1931, the Chief Veterinary Officer put his finger on the weak spot in the whole situation. He said Natives badly need instruction in the preparation of their hides and skins; the hides from Native Reserves are at present so bad that they are practically unsaleable and do not raise sufficient to pay railage on them.

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\*Minutes—European Advisory Council Meeting, March 1931.

*Closing Labour Market.*

With the loss of their trade markets, the Natives of Bechuanaland are faced with increasing difficulty in finding the money to pay their way and are turning more and more to what has always been for them an unpleasant alternative, mine labour. In normal times, something more than one-fourth of the able-bodied men go out to work in foreign labour centres ; to-day a far larger proportion are offering themselves anxiously for recruitment. Even in the Bamangwato reserve, where the Natives have all along stood out against recruiting, the men are crowding in to the mine labour agents, begging to be recruited. But here too, a closing if not a closed door greets them. In every Native Reserve in South Africa, to the effects of the general depression has been added the disastrous effects on the food supply of a sustained drought and the influence on the labour market of the Union Government's white labour policy in respect of many of the unskilled occupations hitherto monopolised by Natives. The result is that, for the last year, the mines have been in the very unusual position of having all the Native labour they want and the offer of much that they cannot absorb. Everywhere, instead of inducements being offered to tempt recruits, restrictions have been placed upon the numbers to be recruited from any one district. Thus in Bechuanaland only a small proportion of those who would willingly go out to work can find the way to do it.

*Tax Money in Danger.*

Thus the territory is increasingly faced with the possibility of a large drop in the returns of hut-tax, since many will be unable to pay unless they can get work, while already there has been a considerable falling off in the sale by the traders of such commodities as have in the course of the last half century come to form part of the economy of the average family.

In the days of his greatest prosperity, the Mochuana was never more than a poor peasant, rising at best to second-hand European clothes. In these days he cannot even do that. But it is not only the tax money which is endangered and the few European commodities to which he has been accustomed ; it is his very existence which is threatened.



*Below the Subsistence Line.*

Although the Bechuana are a landed peasantry, they have none of the basic security which should be the great asset of such a peasantry—they cannot even feed themselves. Agriculture in Bechuanaland has always been a particularly precarious occupation owing to the small and irregular rainfall, and the Bechuana, like all the southern Bantu, have not been in the habit of taking advantage of a good season to provide against a bad one. In fact, a good harvest usually results in less ploughing the next year. The result is that in more years than is healthy, a considerable proportion of the returns from trade and labour goes into the purchase of food. This situation has shown no change over the last thirty years. The territory has not become any more self-sufficing in this respect either through improved agriculture or through a more careful husbanding of the resources of good years. In 1905, the Government Secretary, noting a fall in the return from customs (from £13,355 in 1903-4 to £9,867 in 1904-5) remarked that the explanation was to be found to some extent at least in the great importation of food necessitated by the failure in the local crops and the consequent drop in the amount of dutiable goods imported, since the Natives had not the money to spend on both. Twenty years later (1927-8), the then Government Secretary, noting a decrease in the value of the ordinary merchandise imported into the territory by the traders (from £274,414 in 1926-7, to £235,492) attributed it to the bad crops and the necessity for Natives to spend their money on food. Upwards of £20,000 were spent on food in the Bamangwato Reserve alone. Between 1904 and 1929, the Government Secretary's annual report records inadequate food supply from local sources in eleven years.

Only in one reserve is this dependence on outside supply avoided. Linchwe, the old chief of the Bakhatla made it a rule that his tribe should have a three years' supply of grain in storage before they should be allowed to sell any, and the rule has been maintained down to to-day through the energy and foresight of Chief Isang Pilane, younger son of Linchwe, who for a number of years governed the tribe as regent for the youthful Molife. Everywhere else in the territory, the shadow of starvation hovers now high now low but never quite out of sight, and never perhaps since the establishment of British protection

has it come so low as it is to-day when external circumstances are closing all the old avenues of economic effort.

This is a sufficiently discouraging record. It shows Bechuana society still living on a subsistence level with all its precariousness. It is a level which now includes a regular tax and a few European commodities but with an insecurity which a period of adversity immediately reveals. Yet if adversity stimulates to new effort it is not all evil. New effort, however, presupposes moral and spiritual reserves, the ability not only to analyse adversity and assess one's own responsibility but also the will and the inspiration to struggle out of the slough. Two factors are at present operating against the Bechuana. The first of these is his physical condition, the second is his ignorance

#### *Health.*

There has been in recent times, apparently, a progressive deterioration in the Bechuana physique. Without the tradition of hardiness of, for example, the Zulus, even threequarters of a century ago the Bechuana were considered quite good specimens of Bantu humanity. To-day it is significant that, of those recruited for the mines, as many as 25 per cent are rejected by the medical officers in charge of examination of recruits in Johannesburg as against a rejection of 5 per cent to 2 per cent of the recruits from other areas.\* It is generally agreed that to-day the physique of the Bechuana is much poorer than that of the other Native tribes of South Africa.

This deterioration has been remarked upon by successive medical officers and has been attributed to a variety of causes. In 1927-8†, it was stated on the authority of a report from one of the medical officers in the territory that the houses of the Bechuana are so much inferior to those of other tribes in South Africa because the race is suffering from debility consequent upon malaria. That malaria is a contributory cause of debility is fairly certain but according to more recent medical opinion, the trouble goes deeper than that ; it goes back to basic weakness which cannot resist debilitating diseases, a basic weakness derived from the diet of the tribe, particularly the feeding of the

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\*Minutes—Native Advisory Council Meeting, 1931.

†Colonial Report No. 1424.

children which is so inadequate as to deprive them of the means of building up stamina and resistance. With the advent of the Pax Britannica, the diet of the tribes has become steadily less rather than more varied. British control has meant the settlement of the population in particular areas, while the suppression of tribal warfare has incidentally resulted in an increase in population. Although the areas of the reserves are still sufficient for all the needs of the tribe and there is no real pressure upon the natural resources which have not really begun to be developed, the free gifts of nature have been both relatively and absolutely diminished. The game which once formed a basis for the diet of the tribe has been diminished by constant hunting. The wild vegetables which used to be abundantly used by the Bechuana have been consumed in the vicinity of the stads, while the increase in population has resulted in the ploughed lands being farther away so that for a great part of the year these lands cannot fill the gap thus left. Lack of water makes it impossible for the people to cultivate fruit and vegetable gardens near the stads. Thus there is a serious lack of green food in the diet of the Bechuana, while the isolation of the cattle posts from the towns has meant that the milk which should be the basis of the children's diet is all consumed on the spot by the herd boys and the small children have to go without, except during the three or four months in the summer when their parents go to the lands near their cattle posts. For eight months in the year, those small children live practically entirely on mealie meal and Kafir corn bread and porridge. "The result of this," the Chief Medical Officer of Health remarked in an address to the Native Advisory Council at its meeting in 1931, "is what one sees every day—that children from four years upwards have large stomachs but their bodies are thin and their bones show very clearly under their skin." In brief, so poor a foundation is laid in childhood that the chances against the adult attaining any great physical efficiency are very great indeed. In point of fact, the adult population to-day does show obvious signs of malnutrition, deficiency diseases like scurvy being far more frequent than they should be among a rural population which spends the bulk of its time in the open.

### *Insanitary Stads.*

But an unvaried diet verging often on actual want as it does in bad seasons is not the only debilitating influence in the life of the Bechuana. The Bechuana custom of living in large stads (Serowe has a population of approximately 30,000 persons) gives the question of sanitation an urgency which is not felt in other Native areas in South Africa where the population is scattered over the countryside. Nothing, however, has been done to deal with the problem and in consequence, as the Chief Medical Officer pointed out, only the action of the sun and the services of scavenging birds and animals has kept the people free from epidemics. But short of epidemic forms of disease, the insanitary conditions of the towns, accentuated as they are by lack of water which renders even elementary cleanliness impossible, must exercise a very deleterious effect upon the health of the individual.

### *Immorality.*

And finally, the moral life of the people is tending to aggravate the tendency to race deterioration. The Native lives a socially circumscribed life in his stad and the tendency to intermarriage is considerable. Apart from that, however, under the influence of European ideas and European control, the life of the Native of the tribe has not only lost most of its old sanctions but also most of its old excitements, and nothing so far has taken their place. Most of the old tribal religion with its ceremonies connected with the life of the individual and his occupation, which supplied so much of the interest of life, has gone, and the Christian religion has provided no adequate substitute to lend colour to his new life. Indeed, Christianity tends to be a religion of prohibitions for the semi-barbarian to whom the finer implications are inevitably largely a closed book. Further, the establishment of the Pax Britannica has put an end to inter-tribal rivalries and those emotional and physical exercises which helped to maintain the fitness and the purity of the race. To-day, ceremonies to absorb the emotional life of the people, and exercises to help to absorb their physical life are alike notably absent, particularly where the work of the tribe is so unexacting and, even at that, is mainly performed by servants, women and boys. The life of the stads is a life of lounging and

gossiping so long as daylight lasts, and with the sunset, external silence falls. There is no public lighting in these great towns and there are no places of general entertainment. Indeed, after dark there is nothing for the people to do except to sleep or to get into mischief. It is scarcely surprising then that the increasing immorality of the stads is a matter of general acknowledgment, and of considerable concern to those who are primarily concerned with the moral and spiritual life of the people. Every circumstance favours it, not only the circumstances of the towns themselves but the isolation of the boys and young men at the cattle posts for months on end, and the exodus of the able-bodied men to foreign labour centres where, as the lowest economic level of society, they are brought into contact only with the lowest social and moral levels which our society, to its shame, still harbours and perpetuates. To-day, as a result, syphilis is playing a very considerable part in the physical and mental degeneration of the people.

#### *Education.*

In one direction at least, one might have hoped for a ray of light in this dark scene. Wherever the European missionary and administrator have gone there has gone also the idea of the value of education, an idea which has taken deep root among the Native peoples of South Africa. The circumstances of Bechuana life have certainly opposed serious obstacles to the rapid spread of education. The isolation of the boys at the cattle posts for months on end has effectively removed the majority of them from any hope of education, while even the girls are carried off to the lands by their parents for three or four months of the school year. But even for those who can take advantage of educational facilities, those facilities are extremely limited. With one exception, the Bakhatla school at Mochudi, built through the efforts of Chief Isang Pilane, there are only primary schools in the territory. Of these, there were in 1930\* ninety-two. These schools are staffed with Native teachers earning on an average £4 per month. The total number of children enrolled in 1930 was 7,500 although according to the census of 1921, the number of Native children in the

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\*South African Year Book No. 12, p. 1067.

territory under sixteen years of age was 65,000. The total cost of Native education in the Protectorate was approximately £7,000. The territory provides no facilities either for agricultural education or for the training of teachers for the ordinary schools. For those who desire such training, it is essential to go out of the territory to the schools either of the Union or of Rhodesia.\*. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that ignorance has still got Bechuana society largely in its grip and is operating to accentuate the conservative rather than the progressive influences at work in its midst.

In view of all these facts, there is little encouragement to believe that the survival of an undifferentiated society has been an evidence of the strength of tribal institutions or of the tribe. Indeed, when one takes the facts of the material condition of the Mochuana with those of his moral and spiritual condition, one feels that something has gone wrong with the development of the territory, not that something has gone right—unless, of course the mere survival of tribal life and tribal institutions has a value in itself, irrespective of the material and moral condition of the individual; but this has not, at least in theory, been assumed by anybody, either Black or White. Indeed, the decision of the British Government in the first instance to maintain tribal organisation and tribal administration was due rather to a desire to limit its own administrative responsibilities for financial reasons than to a reasoned belief in the value of tribal rule for primitive people. Later its opportunism was exalted to the dignity of a policy by the approval first of all of the anthropologists and secondly of those who, on the experience of Sir Frederick Lugard, have come to believe in the inherent virtue of indirect rule, without considering whether the method of government which goes by that name always conforms to the principles laid down for the system of indirect rule by Sir Frederick Lugard himself. Both in the first instance, and in the last, however, and with the support of all those who were interested and able to express an opinion, it was assumed by

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\*The London Missionary Society's fine school at Tiger Kloof was intended to serve the needs both of British Bechuanaland and of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Its usefulness for the Protectorate, however, is necessarily limited by distance and expense while training there still means training outside of and away from the conditions of the territory.

Britain herself that the maintenance of tribal organisation and tribal administration was not an end in itself but a means to an end. That end was the progressive absorption of western civilisation by Bechuana society and the consequent evolution of a society which, whatever its form, would still be to some extent Bechuana instead of, as threatened, the abrupt absorption of the Bechuana by the advancing tide of western civilisation which would have destroyed the Bechuana as a nation and have reduced them to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for a superior White class, the fate which the Natives of both the Union and Rhodesia have suffered. That is, it contemplated a dynamic not a static state, one which would increasingly provide improved conditions of material and spiritual life for the individual, but with the advantage, under protection, of doing it in its own time and in its own way. Only thus can we interpret the injunctions of successive High Commissioners and Resident Commissioners to the Natives to work hard and improve themselves if they do not wish to be left behind and submerged in the race of life. What then is to be said of the depressing and discouraging conditions of Bechuana life to-day? Is it that the Bechuana themselves have not had it in them to produce anything better than they have done in response to the call of a more complex life? In that connection, there are one or two facts which are worth a moment's notice in the endeavour to apportion blame.

#### *Price of Autocracy.*

There can be little doubt that two influences which belong to pre-Protectorate days have operated to lower the mental and physical vitality of the Bechuana people. The first of these influences is the power which the paramount chief achieved and wielded among these tribes. Probably nowhere, except among the Zulus, did the chief exercise a more autocratic power than that exercised by Khama. Khama ruled as well as reigned, as did his father Sekhoma before him. These men came of a strong-willed stock who could and would brook no opposition, obviously the reason why they could not get on with one another, as Khama in his turn could not get on with his son. They thought for their people and they acted for them, but since they were able men whose actions were national, they commanded

national consent. To Khama it fell to face the storm which the advent of European civilisation threatened. He gauged its force and its dangers fairly accurately and sought that protection which might save the integrity of his race. But his very plotting and planning, his very dependence upon himself and his own vision, the subordination to his will which he demanded from the tribe and obtained has taken its toll. His people give the impression of having forgotten how to think for themselves and, with the removal of the strong hand which guided them, they flounder hopelessly in the morass which is almost inevitably formed at the meeting place of two widely different civilisations. The same thing applies to the other tribes, less obviously in most because their chiefs lacked the personality of Khama even while they exercised his powers,\* and in one because the strong hand still to some extent holds the rudder. Among the Bakhatla, who migrated to Bechuanaland after the entry of the Boers into the Transvaal, Linchwe for many years ably guided the fortunes of the tribe, securing to them both place and independence on Bakwena soil. In his turn, he was followed by his younger son, Chief Isang Pilane, who carried on the regency until two years ago for his nephew Molife, and still exercises an influence in the tribe. Between them, these two men made the Bakhatla the most progressive and incidentally the most prosperous tribe of the territory. The Bakhatla always have food, thanks to the chief's insistence upon a three years' supply being kept; their houses are the best built in the territory and their stad the cleanest. But how much these things are due to the energy of the chiefs and how much to tribal initiative remains to be seen. To-day, all the old chiefs have gone and all the great tribes are under young men whose influence is limited both by their youth and by the fact that they have all been educated outside the territory away from the customs and traditions of the tribe.

#### *Slave-Owning Tradition.*

The second influence which has undermined the character of the Bechuana is the hierarchical character of Bechuana

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\*Livingstone relates how Sichele offered to sjambok his people into Christianity. *Missionary Travels*, 1857, p. 17.



society and the slave-owning mentality which it has produced. While there is a distinction between the royal and the common members of the great tribes, there is a more vital distinction, both social and political, between all the members of the great tribes and the members of conquered and subordinate tribes, a tradition which is essentially a slave-owning tradition. The Mochuana commanded to a greater or less degree the services of all those whom he conquered, and was correspondingly set free from the menial tasks of life by their services. He treated his vassals so far as his energy and his contact with them would allow him, as chattels. In recent time, the distinction between Bechuana and Makalahari and between members of the great tribes and members of the subject tribes has tended to disappear, thanks largely to the determination of the British administration to regard all of these as full members of the tribe for purposes of taxation.\* Where initiation schools still exist, both enter on practically equal terms, and in the work of the tribe they share alike. But a pride of race still separates the full members of the Bakwena, Bangwaketsi and Bamangwato from those who have suffered conquest and subjection by him, and for whom he has therefore a feeling of contempt which may be dormant for a long time but will flame forth when occasion arises to challenge it. Among all the great tribes, the Bushmen still occupy a position of inferiority, lower in some cases than in others.

This slave-owning tradition among the Bechuana has had a definite effect on their mentality and on their general attitude to life, as it has had on the mentality of every community in which it has existed. Tribal gossip, political intrigue, and all the diversions of the stad which have always played a large part in the life of the Bechuana still seem much more the business of life to them than the cultivation of the soil and the production of the means of life. It is a significant fact that the most industrious effort is to be found among the tribes which still suffer from the stigma of inferiority and yet have land and cattle and sufficient liberty to apply themselves to their development, the Makalahari among the Bangwaketsi and Bakwena, and the Makalaka among the Bamangwato. These people are husband-

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\*In the Tati district, there are several Masarwa paying tax in the hope that if and when they go back to their reserves, they may be regarded as free men because they have paid tax.

ing their meagre resources to the best of their ability and with thrift and hard work, building up reserves, while the ordinary Bechuana youth squanders his heritage and when it can no longer meet his desires or his obligations, goes out to work to return more often than not as penniless as he went.\* There can be little doubt that unless there is a change of heart and mind among the Bechuana, whatever fortune the territory may rise to will be in the hands of the descendants of the conquered rather than in those of the descendants of the conquerors, a situation which is not unparalleled or even unusual in history.

#### *Burden of Tribal System.*

To any advancement, however, the tribal system itself opposes certain great obstacles. History has repeatedly demonstrated the difficulties in the way of improvement in a simple society where the means of production are communally owned and where the action of the individual is controlled by tradition and custom rather than by his individual needs. In such societies the pace tends to be that of the slowest who are also often the least efficient and the most conservative. In Basutoland, communal land owning and open field cultivation, while they do not prevent improvements in the production of customary crops, operate to render it extremely difficult if not impossible for a man to vary his crop in response to demand since his neighbours expect to share the gleanings of his mealie harvest as food for their cattle. In Bechuanaland, the attempts of any individual to improve his stock which is the basis of his livelihood, are practically doomed to failure under the present system. His cattle must share a common grazing with those of his neighbours and are therefore liable to all the ills which such promiscuous herding invites.† Further, according to tribal custom, he may not centralise his interests. He cannot pasture

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\*The years between 1925-1928 showed a progressive decrease in the amount of money brought into the territory as deferred pay, from £4,200 to £2,600. For 1929, there was an increase to £5,400.

Many of the Makalahari go out to work and with the proceeds, buy cattle. The Bechuana youth does not even buy cattle in these days.

†*Minutes of the Native Advisory Council Meeting 1930.*

Chief Isang said said "There is a lot more trouble retarding Native progression in this Protectorate, because our reserves are communal property, and with communal property nobody who is willing to progress can have freedom to use his progressive ideas."

his cattle near his lands nor may he plough near the grazing. His assets therefore remain scattered and not amenable to individual care.

In another way, the tribal system has imposed a burden on the man who would improve his methods and develop his share of the tribal resources. The practice of tribal labour which it is customary to encourage and uphold as a praiseworthy form of self-help had certainly much to commend it among a primitive people where living was at a subsistence level and effort governed merely by the needs of the day. In a society where effort must correspond to specialised and complex needs, however, and where therefore it should be continuous as it never was and never needed to be under the old tribal conditions, tribal labour tends to be wasteful and uneconomic from every point of view as any one who has watched it in operation must admit. The individual is called away from whatever he may be engaged upon to perform a piece of work which, in so far as it is everybody's interest is nobody's interest. He has to drop the occupation from which he hopes for a more or less immediate tangible gain to himself to go and work for the tribe without pay. He therefore goes unwillingly, and he works unwillingly. He also works badly not only because he is unwilling but because, in these days, he works at jobs which are unfamiliar to him under supervision which is often as ignorant as himself. The result is that much of the time lost to his personal interests is not gained by his tribal interests. The picture of a regiment clearing out the tribal dam at Serowe sticks in our mind with an incident which might have been amusing had it not been indicative of the tragic waste which dissipates the heritage of a nation; the incident of an able-bodied man contributing his quota to the tribal effort by scooping up a sardine-tinful of sand at a time, solemnly placing the tin on his head and walking three hundred yards to deposit the contents on the refuse heap. In 1931, the same tribe, pressed as they have been for years for water, were constructing a dam wall in the bed of the seasonal river, the Metse-Mashweu, which skirts the town. The work was under the supervision of a European engaged for the purpose. At the rate at which it was progressing when we saw it, it was obvious that his job will last sufficiently long for his wages to amount to a considerable item in the cost of that dam. Nine Natives

were squatting together on the scene of operations, conversing. Eight of them were making no pretence of working. The ninth held a chisel and hammer with which he occasionally chipped a fragment from the rock on which he sat. The European supervisor had no control over them; the only person who might have exercised any control was the chief but as the result of a recent agitation in the stad against tribal labour, he was apparently loth to impose his authority at the moment and so the work languished, each day a different batch of men turning up, sometimes six, sometimes a dozen, and the European supervisor kept his patience and his temper as best he could.\*

So long as this system of tribal labour survives, and so long as the tribe insists upon the uniformity of the character of effort on the land as well as the uniformity of the conditions of that effort, so long must Bechuana society remain unprogressivé.

#### *Bechuanaland and Protection.*

But while these influences have been operating to retard the development of the Native population of the territory, it might have been anticipated that other influences would operate to counteract them and to give positive encouragement to Native progress. Indeed, the Imperial Government has not limited itself to exhortation to such progress; it has taxed specially for development purposes as well as for peace, order and good government, and it has allowed the tribal authorities to do likewise. These charges together constitute a great burden on a peasantry of simple habits and simple life,† and the

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\*The wall was completed by the end of 1931. It had taken about eight months to construct.

†The Bechuana have borne a smaller burden of direct taxation than any of the other Natives of Southern Africa until this year (1932) when their tax was raised to 28s. On the other hand, the Mochuana's general burden has probably always been much heavier than that of any of his neighbours, since his chiefs alone have the power to impose levies on their own authority, and elsewhere in Southern Africa, tribal labour has ceased to exist. The greater extent to which the Bechuana live between two administrative and economic systems still further penalises him since the chief's court which deals with practically all offences continues to impose its penalties in the form of fines in cattle, and the difference between the fine of one ox for a minor offence and the 10s. which a European court might impose is characteristic of the weight of two systems on the people. In nine months, the Acting Chief of the Bakwena has collected 750 head of cattle in fines.

people might be justified in expecting some definite return in the form of a marked improvement both in wealth and in well-being. Yet as we have endeavoured to show, there is no evidence of such an improvement.

*Poverty.*

The first explanation lies, no doubt, in the fact that Bechuanaland is a country which needs a great deal of money to develop it. Distances are great and require developed communications to overcome them. The lack of water is a continual handicap to the development of its natural resources and hampers every activity. Neither agriculture nor cattle raising can be pursued with any measure of security until a dependable water supply is forthcoming. Finally, the spread of education, the basic need of every progressive country has certain peculiar difficulties to overcome. While the gathering together of the people in the towns offers certain advantages for educational purposes, the isolation of the boys at the cattle posts for so great a part of their lives at the age when they should be at school, together with the tendency of the parents to take their girls with them to the lands during the ploughing and cultivating seasons tends to nullify those advantages. Unless and until the whole habit of the tribe is changed, the only real aids to educational progress will have to be found in a scattering of educational effort over a much wider field than at present exists and an adaptation of it to the community and the conditions in which that community can apply itself to such effort. If the people really are to progress, which they can only do in the last resort by their own intelligent effort, the boys of the tribe must be educated. In order to educate them, some effort will have to be made to enable them to use some of the time spent at the cattle posts, either directly through teachers or by the use of books specially prepared for them.

In the meantime, the stads offer exceptional facilities for adult education, an activity which has obvious advantages in a community where the boys have, in the nature of the case, been almost untouched by education. Further, that education should be not merely academic but agricultural. Bechuanaland needs a large number of schools which should include secondary schools and agricultural schools, good teachers, since the more

backward the pupil, the greater the need of good instructors, a principle generally overlooked in South Africa, and propagandist effort among the adult population.

But none of these things can be done without a great deal of expense. The territory, however, being undeveloped, cannot produce the wherewithal. The whole export trade for 1929-30 was £292,702, the whole import trade £288,288. In 1901-1, the revenue of the territory was £22,100. Until 1914-15, an annual grant-in-aid from the Imperial Government was necessary to enable the administration to pay its way at all. By 1930, the revenue had increased to £146,385. This, however, seems to be the apex of its increase in the present circumstances ; already a decline has set in. This increase in revenue over the last thirty years has been quite considerable, but it is not such as to make possible any great development work. It is, however, surely scarcely justifiable to expect an undeveloped territory to be able to meet the costs of development out of current revenue, especially the type of development required in a territory of this kind. Outlay on such development should be in the nature of an investment, the return for which should not be looked for immediately. Such an investment, however, could only be made from some outside source, the most obvious outside source in the circumstances being the Imperial Government. The Imperial Government, however, has not seen the case in this light. Instead, its chief aim as expressed through the Colonial Office\* has been to reduce its responsibilities to the minimum. Financial self-sufficiency, no matter what the scale, has been its declared policy, and the ability of the territory to pay its own way for such services as circumstances have rendered essential has been the test of the efficiency of the administration in the eyes of that Office.

#### *General Revenue.*

The first duty, then of the Administration has been to make revenue and expenditure balance. It has been called upon to administer a large and difficult territory with a revenue of less than £1 per head of the comparatively small population. The task has not been an easy one ; that cannot be gainsaid. On the

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\*More recently, the Dominions Office.

other hand, the impression has been gaining ground among the people of the Protectorate, both Black and White, that even with the small income at its disposal, the administration has not done the best that might have been done. There is a feeling abroad that the advantages of applying as much as possible to productive works, general improvement, expenditure from which a return might ultimately be expected has been overlooked or sacrificed to purely administrative expenses. For some years past, the members of the Native Advisory Council have been probing the subject of the benefits derived by the Native population from the general revenue to which they contribute so largely in hut-tax and customs, as distinct from the special Native development fund, while in the last two years since the depression has spread to the territory, leaving its mark on the incomes both of private persons and of the State, the European community which has viewed with alarm the progressive reduction in capital expenditure, has begun to ask whether it exists to maintain an entrenched bureaucracy.\*

#### *Medical Services.*

An analysis of the expenditure of the territory lends some colour to the feeling that all is not well with its financial and administrative circumstances. In 1929-30, out of a total expenditure (exclusive of the Native Development Fund) of £155,822, £11,797, or approximately 8.2 per cent, was spent on medical services for the whole territory.† These services included the maintenance of a medical officer at Mafeking, six medical officers in the territory at Gaberones, Serowe, Francistown, Maun, Lobatsi and Tuli Block, and subsidised medical officers at Mochudi, Molepolole and Kanye, as well as railway medical officers travelling up and down the railway line. Further, two hospitals were in that year in course of construction at Lobatsi and Serowe and have since been opened. These services the Natives share with the Europeans and in this connection it may be pointed out that of the stations of the six medical officers in the territory, four are in European areas,

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\*Memorandum, Tuli Block Landowners & Farmers Association, June 1931.

†It must be understood that there are no private practitioners in the Native areas.

while of the three subsidised medical officers, the amount of service which the Natives receive may be gathered from the statements made in this connection in the European Advisory Council in September 1930 and not refuted by the administration. Speaking of health conditions in the reserves, one member of the Council said " A White resident of Molepolole, one of our big Native towns, informs me that the services of a Medical Officer are only available there one day a fortnight, even though there are sixty and seventy patients waiting for attendance and something like 90 per cent of these are venereal disease cases. If these Natives have—what is so difficult to get and what is seldom shown—so much confidence in the Medical Officer as to come out in such numbers for treatment, is full advantage being taken of this opportunity? Cannot the Medical Officer visit such a large village at least once a week? " The same speaker goes on to reveal the greatest weakness of the situation. " What then," he says, " of the Stads that no Medical Officer visits, such as Ramutsa, Gabani, Manyane, Moshupa, Mogobidu, Mogobani, Sekoane—to mention a few? One has only to visit them to know what is going on, and the appalling loss of man-power through disease becomes apparent. To go into the Kalahari is, I believe, to find a still worse state of affairs."\*

#### *Veterinary Services.*

On veterinary services, which are most important in a country the chief source of whose wealth and whose livelihood is cattle, in the same year 1929-30, £14,826 was spent or approximately 9.5 per cent of the total expenditure for the year. This covered the services of one veterinary officer, three veterinary surgeons, a dairy expert and an assistant, together with two cattle export inspectors, two stock inspectors and a scab inspector. These again, however, have been for the whole territory and could scarcely be expected, considering their numbers, to do detailed work of advice and assistance among the scattered and backward population of this large territory even had they all been able to do so. Last year, when the territory's

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\*Minutes of European Advisory Council Meeting held in September 1930, p. 44.



hides and skins trade was practically stopped by the Union because of its inferior quality, it was suggested that the Natives should be given instructions in the preparation of their hides and skins, but in answer to the suggestion that the stock inspectors might give such instruction seeing they were moving about among the people, the Chief Veterinary Officer replied that the Stock Inspectors would themselves have to be given a course of instruction first.

In view of the meagreness of these veterinary services and of the fact that there is no place for instruction in agriculture or pasture farming in the territory and until last year not a single agricultural demonstrator in the territory, it is scarcely surprising that Native cattle and Native agriculture remain very much where they have always been, and that the speaker who was so emphatic on the subject of Native health could, when the question of Native cattle came up, state "What has actually been done by the Administration for the improvement of Native cattle in the past thirty years? The Chief Veterinary Officer has told us—practically nothing."\*

#### *Education.*

Probably the most vital social service in any territory, however, is education, since that opens the door to self-help. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate, in 1928-30, out of General Revenue, £5,714, or 3.7 per cent of the whole expenditure for the year, went on education. Of this amount, however, only £300 was spent directly on Native education in the form of a grant to the London Missionary Society. Out of the remainder, the Natives shared with the Europeans the services of a Government Inspector of Education. The services of that Inspector, however, are also shared with Swaziland, and the amount of time therefore which he can spare for the Bechuanaland Protectorate does not admit of his visiting many of the Native schools more than once in two years.†

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\*In 1930, the first Native Agricultural Show was held in the territory at Mochudi, and an effort is being made now to stimulate the interest of the Natives in improved agricultural methods by this means and by encouraging boys to go and train as Agricultural Demonstrators. Minutes, Native Advisory Council Meeting 1931.

†Minutes—Native Advisory Council Meeting 1931, p. 30.

The Bechuana are passionately desirous of Education. In a special meeting of the Native Advisory Council held in December 1931, the

On the three social services, then, the whole amount spent in 1929-30 by the Bechuanaland Administration was £32,337, or 20.8 per cent of the total expenditure for the year. Against that, the cost of purely administrative services under the heading of Resident Commissioner, District Administration, Police and Administration of Justice amounted to £60,921, or 39 per cent of the total expenditure, while pensions accounted for another 5 per cent, the remaining 35 per cent being spent on posts, public works and the commission paid to Native chiefs for the collection of hut-tax.

In connection with this distribution of expenditure which is characteristic of the history of the territory, there is a point which seems worthy of remark. This is that, until 1928-9, not only did the territory pay its own way but there was a surplus of revenue over expenditure. This fact was remarked upon with invariable satisfaction in the annual reports from the territory to the Colonial Office between 1916 and 1929. There is surely, however, a distortion of focus somewhere when a young country the whole of whose future depends upon development of resources can boast of an accumulating surplus while those resources remain still undeveloped. It is particularly striking when one reads in one and the same report—that for 1929\* “Taken as a whole, the standard of living of the Bechuanaland Native is below that of most of the Natives of South Africa. No doubt malaria is an important contributing factor. One of the Medical Officers, in his report, says of the Natives in his district : ‘The majority of the people are rotten with the infection (malaria) and chronic malaria pains are a common complaint.’ Can one wonder that, with such a physical disability and its resultant mental lethargy, they only make such efforts as will supply them with the absolute bare necessities of life—this in

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Administration, in view of its financial difficulties proposed to effect certain savings under the heading of education, including a reduction in the salaries of the teachers. Rather than accept the suggestion of a reduction in these already very small salaries, the members of the Council offered immediately on behalf of their people, the payment of an additional 1s. per annum by every tax payer. It is not very encouraging that the only reply to this generous offer has been the imposition this year of an additional tax not of 1s. but of 3s., with no guarantee that the proceeds will go to the Native Development Fund, out of which educational costs are defrayed, and not to General Revenue.

\*No. 1419.

turn lowering their resistance to malaria when it comes their way? The class of houses they occupy are mostly mere hovels, badly covered with grass and quite incapable of being rendered mosquito proof." And the following " For financial reasons it has not been possible to undertake systematic measures of dealing with the breeding places of mosquitos, and at present, knowledge of the particular Anopheles which acts as the vector is practically nil ;" while at the same time, it is recorded that there is a surplus balance of revenue over expenditure of £92,416. Thus not even the small revenue which was raised by the territory was spent on it. There was an idea among the European community that this accumulating surplus would eventually be applied to development purposes. Unfortunately, they have waited too long. Depression has caught the territory with its resources still undeveloped ; in this undeveloped state it cannot carry on even at the level to which it has been accustomed and the accumulated surplus is this year being finally eaten up merely to keep the administrative machine going, a vicious circle which might have been anticipated.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ADMINISTRATION.

In regard to the expenditure of the national revenue, the item of which the European settlers are most critical is that for district administration. To the casual observer, eleven magistrates at a cost of £14,554 does not seem excessive for a territory of 270,000 square miles with a scattered population of 152,983.\* Yet there is a definite feeling that the expense has not justified itself and that this is one direction in which economy might be practised in these days of financial stress. Administrative headquarters at Mafeking seem to some extent to lend their support to this idea, if we may judge from the proposal made in the last estimates for the year 1931-2 to cut down the district staff to nine magistrates, and the consideration given to the suggestions made at the European Advisory Council Meeting of March 1931 for still further reductions.†

The possibility of such reduction in an already small staff, and the fact that a first class sergeant can be substituted for a magistrate without reducing the administrative machine to a standstill, suggests the peculiar position which the district administration occupies in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It

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\*Note 1 : The salary scales in the Civil Service in British Southern Africa are lower than those which obtain in the regular Colonial Service. The result is that the former service is less attractive than the latter. As early as 1890, Sir Charles Dilke in his *Problems of Greater Britain* urged in respect of Basutoland, the danger of cheap service and the importance of paying for the best people. *Problems of Great Britain*, Vol. I, p. 515.

†Note 2 : *Minutes of European Advisory Council Meeting, March 1931*, p. 18. The Resident Commissioner stated "As regards the point about the reduction of Magistrates, although we have in the estimates nine posts for Magistrates in the current year, we have only six appointed, e.g. a reduction of 33 1/3 per cent.

It was subsequently proposed by two members of the Council that in the Native stads of Kanye and Molepolole, first class sergeants under the control of the Magistrates at Lobatsi and Gaberones respectively should be substituted for the present Magistrates in those stads.

is a position to which there is no parallel, in southern Africa at least, probably nowhere in British Africa. In Bechuanaland, the magistrate neither administers his district himself, nor does he supervise the administration. His specific functions are, as we have shown, closely circumscribed, but outside of these, the great sphere of influence and indirect action which is the essential sphere of the district officer in other Native territories in Africa is not open to him. He does not supervise in person the administration of justice in the chief's courts or the relationship between those courts and the courts of the lesser chiefs. As no records are kept by those courts, he cannot keep any check on verdicts or acquire any intimate knowledge of how Native law is developing, or whether it is operating with due regard to personal liberty and security. Further, he has no responsibility for and exercises no check over the expenditure of the chiefs. The revenues of the chiefs are fairly considerable, being derived from payments in respect of mining concessions, percentage of hut-tax collected, fines in Khotla, rents from trading sites, and special levies made by the chief himself upon the tribe.\* There is, however, no Native treasury and the chief manages his own financial affairs without supervision or check either from the tribe or from the administration.

It seems then, that the functions of the magistrate are indeed limited. But although he has no regular, even though indirect, control over Native administration, he has, as we have shown, a discretionary jurisdiction, and he has the right to give advice when the chief chooses to seek it. Within those limits lies the possibility of the magistrate building up a place for himself in the life of the tribe which might exercise a profound influence on the direction and the pace of its development. He has at least the means of being the undeclared but disinterested channel through which the ideas and values of the civilised world may spread to the uncivilised. Unfortunately, the possibilities of the value of the situation have apparently seldom been appreciated either by the members of the district administration themselves or by the Imperial Office which employs them.

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\*It is estimated that from those sources, the Bamangwato Chief derives a revenue of approximately £7,000 per annum, the Bakhatla Chief approximately £4,500, the Bangwaketsi Chief £3,500 and the Bakwena £2,750. These are probably conservative estimates.

*District Administration. Police Origin.*

It must be admitted that to build up an influence of this kind, an influence which, in the nature of the case, must be divorced from any foundation in specific function, requires an ability, an experience and an imagination which are not essential to the efficient working of the more formal routine job of the magistrate. Two influences have operated against the development of a district administration in Bechuanaland with these characteristics. The first of these has been its origin. In most other territories in Africa where a large Native population claims protection, the civil service is recruited from cadets with special educational qualifications who receive a special training designed to give them some acquaintance with the problems with which they will be called upon to deal. In Bechuanaland, the district administration is recruited from the police.\* No doubt training as a policeman in a service like that of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Police does provide the prospective magistrate with one useful qualification—a knowledge of the country and, if his powers of observation are more than superficially developed, its character. But that knowledge is obtained in pursuit of the lawless rather than in association with the needs and aspiration of the law-abiding who are or should be the first consideration of the administration, and for the positive functions of administration as against what we may call the negative functions of police, he has no training whatsoever.

The absence of specific training for administration and the dangers of the police mentality would perhaps be of less importance if the territory were not so isolated from the general stream of life with its stimulus of comparative experience, thought and criticism. The district administration of the Bechuanaland Protectorate is in the hands of people who have known nothing but Bechuanaland, and who are cut off from the world in general among an uncivilised or at best semi-civilised people, carrying on their work with what ardour their conception of that work and prolonged association with inferior mentalities

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\*There are two doors of entry into the Civil Service in British Southern Africa, one direct, dependent on a minimum educational qualification of matriculation, the other indirect, through the police, when that educational qualification is not demanded. The police service thus provides an opening into the Civil Service for those incapable of attaining the minimum qualification for direct entry to that Service.

enables them to retain. In the circumstances, for the atmosphere of stagnation which pervades the life of the Protectorate the district administration cannot be altogether held blameworthy. They have neither been chosen nor trained to assume the heavier but less perceptible obligations of administration in such a territory. Their routine functions have absorbed both their energy and their time.

#### *The Colonial Office.*

But that the Civil Service of the Bechuanaland Protectorate has not been notable for its vision or its energy must be laid at the door not only or even primarily of the Service itself but of those who have been responsible both for its character and its function. There has been no necessity for the district administration to think out a policy which would require vision and devotion. The Colonial Office in London and the Imperial Office in South Africa have presented him with a policy and enjoined upon him the advisability of pursuing it in the most direct manner possible. That policy has simply been to uphold the power of the chiefs. The British Government has undertaken to see that the life of the tribe is not rudely interrupted, but shall pursue its own way towards civilisation; and the method in which it has chosen to do this is to support the tribal authority. The district administration then has found itself called upon only to know the chief and to see that his authority is not interfered with. Except in so far as the chief seeks his advice, therefore, concern with tribal affairs is almost entirely outside his ken.

#### *The Chiefs.*

This means that in Bechuanaland, the chiefs are not only the administrative power but the policy-making power as well. It is their business to decide what is good for their people and how that good shall be pursued. The existence of the Native Advisory Council scarcely modifies this position. That Council meets to consider the expenditure of the fund raised by the tax of 5/- per hut-tax payer, and to discuss with the Resident Commissioner matters of interest to the Natives. Although the Resident Commissioner tenders his advice on the subjects brought up for discussion, both the allocation of funds and the

administration of those funds is ultimately left in the hands of the chiefs.

This means that, in the last resort, the development of Bechuana society has been and is the work of the chiefs so that it seems that the responsibility for what that society has or has not become is theirs. The condition of the country to-day suggests their inadequacy for the task with which they have been faced.

#### *Rule of the Chiefs. Its Failure.*

In the course of the 19th Century, the Bechuana chiefs realised the dangers which increasingly threatened them and their people as Europe encroached more and more upon Africa. Under their own eyes, the Transvaal was taking shape, and at its command, the Native tribes in the large area between the Vaal and the Limpopo were being brought under a new allegiance which destroyed their old independence and such material security as it afforded. In their analysis of the situation such men as Khama grasped the fact that, in the existing circumstances, it was only a question of time until they and their people should suffer a like fate. They realised that, alone, the Bechuana could not hope to stand up against the tide of European advance, that sooner or later, unless assistance were forthcoming, they must be engulfed. They looked round therefore for protection from the dangers of the situation, a protection which would secure to them their survival as a nation. Eventually, in 1885, the bargain was struck with Britain whereby in return for the control of the road to the north, they received the promise of defence from outside attack and recognition of their rights to their land.

That bargain should have been the beginning of the progressive accommodation of Bechuana life to the new standards which Europe was everywhere introducing to Africa, and it was anticipated by those who thought about the matter at all, that this would happen. It was assumed that Britain, by extending her protection to Bechuanaland, had simply taken control of the channel through which civilised conceptions of life should reach this part of the uncivilised world, to be absorbed by them in their own time and in their own way, in security and peace. The course of the last fifty years and the condition of Bechuanaland



to-day suggests that somewhere or somehow that idea has got lost, that the conception of protection has somehow got identified not with peaceful progressive change, but with lack of change. There can be little doubt in the mind of anyone who has any experience of the territory and its way of life that the explanation of that situation lies in the attitude of the chiefs and the extent to which that attitude has been upheld by the British Administration.

The main characteristic of the attitude of the chiefs has been its conservatism, the tenacity with which they have clung to the old order and to their position in that order. It is perhaps natural that an autocratic power should identify the community over which it exercises its authority with itself rather than itself with the community from which it ultimately derives that authority. At any rate, since the establishment of the Protectorate, the chiefs seem to have had only one idea, to preserve their own powers, and consequently to preserve the conditions on which those powers are based. They have come somehow to regard the Protectorate as involving protection of Bechuana society as it was rather than as it might become.

This attitude among the old generation of chiefs was understandable. They had brought their people through so many vicissitudes into the haven of protection that it was natural that they should regard themselves as the wise and indispensable guides of the nation. The result, however, was that they guarded their powers jealously against every challenge, and in doing so, they definitely exercised their influence against change in the character of Bechuana society. The uniformity of the tribe was the only sure foundation of the position of the chiefs and this uniformity they fought to maintain. Even while they urged their people to work hard and prosper in accordance with the new material standards which had been given to them by the Europeans, they regarded with apprehension and distaste the man who, by his own efforts, seemed to raise himself above his fellows. This attitude was strengthened by a traditional foundation. In the old tribal days before protection, the overmighty subject was always a menace not merely to the uniformity but to the unity of the tribe. The only outlet for the energies of such was intrigue and faction, both of which had played so great a part in Bechuana life that it was natural that

they should be the constant dread of every chief, a dread which expressed itself in jealousy and fear of any man who acquired pre-eminence by any means. Even Khama's most ardent admirers recall his jealous tendencies. Mr. Lloyd, for many years missionary at Serowe, in his book *Three Great African Chiefs*\* allows himself one criticism of his hero. He remarks "One of the weak points in the character of one who is otherwise so generally strong, is his jealousy of men who are becoming rich and forceful. A man buys a pump and places it in a well at his cattle post, and supplies water occasionally to a White man who travels by that place, for his thirsty cattle. Khama at once says that Manopi is making a big man of himself; or a white man digs a deep well, about 90 feet deep, and sells a little water to his fellow Europeans. Khama cannot rest until he has bought his well and is able to sell the water himself."

This meant that so long as the old generation lasted, there was a definite brake upon the process of adaptation to civilised standards. It was a long lived generation, coming to an end only in 1924 with the death of Linchwe. Now all the tribes are under the rule of young men and it might have been hoped that they, having been born in a world in which European influence was already established, might have appreciated what the older men had failed or refused to appreciate, the need for Bechuana society to change if it is to justify its survival. So far, they have shown no sign of appreciating that any more than their fathers did. Instead, they cling as jealously as ever to the uniformity of the tribe and to the powers of their own position. They resent the suggestion that their powers are subject to curtailment or even to question. Just as Khama repudiated with anger the idea that a subject could bring an action for damages against him,† Chief Tshekedi has likewise challenged a similar suggestion.

In these days there is at last talk of the development of the mineral resources of the Protectorate under the concessions

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\**Three Great African Chiefs*, p. 83.

†The history of the Ababirwa incident, which led to Sir Herbert Sloley's Commission, as related in a pamphlet by Mr. Gluckman who was employed by the chiefs of the Ababirwas in an attempt to bring an action for damages against Khama, is illuminating on the course of justice in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, as is the history of the cases connected with the names of the Ratshosa Brothers.

granted by the old chiefs. It is rumoured that Tshekedi is making plans to move his whole tribe away to the west of the territory in the event of this development taking place, so that he may get away from the contact of an industrialism which must finally destroy the old order and the old allegiance.\*

It is true the chiefs do, from time to time, resent the difficulties which the tribe encounters in raising tax money, but that resentment usually works itself out in periodic irritation at the Government's policy of refusing trading licences to Natives on the twofold grounds that the territory is over traded and that the Natives are bad traders and must be protected against themselves.† Beyond that, they accept recruitment for the mines as the outlet in cases of financial difficulty, a practice which, while it causes them some anxiety as occasioning a certain population leakage, has the advantage of maintaining, at least formally, the uniformity of the population that remains. In other words, the new generation of chiefs are as averse from change as the old.

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\*In justice to Tshekedi whose administration is in these days coming in for a considerable share of criticism, it is but fair to say that, as Khama's youngest son, it was never contemplated that he would ever be called upon to hold the position which is now his. Excepting that he grew up in his father's house and imbibed its traditions, he had no previous training to fit him specially for the high calling which has fallen to his lot. When the reigning chief, Sekgome, died, Tshekedi was a student at Fort Hare, studying the usual subjects for matriculation. He intended, after matriculating, either to take a degree in Arts which his teachers considered well within his capacity, or proceed overseas to study law. As a student, he was of a somewhat shy, retiring nature, a keen and a clean sportsman, popular with his fellow-students and liked by the staff.

While still a minor and with his education far from complete, he was taken away to become Regent of the Bamangwato tribe. The call was not a unanimous one, for there were other candidates for the office, while the loyalty accorded to a regent anywhere in any walk of life is rarely as complete as that accorded to direct heirs. In such circumstances, Tshekedi took office for which he will have to give an account in his own life time to his successor; and with only the traditions of his father's rule to guide him. He has apparently inherited his father's qualities (at one time much lauded). Disloyalty and opposition have probably toughened him prematurely. Circumstances as he has been, it is difficult to see how he could (even if he knew how to) institute an era of reform and enlightened government, for what has been put into his hand he has in a few years to give back intact.

†Minutes of Native Advisory Council Meetings 1924, 1925.

This might be less dangerous if it were based on a reasoned and intelligent policy of slowing up rather than of preventing change. It would, however, be expecting a great deal of these young men to produce a reasoned and intelligent policy. It must be remembered that they are only one generation removed from barbarism and that the only direct assistance they have had to modify their tradition and develop their Native intelligence is what has been provided by an ordinary secondary education. This is an inadequate enough equipment for a much less important and exacting role than that of ruler of a nation. However, if it were augmented by contact with people of superior education and more extended experience, the situation might not be so tragic. As it is, the Bechuana chiefs suffer from the handicap of all Africans, their almost complete isolation from civilised society. At best, there is only a handful of Europeans, mainly traders, in any Native stad ; at worst, even that society is not generally open to them, and their regular and continuous associates, therefore, are people of their own tribe, people not only less educated and less developed than themselves but because of that, wedded to customs and habits which belong to barbarism rather than to civilisation. The Bechuana are the only people in southern Africa where the usual punishment for any and every offence is flogging. Floggings administered in the Chief's Khotla and at the Chief's command are a regular occurrence. But there is no more brutalising influence on a man's mind than continual indulgence or participation in personal violence.

#### *Britain's Responsibility.*

It is not surprising then, that the young chiefs show as little vision as the old men. The alternatives before them are only two, to cling to the old position, or to encourage a development which in so far as it is successful must undermine their own position. The adoption of the latter would presuppose a vision and a disinterestedness not common among much more highly civilised people and in the circumstances, is scarcely an alternative. The results of their failure to appreciate the difference between their personal ambitions and their duty to their people, however, have been peculiarly disastrous, owing not only to the great powers which the chiefs had and continued

to have,\* but to the great increase of power for which Britain has been responsible. And here we must, in justice, admit that the blame for the present condition of Bechuanaland cannot be altogether laid at the door of the chiefs any more than it can be laid at that of the magistrates. Nobody has any right to expect the ignorant to govern wisely, and he who puts civilised powers into the hands of an ignorant authority without making adequate provisions for guidance and control is surely ultimately responsible for the disasters which must follow. To-day Bechuanaland is suffering not only from material stagnation which threatens to destroy its body; it is suffering from a spiritual oppression which threatens to destroy its soul. In the old days, the Bechuana chiefs were autocratic, and those who have known the territory longest and are best able to judge will tell you that there is no such things as Native justice. Even in the courts of the best of the old chiefs, some people could do nothing wrong and others could do nothing right. However, in spite of the autocracy of the chiefs there was in the end a final check on their powers. Only within certain limits could autocracy operate. Too great a tyranny could and did bring forth the final penalty of banishment or even of death.

But in these days, the Bechuana chiefs seem to be more tyrannous and less checked than ever before. The new interests involved in contact with European ideas and ways of life, the new obligations and the new allegiance involved in the Protectorate seem to have led to an increase and not a decrease in their powers. To-day, the chief is spoken of with the bated breath of fear rather than of respect. The chief proposes to levy a tax. Those who have the courage to protest in the Khotla run to pay first lest they be accused of encouraging others to refuse. What is the explanation of this increased power? The answer is increased security.

#### *Britain and the Protected Power.*

As was said above, the British Administration has one specific policy in Bechuanaland. That policy is to maintain the power of the chiefs. The basis of this policy is peculiar,

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\*Most enlightened Native opinion in Bechuanaland insists that it is a mistake to talk of the Bechuana Chiefs as *Council Chiefs*. The Councils exercise little or no influence.

possibly unique. In the old tradition of protection, it was assumed that there must be a protected power as well as a protecting power. That protected power should be secured against interference, presumably from without, since the essence of the old protectorate was control of the foreign affairs of the protected State. In the course of her African experience, as we have shown, Britain was forced to modify her conception of the functions of the protector and assumed certain rights of internal sovereignty. In respect of Bechuanaland, however, an attempt was made to disguise the change by leaving the administration in the hands of the old authority. On the other hand, in the course of the change and under the disguise, Britain seems to have come to define the protected power in respect of Bechuanaland as the chiefs', and to have extended her protection of that power to protection against their own people. At any rate, the peculiar position exists to-day that the whole weight of an arbitrary authority which has nothing in common with British traditions of the rule of law is exercised by the Imperial office in South Africa against anybody who dares too emphatically to criticise the action of his chief. It requires much courage to be a critic in Bechuanaland to-day. There is apparently no difference between criticism which in most societies is a more or less inoffensive pastime, and agitation which carries a less pleasant signification in the eyes of established authority ; and over every critic in Bechuanaland hovers the shadow of banishment without trial on the authority of the High Commissioner. Even in the Union of South Africa where arbitrary powers exercisable against Natives are expected, that iniquitous measure the Riotous Assemblies Act of 1931 gives no more arbitrary powers than were exercised recently against a member of the Bamangwato tribe who had been for some time opposed to the chief, critical of his actions and of the conduct of tribal affairs, and finally sponsored a petition to the Administration against the powers of the chiefs and the retention of certain tribal customs, including tribal work. He was given twenty-four hours' notice to remove himself from the only place where he has any property and any rights, and that without trial. Further there is probably no parallel to the appellate jurisdiction of the magistrates in Bechuanaland, who can only exercise that jurisdiction in conjunction with the chief from whose judgment

appeal is made, a travesty of justice which is exaggerated by the expressed policy of the Government of upholding the power and authority of the chiefs. The fact that no records of cases are kept so that the magistrate has to get an oral statement of what has transpired in the first place—a statement in which the word of the chief does not count least—does not make the possibilities of even-handed justice any greater, nor does the further fact that since the magistrate does not come into contact with the members of the tribe from day to day, while he serves and has a duty to the chief, he has to seek his knowledge of the plaintiff when he has to deal with his complaint, and then primarily from the chief himself who is complained against.

Taking all the circumstances into account then, it is scarcely surprising to discover that, freed from the possibility of the penalties which the old society kept in reserve, thanks to the support of Britain, and without the vision and the education to become national leaders of a progressive nation, the chiefs have become more arbitrary in action and more jealous of any challenge to their action. It is also scarcely surprising that, with the support which the British Administration has given and does give to the chiefs, there should be a feeling abroad among the Native population of Bechuanaland that British protection exists for the chiefs and not for the people. And finally, it is not surprising that, in view of these facts, the state of Bechuanaland is to-day what we have found it to be. Britain has helped the chiefs to stereotype the old system, to rivet the tribal system upon the people. She has made it impossible for the Bechuana to produce that new and healthy society which would have justified her and them, for the chiefs have not wished it in view of the sacrifice which it would entail on them, and she has bound herself to their wishes.

This alliance has lasted for fifty years, with what results we have seen. The question now is, can it be broken or its conditions altered before it is too late, before the future of the Bechuana is irretrievably lost? There are certain possibilities that it may be broken from within. At least two facts are operating to stimulate a spirit of criticism of the chiefs by their own people. The first of these is the relationship of the present chiefs to the tribes. In the past, the sanctity of the tribal office in the eyes of the great bulk of the tribe, which made

possible the continued exercise of the great powers of that office, rested on the close identity of the chiefs with the people. Today that identity is less pronounced. The new chiefs are not only young but they have all been educated outside of the territory, away from the traditions and conditions of the tribes they are called upon to govern. They do not know the laws which they are expected to administer. They are, to some extent, foreigners among their own people. That must inevitably weaken the bond both from their side and from that of the people. The old men cannot feel the same attachment to a chief who is not in the old sense, one of them.

That, however, is an influence which will operate very slowly. One which may operate more rapidly is the increasingly apparent incompetence of the chiefs in the business of the everyday life of the tribe. It is only necessary to read the Minutes of the meetings of the Native Advisory Council since its inception to realise how much time and money and opportunity are lost through the inability of the chiefs to apply themselves any more intelligently or energetically than the individual tribesman to the affairs of the tribe. The whole extent of the Native Development Fund is £10,000 per annum. Out of that fund, the great bulk of Native education has to be paid for which, of course, should leave a deficit but actually leaves a small margin. That margin has to cover the cost of all other forms of development and would, one would imagine, be carefully husbanded for the benefit of the tribes who find so much difficulty in paying their taxes. Yet one reads that in 1923, a boring machine was bought and a man employed to work it. After being knocked about from one reserve to another, often unused and unusable because the people who were supposed to supply wood and water failed to supply them, the machine was discovered to be so badly damaged as to necessitate some considerable outlay to make it fit for use once more, and in 1925 it was sold for what it would fetch. In 1924, and again in 1925, £500 was earmarked for the purchase of well-bred bulls to improve Native stock, the chiefs to see that suitable pasture was provided for them. The bulls were given to the chiefs and were either not distributed to the tribe or were allowed to run on the open veld where they were knocked about by the Native bulls, could not stand up to the lack of food and water and so died; another



record of waste. In 1926, the Bakwena were granted £500 to make a dam. That dam is still not made although the money has been regranted annually, when it might have been used for other things. In this connection it is only fair to the Administration to record that, tired of the Bakwena Chief's failure to look after the affairs of this tribe, they took the drastic and unprecedented step of deposing him, although the method by which the action was carried through revealed little statesmanship.\*

In addition to the Native Development Fund, there are the chiefs' own revenues derived from tribal sources. As has been said, the expenditure of these is in the hands of the chiefs themselves and no records are kept, but when one looks around a Native stad, it is easy enough to see where a good deal of it goes. In one stad, beside the chief's house which is a more or less dilapidated building on the European model, are a couple of garages made of corrugated iron, with the doors off their hinges and the roof leaking. These garages housed when we last saw them, the remains of four motor cars, of which at least one had been brand new nine months before but was now scrap metal. In most places apparently the tribe's money goes in the same reckless way.

These things are bound to make an impression sooner or later on the minds of the people and indeed, there are signs that they are already doing so. To-day in every reserve there is some element of what the present administration and the chiefs would call faction, some element of criticism and discontent. At present, these elements merely represent the growing pains of a society in which suppression has not yet killed the process of growth. The question is, will they end peacefully in changes the indications of the needs of which are everywhere, or will they end in some less desirable fashion; for those who have any knowledge of either individual or social psychology, it is a well-known fact that energies denied a legitimate outlet will seek an illegitimate one, so that criticism consistently suppressed will inevitably end by becoming faction. The decision here depends ultimately on the part the British Administration

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\*The Chief was asked to attend at the offices of the Administration at Mafeking when he was informed that he would not be permitted to return to his tribe.

decides to play ; whether it will continue its old role of upholding an authority which has not the qualifications to achieve a national outlook and has merely become more tyrannical the more it has been upheld, or whether it will itself assume responsibility for a progressive policy however it may decide to administer it.

### *The Limits of Protection.*

In the face of the rising tide of criticism which the failures of the last half century in Bechuanaland have induced, the Imperial representatives in South Africa have sought shelter in the limitations of the powers which a protector may assume. In the light of the changes which have taken place both in the practice and in the theory of protection, that is indeed an insecure shelter. In 1887 the Governor of the Cape, writing to the Administrator of Bechuanaland stated " Experience has shown that under a mere Protectorate, it is very difficult to establish efficient administration and jurisdiction over Europeans, especially foreigners. Annexation is necessary for such a purpose, and at present the Native Chiefs Khama, Sechele and Gasietsi are not understood to be desirous to part with their rights of sovereignty nor are Her Majesty's Government by any means anxious to assume the responsibilities of it."\* Yet within three years, provision was made, without annexation, for such administration and jurisdiction. Since then, as we have shown, Britain has assumed one power after another extending, had she wished to exercise them, to the regulation and direct limitation of the authority of the chiefs themselves, culminating, as has been said, in 1931, in the deposition of one of the chiefs, surely the exercise of the last claim to internal sovereignty.

There are, in fact, no limits to the powers which the protector may assume in respect of the protected. In so far as Bechuanaland is concerned, the essential fact is that when the Protectorate was declared, Britain had no Colonial policy. She embarked on this new venture in imperialism against her will, her heart being set rather on limitation than on extension of her responsibilities. The history of the territory was dominated by that fact and its expression in her desire to hand over her

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\*Imperial Blue Book. C—5237. No. 20.

responsibilities in respect of it to somebody else. This hope operated to prevent the Colonial Office\* thinking out any policy of their own for the territory as it encouraged them to shelve the burden of administration. They were content to let the chiefs make the policy as they were content to let them administer. For this, which amounted in the last instance, to the neglect of the essential interests of the territory, the Imperial Government must take the blame.

But besides having to shoulder responsibility for its failure to carry the burdens it should have carried, it can claim little credit for the way in which it has met such obligations as it has assumed.

The Native Advisory Council is a case in point. That Council was presumably instituted to help to initiate the Natives into the mysteries of government on modern lines. It is significant that it meets for two days in each year, that it has not been the custom to circulate an agenda before meetings, that the chiefs do not meet to prepare an agenda of their own before the Council comes together and so have to do it then; that the minutes are so imperfectly published that it is impossible to follow up the history of any one point from year to year and that until last year, no financial statement was published. It is not perhaps irrelevant to add that the members of the tribes other than those who attend the Council never see the minutes of the meetings, and that the Council is therefore nothing to them. The members other than the chief are supposed to be chosen by the tribe. There is little reason to suppose that they are chosen in any direct way. In all these circumstances, when the very meagre education of the chiefs is added, it is easy to understand the low level of discussion and the absence of business ability revealed by the Minutes of those meetings. It is also easy to understand how such vague dissatisfaction with the existing arrangements as do from time to time enter the minds of the chief seldom achieve any effective result. Last year (1931) Chief Isang Pilane, in the course of a discussion on the cost of Native education to the Native Development Fund, remarked† " Apart from being told about money which might come from

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\*Now Dominions Office.

†Minutes—Native Advisory Council Meeting 1931.

England, and apart from the 5/- which is paid into the Native Fund, the Natives would like to see something being done for them out of General Revenue"; to which the only reply given by the Resident Commissioner was, "A great deal of General Revenue is spent directly for Native benefit, e.g. hospitals and doctors.\* These services cost a great deal, and while I do not say that we ought not to spend more, we have first to get more to spend."

If, however, the Dominions Office could be induced to change its attitude to the territory and take some interest in it and its possible development, the forces which to-day are enlisted on the side of discontent might still be used to help to save Bechuana society and to produce a useful and effective nation. What Bechuanaland needs to-day is to be freed from the incubus of the tribal system, or at least that that system should be given room to breathe freely so that it may expand and break its frame-work of its own energy. It needs encouragement towards individual effort and improvement of educational facilities, and encouragement to use them by the opening of careers to talent, a step which no government in South Africa has yet taken. There is too strong a tradition in South Africa that Africans can only do menial or routine jobs, a tradition which haunts even Native territories. So long as it remains, faction will remain too. There is no better way of attaching people to any system than by giving them honoured employment in its service.

It will be answered again that those things need money. That is true—and this is the worst time to ask for it. Yet those who are interested in Bechuanaland and in the future of the Bechuana have a right to remember that much money has been wasted in the past through incompetent management, and that the Bechuana are not to blame for the fact that they have fallen on a period of world-wide depression with undeveloped resources and without the developed intelligence to help themselves.

#### *Indirect Rule.*

In regard to the way in which any new policy might be administered, Bechuanaland itself offers no definite or useful

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\*See figures given above.

guide. So far it has been governed neither by direct nor by indirect rule, certainly not by the former, and equally certainly not by the latter as that is understood either by Sir Frederick Lugard\* or Sir Donald Cameron,† whose general principles Sir Anton Bertram‡ sums up in his statement: "This (indirect rule) does not mean that there is an abdication of the direct rule of government. The great machine of government still proceeds in all its departments, both administrative and technical, but within the framework of this government every effort is made to train the Native authority in executive responsibilities and sound principles of government and progressively to extend its sphere." Under the guise of indirect rule, Britain has simply abandoned the work of government in Bechuanaland to the traditional authorities. In the issue, all that can be said is that the result affords no justification for a modification of the opinion that the tribal system has no inherent virtue of its own; that indirect rule like direct rule is only valuable in so far as it is based on the conscious knowledge that the tribe must change into the nation, on an intelligent intention to enable the people to effect that change in their own time and in their own way, but ultimately to effect it.

#### *Trusteeship and Exploitation.*

In conclusion it is difficult to say that, in Bechuanaland at least, the policy of trusteeship has so much to its credit that it could at this moment stand the challenge of any claims which the Union might put forward. A strong case could be made in support of the contention that the Native has more hope of salvation under the active burdens of the South African system than under the stagnation of the Bechuanaland system. As against that, the best that could be said would be that trusteeship has never really operated in regard to Bechuanaland. A lip service only has modified the policy of opportunism which has really so far governed its destinies.

As regards the policy of trusteeship in general, however, there is one obvious danger which the history and the condition of Bechuanaland suggest. That policy has a tendency, in

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\**Dual Mandate in Tropical Africa.*

†*Tanganyika Territory: Native Administration Memoranda.*

‡*The Colonial Service*, p. 71.

emphasising the paramountcy of the interests of one section of the community as against another to accentuate differences rather than similarities, a tendency as great in its own direction as the tendency derived from the policy of exploitation in its direction. To anyone who knows anything of history and to anyone who has lived and thought in South Africa, it must be more and more apparent that, whatever the future of this country, it must be the product of the combined efforts of both Black and White, and any policy which tends to discourage that idea and to put artificial barriers in the way of its realisation is complicating the future for all concerned. In Bechuanaland everything has been done to keep the two races separate. Territorial segregation has separated the settlers and the Natives; the traders in Native reserves have been made to feel that they are there on sufferance, that their position has no security but depends on their ability to please those in authority; the whole white population has been made to feel that the country must depend on the tribal authorities; and ultimately the anomalous existence of two Advisory Councils has been the final and in many senses, the least logical expression of the separation of Black and White. Yet what is the result? For thirty years, the two races have pursued different paths only to come to the conclusion at the end of that time that their interests are similar and not diverse. Territorial segregation has had the effect of keeping the two people separate in every aspect of life to the now acknowledged detriment of both. To-day the European population of Bechuanaland has only two possibilities before it if it is to survive, either to separate from Bechuanaland or to become part and parcel of it. The former suggestion has, as we have shown, been made. There was, so the people themselves claim, little conviction behind it; they prefer to remain directly under Britain. On the other hand, there is only one way in which they can so remain with any satisfaction, that is if the whole territory is developed. More and more their interests have turned inward as the insecurity of their outward interests has been demonstrated, until the final demonstration is provided by this period of world wide depression. They must find a home market and to do so they must encourage the Native to approach nearer to their own level.\*

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\*European Advisory Council, Minutes of Meeting, March 1931.

consciousness of these facts has found expression in recent meetings of the European Advisory Council where discussion of the conditions of life among the Natives, the desirability or otherwise of allowing the Union to exploit the labour resources of the territory and the possibility of exploiting the Natives' need of improved stock to find a market for their own well-bred bulls for which otherwise there is no market, has occupied an unprecedented proportion of the time and interest of the members. The Native in his turn, has never really appreciated isolation. There is nothing the Bantu longs for more than the heritage of Europe, nothing he wants less than to be a Native problem.\*

But, we shall be told, the acknowledgement of the interests of both sections of the population is nothing more nor less than the old colonisation with all its dangers for the Native himself. The answer surely is that the policy of trusteeship should express itself in a reasoned and reasonable encouragement of both parties and a special care for the essential securities of the weak, a policy in which the interests of the two parties shall be balanced instead of the interests of one party being given a false paramouncy over those of the other and the efforts of either party being stultified by the insecurity of a basis of sufferance.

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\*Chief Isang Pilane—"We think that by having two Councils in this country, which sit at separate places and times, a 'Native Problem' is being created." —Native Advisory Council Minutes 1929.

INDIRECT RULE IN  
SOUTHERN AFRICA

(No. 1)

BASUTOLAND

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BY

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# Indirect Rule in Southern Africa.

## BASUTOLAND.

### I.

For nearly fifty years, the existence of three British Protectorates in Southern Africa, viz., Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, has been a matter of little interest to anybody except the people who live in them. Their nearest neighbour, the Union of South Africa, except in so far as it has recruited a certain amount of Native labour from them, and, since Union, collected their customs and performed certain other small services for them, has known little of them and cared less. It has, indeed, always been tacitly understood that, in due course, they would be absorbed by the Union, but the when and the how have hitherto attracted little interest. Now, however, the situation is apparently changing. General Hertzog, the Prime Minister of South Africa, in one of his earliest utterances on his return last year from the Imperial Conference, made his first public reference to the territories in the statement that the time is now ripe for their incorporation in the Union; while in December last, the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* had a word to the wise on the advisability of the immediate absorption of Bechuanaland at least.

The explanation of this change of attitude, of this unexpected importance which suddenly attaches to the Protectorates and their ultimate future is to be found outside the immediate field of South African affairs in the wider field of British colonial policy. The decision of a British Labour government to make the principle of trusteeship not merely the theoretical but also the actual basis of policy in those of her territories with large Native populations has so far been enunciated with specific reference to East Africa only. Sincerity must, however, involve its extension sooner or later to the southern possessions as well. The possibility of such an extension

faces the Union of South Africa with two unpleasant prospects. The first of these is the prospect of moral isolation in the policy to which South Africa has definitely pledged itself since Union, the policy of White superiority based on the economic exploitation of the Native. The second is the prospect of a material loss. To-day the Union recruits approximately one-sixth of the Native labour force employed in its labour centres from these three southern Protectorates. But encouragement of Native economic and political development in the territories which the active application of the principle of trusteeship must involve must, almost inevitably, close these recruiting grounds, a result which will seriously aggravate the one great difficulty with which the Union has to contend in its policy of maintaining white superiority, namely adequate supplies of Native labour. It will also have the further important effect of excluding the Union from a field which it has always regarded as its own to exploit when it should consider the time ripe to do so. Hitherto the Union has been content to leave the Protectorates to Britain, secure in the knowledge that all the advantages to be derived from possession belonged to it without the cost, and in the belief that the control of their future economic development lay with it. Now however, if Britain is sincere in her avowed policy, it must be prepared to see the resources of the territories, or so much of them as are still Native, guaranteed to the Natives and these resources developed in the interests of the Natives themselves.

Thus the possibility of a future divergence of opinion between Britain and South Africa on the question of Native policy, and generally on the directions which the development of the Protectorates should take, makes it important to the Union for the first time in its history, that the administration of these territories should be in its own hands. Already its anxiety has been stirred in respect of Bechuanaland by the prospect of the development of the territory's mineral resources, and the tendency

which its trade is already evincing to turn north through Rhodesia rather than south through the Union as it has hitherto done. On the other hand, that the Imperial Government does not contemplate passing its southern Protectorates over to the Union at present, but is prepared to take a new interest in them itself, may be deduced from the separation at this juncture of the offices of High Commissioner for South Africa and Governor General of the Union which have hitherto been united in one person, the action which has called forth General Hertzog's statement of policy.

There is, however, an additional reason for a wider interest in the Protectorates than they have hitherto commanded. The searchlight of public interest is being focussed upon all Britain's possessions in Africa and what she has to her credit in respect of them by Germany's agitation for the return of her colonies. Recently Germany's claim for the return of Tanganyika Territory was pressed before the League of Nations on the ground that her administration had been far superior to that of Britain and more in accordance with the principles of trusteeship. These claims are open to criticism; her methods of colonisation in the past have had much in common with the policy of the Union of South Africa in the matter of Native administration. They co-operate, however, with the Union's anxieties in regard to the effects of the policy of trusteeship to make this a fitting moment to review some of the results of Britain's policy here in the south. Such a review may help to reveal what Germany might find to criticise and the Union of South Africa wish to maintain.

Of the three British Protectorates in South Africa, Basutoland is perhaps the simplest in that it is the one complete Native reserve. In Bechuanaland, there are sufficient European farmers and traders to justify the existence of a European Advisory Council. In Swaziland two-thirds of the land are in European hands. In

Basutoland alone has no land been alienated, if we except a grant from Moshesh to the Paris Mission at Morija.

Basutoland lies in the very heart of the Union, in the upper part of the triangle formed by the Orange and Caledon Rivers and the Drakensberg mountains. Its frontiers thus touch Natal on the east and the Free State and the Cape Province on the north-west, west and south. It has an area of 11,716 square miles and a population which, according to the last census in 1921, was 498,781, giving an average of 15.08 acres per head. A very large proportion of the country, is however, mountain, the Drakensberg in the east, rising to a height of twelve thousand feet, while in the centre, the Malutis, although less high, rise fold upon fold leaving only the narrowest valleys between. Only in the west does the level descend to that of hill and plain, the latter stretching to the Caledon River, the Free State boundary, but nowhere exceeding forty miles in width.

The territory is not only one of the most beautiful districts in South Africa, it is also one of the most fertile, as the old Free State Boers fully realised. With an average rainfall of 35 inches in the mountains and 30 inches in the plain, it has inexhaustible supplies of underground water and, in the upper regions, natural irrigation by springs which, even in a drought such as has been experienced this last year—1930—still flow freely. Add to this that the soil, in the lowlands at any rate, is at least 15 feet deep and heavy from generations of silt, and that the country is almost entirely free from cattle diseases, while horse sickness is practically unknown, and the desirability of the country to a farming people can be readily understood.

Basutoland indeed, first came under British protection in order to save it from the covetous eyes of its neighbours. The Boer farmers who settled in the Free State after the trek found Moshesh a troublesome neighbour and his lands a desirable heritage. Moshesh, who had with difficulty, perseverance and ingenuity, built up a nation

and defended it from the attacks of earlier invaders, including the terrible Mantatees and the still more terrible Matabele, viewed the advent of this latest invasion with an alarm which the others had not inspired in him. A sound instinct warned him that here was an enemy of a different calibre. He consequently adopted a policy the object of which was to make life in his vicinity unendurable to the newcomers in the hope that they might be induced to move. His instinct, however, had been right; this was a different type of enemy, an enemy with a patience and a persistence unknown among Native people. In those days, Basuto claims extended considerably beyond the limits of the present territory, into the rich wheat lands on the west bank of the Caledon, now one of the richest districts of the Free State. These claims vanished in the struggle against the Boers, and what remains of Moshesh's territory to-day was only saved by the decision of the British Government to accede to his request to take him and his people under its protection.

British protection was extended to Basutoland in 1868, very unwillingly. England did not wish to increase her responsibilities or her expense in the sphere of Empire. With the loss of most of her first colonial empire at the end of the 18th century in the War of American Independence, and the advent of free trade, there seemed little point in acquiring and maintaining overseas possessions. The existing Empire had to be defended, however, and the annexation of Basutoland seemed to be the only means towards maintaining peace on the frontiers of the Cape Colony, where, in the event of the final defeat and dispossession of Moshesh by the Boers, that Chief, embittered by his loss, might find a new rallying ground among the Kafir tribes beyond the Kei for indiscriminate attack upon the European.

#### *Britain in Basutoland.*

From the first, it was decided that Basutoland was to remain a Native reserve and that its mode of life was to

suffer as little change as was consistent with the establishment of peace and the maintenance of order. The result of this decision was that, in this territory, the system of indirect rule which now prevails in the three Protectorates was first established in South Africa. Under this system, the territory is grouped with the other two Protectorates under the control of the High Commissioner for South Africa, an office hitherto associated with that of Governor General of the Union hence involving the residence in the Union of the holder of the office. In the territory itself, British authority is represented by a Resident Commissioner, whose headquarters are at Maseru, the European capital. He is responsible to the High Commissioner, and thence to the British Government, for the order and well-being of the territory. He is assisted by seven Assistant Commissioners, one resident in each of the districts into which the territory is divided, and by a police force of something less than 300 Natives with about a dozen European officers.

It is obvious that a service of this extent could not administer a territory of 11,716 square miles, especially when two-thirds at least of that territory are mountain, accessible only on horseback, while all the so-called government "camps," the seats of the Assistant Commissioners, are, with one exception, in the western plain. These camps are linked together by the one good road which the territory boasts, but are separated from the higher reaches of their own districts by days of travel on horseback.

But the members of the European Civil Service are not expected to administer the territory. They are there to assist and, if necessary, to advise the Paramount Chief and his subordinates in the conduct of affairs, and to see that justice is done and peace and security maintained. The real administration is in the hands of the Chiefs. The districts, which are large, are divided up into wards. Each ward is presided over by an hereditary Chief, who administers justice—except in the case of serious criminal

offence, such as murder, conspiracy, culpable homicide, etc., which are reserved for the Resident Commissioner's court—controls the distribution and the use of lands, and otherwise regulates the lives of his tribesmen. From the Chief's Court there is an appeal to the Paramount Chief, and thence to the Assistant Commissioner but, except in cases involving Europeans, the latter has no original jurisdiction.

For the most part, the making of policy, like the administration, is in the hands of the Chiefs also. True, when England finally assumed responsibility for Basutoland in 1884, after an attempt to put the burden on the shoulders of the Cape Colony, the law-making power passed to the High Commissioner, while the ability to make regulations for the carrying on of the work of government was reserved to the Resident Commissioner. It was, however, tacitly agreed that as little change as possible should be made in the administration, consistent with the demands of justice and the dictates of humanity. This policy received the sanction of the only group of people interested in Imperial expansion in the 80's. This group, the philanthropists, desired expansion not for itself but in so far as it provided protection for Native communities threatened with destruction by the advancing tide of White colonisation. They wished to protect Native societies from sudden change, and to secure to them the possibilities of a gradual natural adaption to new influences and a future political independence. They thus lent a moral justification to a policy which appealed to reluctant Empire builders as involving little financial expenditure, and the instructions issued to the new Government was to regard the protection of the old order, the support of the old authorities, as one of the first of its obligations. As a result, down to to-day, the European administration has preferred to lead rather than to drive, to gain the acceptance of a line of policy rather than to impose an act of government. It is true that in 1920, the High Commissioner issued a proclamation

increasing the Hut Tax from 20s. to 25s. in spite of the determined opposition of the Chiefs. Taxation, however, is regarded as the special province of the Government, in that it is one of those innovations which of necessity attended the establishment of British overlordship and is imposed to meet the cost of services inseparable even from indirect European rule, for example the cost of Magistrates' Courts, salaries, medical services, etc. On the other hand, in 1929, as the result of frequent complaints as to the dilatoriness of the Chief's justice, the Resident Commissioner introduced in the Basutoland National Council proposed new regulations for judicial administration which, among other things, would regulate the number of Native Courts and expedite the course of justice. The Basutoland National Council is a body consisting of one hundred members, all Natives, ninety-five of them chosen by the Paramount Chief, and five appointed by the Resident Commissioner. It has, since 1910, met once a year at Maseru to discuss matters of public policy and interest. In the nature of the case, it is really representative only of the Chiefs, and these Chiefs refused to consider the Resident Commissioner's proposals. Actually, the Resident Commissioner has powers under Proclamation of 1884, to make these regulations, but he has not proceeded with them in face of the opposition. The powers affected are those of the Chiefs, and he apparently does not care to interfere with them without the consent of the Chiefs themselves.

Thus is Basutoland governed, as it has been governed for the last fifty years, by a system which is partly European, partly Bantu, and in the very heart of a European society. Which means a trial of the system of Indirect Rule in the most searching conditions. How has it worked out? Has it justified itself? Are the Basuto to-day a more contented, more prosperous, more sturdy race than they were fifty years ago? Are they, in any real sense, a nation? The answers to these questions must be sought among the people themselves.



## BASUTOLAND TO-DAY.

### II.

To outward appearance, except for the Government camps where small villages of a European type have grown up, and Maseru, which presents the appearance of a small country town, Basutoland remains very much what it must have been when Britain agreed to annex it. The Basuto were then and they are still a semi-pastoral, semi-agricultural people. True, their dwellings, instead of being scattered like those of the Transkeian Natives, are grouped in villages, but the Basuto village has none of the characteristic features of the European village. It is merely a collection of huts with, so far, an entirely undifferentiated population. All are engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits and there are, with the rarest exceptions, neither traders nor craftsmen among them.

Land among the Basuto is still tribal. No survey has ever taken place, and there is no private ownership, if we except the grant previously mentioned as made by Moshesh to the Paris Mission at Morija. Common ownership of land does not, however, mean an absence of the sense of private property. Every Basuto holds in private ownership some cattle and probably some sheep. The lands used for pasturage are used in common, but with arable land there is a difference. To each man as he marries, the Chief gives a holding in the fields belonging to the village. This holding consists usually of three strips of approximately two acres in extent, although it may be more if he is favoured by the Chief, or less if population is pressing upon the resources of the village. The strips lie usually in different parts of the village lands, the scattered nature of the holding being ostensibly to avoid the danger of a man having all his eggs in one basket in the event of localised catastrophe such as hail, but it may have originated, as did a similar practice among our own Anglo-Saxon forefathers, in the sense of equality which desired to give to each man a share of the good and

the bad land alike. Once a man has received his holding and has begun to plough, the land is his until the crop is reaped. Cultivation is an individual matter also, the man and his family being responsible for the work, although they may occasionally secure a day's help from their neighbours in return for the festivity of a beer drink (*Letsima*). As soon as the crop is gathered in, however, the land theoretically reverts to the tribe, in that anyone and everyone may turn his cattle into it to feed on the gleanings of the harvest. There is, however, no redistribution of lands from year to year, although theoretically the Chief may allot and re-allot lands as he likes. The tendency here reflects conditions in the mediaeval European village, in that a man's holding tends to become fixed on a customary basis, the natural conservatism of a primitive society providing for the individual a security of tenure which the law denies him. Thus, year after year, a man cultivates the same land, sharing with his neighbours the gleanings of his own and of their harvests for the flocks in which his pride is really placed.

#### *Protection. What is it?*

Just as the conditions of this rural community depend on the Chiefs' administration of the tribal land, so the peace of the community depends mainly on the Chief's administration of tribal justice. Disputes about land or cattle are dealt with in the Chief's *Khotla*, as are also petty crimes. Only in the event of dissatisfaction with the Chief's decision and a desire to appeal against it does the individual find himself in personal contact with the European magistrate, or in the event of his being accused of one of the serious criminal offences before mentioned as reserved for the jurisdiction of the Resident Commissioner.

Thus apparently the normal routine of Basuto life survives fairly completely, and if the object of British protection was merely to preserve Basuto society for the

Basuto people, it would seem as if it had had a measure of success rarely accorded to political schemes. But the questions which one is bound to ask are, has Basuto society really survived so completely as, on the surface, it appears to have done? And, secondly, can British Protection justify itself on the ground of the mere formal survival of so simple a type of society in the midst of a society so complex as that of the Europeans of its borders.

Actually forces have been at work in Basuto society, perhaps changing the framework little, but subtly altering the content. In the first place, there has been a great increase in population due mainly to the establishment of peace consequent upon British annexation, although it has been assisted in these later days by the return to the homes of their fathers of men who had been born in the Union of Basuto parents, and who had gone to live in the Union but have found the burden of Union Native legislation more and more irksome. In 1898, the population of the territory was approximately 256,000, by 1921 it had reached 492,781, and the census which should have taken place this year would probably have revealed a further 100,000 increase. This is a serious factor in an undifferentiated agricultural society, and it is scarcely surprising to discover that, where thirty years ago the highlands were used only as cattle posts and there were no villages beyond the fringe of the mountains, to-day the highest and narrowest valleys are cultivated and villages are scattered right up the mountain sides.

But while the population has been thus increasing rapidly, the land itself has been decreasing. Soil erosion in the lowlands of Basutoland is a tragedy. What fifty years ago were ditches that a man could step over are to-day ravines thirty feet deep and as many wide. Every year the storm water makes new and alarming ravages in a country where the soil is very soft and where the grass has been so steadily grazed as to leave nothing to bind. In the mountains, the evidences of erosion are distinctly less, probably owing to the more recent use of the pastur-

age, and to the greater accessibility of water for the cattle, obviating the dangers of tracks to distant drinking pools, which sooner or later mean dongas.

### *The Burden of European Administration.*

While the pressure of population on the natural resources of the country has thus been steadily increasing, new burdens have been imposed on a society never designed to sustain them. The advent of even a limited European Civil Service, anxious to introduce as little change as possible in Native society has inevitably introduced the greatest change of all, monetary taxation in a natural economy. A European Civil Service has to be paid for, as have the social services which the European considers inseparable from progress. Schools, hospitals, Law Courts, gaols, all require money for their maintenance, and all these accompany European administration, or even European Protection as interpreted in these days. The result is that the problem of the Mosuto is not now the comparatively simple one of finding food for his family and his herds, but the comparatively complex one of finding food for his herds, food and clothing for his family, and money for his European protectors. To-day, every adult male Native pays at least 28s. per year in direct taxation; the polygamist pays more, the State exacting an additional 25s. for each wife after the first.

And finally, the very existence of a European administration, the very presence of one and a half thousand Europeans in the Territory, the very proximity of the Union, has inevitably introduced to the Mosuto new ideas, new needs. Clothes are now a necessity; tea and sugar form some part, however small, of the diet of every Basuto family.

How, and to what extent, have these new needs been met, the needs of a new standard of living, a new type of taxation? The increased population coupled with the ravages of erosion naturally mean that the answer cannot be looked for in the extension of a man's holding. The

obvious direction then in which to look would be in an improved use of his old resources. Tribal Natives without contacts with a more complex civilisation tend to live and to produce at a subsistence level. They use the resources of nature extravagantly and wastefully. This, however, leaves a margin whereby increased effort may meet increased needs which, owing to the particular natural advantages of Basutoland, is even more true of that territory than of most. To some extent, under pressure, the Mosuto has met his needs by the use of this margin. In the year 1898-9, with a population of 256,000 the value of the country's exports was £82,615, or just over 6s. per head; in 1928, with a population of approximately 593,781, the exports reached the value of £1,013,392, or one pound point seven (£1.7) per head. This is certainly an increase in output, but with the first level so low, the last can scarcely be considered adequate response to the increased demands to be met.

#### ***Retarding Factors.***

Certain obvious factors have operated to retard the increase which, considering all the conditions, might have been expected. The absence of transport facilities must be regarded as one of the first of these. An undifferentiated population must mean absence of a home market, therefore an increase in wealth in such a community must imply dependence on an outside market. But either a home or a foreign market, but particularly the latter, depends upon means of transport and communication. Sir F. D. Lugard remarks in his *Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* "the material development of Africa may be summed up in the one word transport. Though we may perhaps at times entertain a lingering regret for the passing of the picturesque methods of the past, we must admit that the locomotive is a substantial improvement on head-borne transport, and the motor van is more efficient than the camel. The advent of Europeans has brought the mind and methods of Europe

to bear on the Native of Africa for good or ill, and the seclusion of ages must perforce give place to modern ideas." These are facts which have been recognised in regard to tropical Africa where money has been spent lavishly to overcome the difficulties of isolation. In Basutoland, no attempt has been made in this direction. There are no railways in the territory except the short extension from Ladybrand to Maseru. There is only one road suitable for wheeled traffic, that which runs north and south through the western plain. In the mountains, the only means of transport are pack oxen and pack ponies. It is not surprising then to discover that trade is very small and that agricultural methods in the mountain areas show even less influence of European impact than the plain, in that agricultural machinery is practically unknown there.

#### *Unenclosed Lands.*

Transport facilities, however, are as much an effect as a cause of development. Their absence points to absence of demand, which can only be explained by lack of initiative in the direction of improved production. For this the customary methods of land usage must be held responsible. The fertility of Basutoland soil and the extent of its rainfall make it suitable for a variety of crops, while there is little reason why parts at least of the territory should not emulate the claim of the bordering Free State to be the orchard of South Africa. Peaches grow with ease, and the territory can produce as fine cherries as those which command luxury prices on the Johannesburg market. The custom that the lands shall revert to the tribe after each harvest, however, forces the individual to grow the traditional crops. Departure from this practice would be regarded with jealousy, suspicion and discontent. The tribal system bears heavily upon the individual, refusing him the right to progress without his neighbours, operating to keep the community at a dead level of uniformity. In a few cases, people have endea-

voured to put their land, or part of it, to specialist uses such as growing fruit trees, only to find that both their neighbours and their Chief have resented their enterprise and done their best to hamper it, the former by allowing their pigs and donkeys to ravage the orchards, the latter by refusing permission to fence. And under the tribal system it is easy to justify such victimisation, for to depart from the traditional crop is to deprive the people of part of the grazing on which they have counted for their cattle, while to cultivate anything which goes on from year to year (e.g. trees) has all the appearance of attempting to stake a permanent claim to the land and so deprive the tribe of its possession. The advantages to be gained from differentiation and specialisation are not appreciated. The idea of working for a market has not penetrated to the mass of the people, and the innovator is suspect as a danger to the community.

One force should be operating to counteract the dulling, conservative influence of tribal custom, namely the spread of education, for European administration has carried the school with it to a greater or less degree wherever it has gone. In Basutoland there are over 500 schools, all, with the exception of three, Mission Schools. Government maintains an industrial school at Maseru and two Intermediate Schools, at Mafeteng and Maseru, and it subsidises the Mission Schools. In 1927, a special tax of 3s. per annum, payable by every adult male, was imposed for educational purposes, and Mr. Buell calculated that more money per head of the population is spent on education in Basutoland than in any other British Protectorate. In spite of these facts, it is difficult to feel hopeful of the progress of the nation through the enlightenment of succeeding generations of its young men, and this not because anything can be said against the efforts of the Missionaries, who have always been of the best and most devoted type, but simply because they are rarely given the opportunity of educating the male youth of the country.

*Wasteful Cattle Herding.*

There is little doubt that the central retarding factor in Basuto economy is the customary method of cattle farming. Basutoland is an excellent cattle and sheep country and the Basuto, like all the Southern Bantu, have a desire for the possession of cattle which they feel for nothing else. It is not surprising then, that the whole economy of the nation is built up round this interest, but it is the explanation to a very large extent of the present poverty of the Mosuto, and of the dwindling hope of his survival as an economically free man. As has been previously stated, pasture lands are open and common to all. The cattle graze all over these lands; no attempt is made to conserve the pasturage, with the result that it is eaten bare and erosion follows. Neither water nor food is specially provided for the animals, with the result that, in the first place, they tramp to distant drinking places making tracks which give the process of erosion an excellent start, and secondly, the arable lands remain unenclosed and unimproved because they provide winter feed after the harvest is gathered. But because all the lands thus remain unenclosed, the boys of the village are occupied from their earliest years herding the cattle so that they may not stray among the ripening harvest. Constant attention is required and numbers help to make up for that lack of concentration and vigilance characteristic of youth. And so a position arises fraught with serious problems and grave dangers for the future, in that the schools are full of girls being initiated into the mysteries of the three Rs and embarking on the road to culture while the boys remain outside, victims of the tribal system, the foundation on which it is built and maintained. If the boys reach school at all, it is so late that the first freshness of youth is gone and the work of education to a great extent rendered futile. Western nations know something of the difficulties and dangers which arise from leaving their womenfolk in mental darkness while their men monopolise education, but what can these be com-



pared to those of a society whose women have been led to look outside and beyond its boundaries, to new values and foreign institutions which they inevitably come to regard as superior, while its men remain weighted with tradition and sunk in ignorance. It is a situation that scarcely bears contemplation, though even yet perhaps few of its implications can be appreciated.

While tribal custom thus holds the land in bondage, then we must look elsewhere for the response of the Basuto to the demands of their new life.

## BASUTOLAND AND THE UNION.

### III.

That the whole story of Basutoland's economic position is not to be found in a very small increase in production and a still very low standard of living, may be gathered from a comparison of the country's imports with the purchasing capacity which its exports allow. The value of imports in 1928, exclusive of Government imports, was £871,515. This, however, would mean a retail price at least one-third higher, say £1,162,002, which in its turn means a little under £2 per head of the population. When to this is added a minimum direct tax of 28s. per head for approximately one-fifth of the population, it is obvious that, in view of the £1.7 (one point seven) per head export, which incidentally includes the European middleman's profits, the Mosuto must find some means of adding to the resources derived from his land and cattle. How does he solve this problem? The answer is, in leaving his land for months at a time to earn wages in the service of an employer. But employment in Basutoland is scarce—a little domestic service with Europeans; for the rest, the Government is practically the only employer, and its capacity to employ labour is very limited. Beyond the police force, which numbers less than three hundred, a small number of clerical posts in the Government offices, a very small number of teaching posts and posts as tax collectors, all of which require a certain amount of education, the only employment offered is unskilled work on the roads. As a result of this absence of a home labour market, the bulk of Basuto labour goes outside the territory either to the mines of the Witwatersrand or to the villages, and on to the farmers of the Free State. The amount of labour which goes out of the territory averages considerably more than half of the adult male population. The revenue returns for 1928-9 showed the yield of the education tax of 3s. per adult male as

£15,103, giving a tax paying population of 100,686 persons, while the passes issued to seek work outside the territory totalled 53,878 in 1928 and in 1929 74,742.

***Economic Pressure and Exodus of Man Power.***

It is difficult to see on what moral or national grounds this exodus of the able-bodied men from the territory can be justified. It cannot but be harmful both to the individual and to the nation. How can a country progress without the leadership of its own young men? How can agriculture improve when one man's land is left to the care of another? What can be the effect on the individual of separation for long stretches from family life and the sanctions which uphold it? What can be the effect on the community of plunging its men into new surroundings and among strange values without even a careful preliminary education to assist them to judge the new things which they see and hear, and without the stabilising influence of home and kin? This general exodus occasioned by economic pressure merely means that the men of the Basuto nation are being sacrificed at every stage to a system which prevents a country of 11,716 square miles from supporting a population of under 600,000 persons on anything more than the barest subsistence level. The boys are deprived of education, the men are deprived of their home, and the nation is deprived of the intelligent interested efforts of its men in building up for it a sound and healthy future worthy of an unconquered people.

***Subsidised Wage Standards.***

But there is an aspect of the situation which involves an issue more pressing because more wide-reaching even than the future of the Basuto nation. The ordinary pay of the Basutoland Government to men at work on the roads is 1s. 6d. per day, out of which they have to find their own food. Even such badly paid employment is, however, always in demand since the Mosuto must get

money for his taxes and for such European commodities as have become as nearly as possible necessities to him, and he is able to accept such a wage because his subsistence and that of his family are secured to him from the land. In short, the wage is one subsidised by the land. Whether from the point of view of the Basutoland Government this is justifiable is perhaps a matter on which there might be two opinions, but there is an aspect of the situation which cannot fail to meet with general condemnation.

The scarcity of employment in the territory and the enforced exodus of the Basuto to the Union in search of work leads to a definite and disastrous influence on Union Native wage standards. The Union has already a large Native population which has no land but must earn its whole living in European employment, either on the farms or in the towns and villages. The Mosuto comes into these fields of labour, not with the object of finding a livelihood but merely to secure the wherewithal to meet the demands which modern society makes upon him. He can, therefore, and he does, accept a wage upon which the men with whom he comes into competition cannot live. The Natives of the border towns are to-day feeling the pressure of this competition very acutely, but its influence is not confined to them. It spreads right through the Union. Wages on the mines, in industry and trade generally, are kept low by the presence and competition of tribal Natives. A large proportion of these Natives, it is true, come from Union Native reserves, but the numbers are seriously increased by the great influx from Basutoland, and the smaller influx from Swaziland and Bechuanaland; and every such influx means less hope for the detribalised Native of the Union.

Furthermore, the wage standard of the Mosuto is pitched particularly low because his own Government offers so little. Of this fact, Orange Free State employers are obviously aware and are prepared to use it to their own advantage. This was evident from their anxiety lest

the Basutoland Government would decide to raise its rates of payment as the result of an enquiry made last year into labour and labour conditions in the territory. If the Mosuto can earn 2s. per day on the roads in Basutoland, his brother will not accept 1s. 6d. per day in the Free State. There is, however, little likelihood that the Basutoland Government will do anything which would be so unpopular with the Union, and the Free State employer will continue to obtain cheap labour from the territory rather than employ the unsubsidised labour in his own locations. In the meantime, the Free State towns will continue to puzzle over the overcrowding in their locations, and the problem of a redundant Native population.

This wage situation can be viewed from two angles. First, it means that Basuto labour is being kept on a level which makes any appreciable rise in the standard of living impossible. The spending capacity of Basutoland, in spite of the sacrifice of its men, is scarcely £2 per head per annum. But even more serious than that is the depression of the wage rates of the Natives of the Union, since that involves a danger to the future of the whole Bantu race in South Africa. The situation involves an indirect subsidy by the British Government to the Union's policy of White superiority based on the exploitation of Native labour. As we have already mentioned, the difficulty with which this policy has to contend is the inadequacy of the supply of Native labour which bids fair to create a scarcity value. This difficulty has met at least a partial solution in the indirectly forced labour output of the British Protectorates, the subsidisation of which by the land neither the mines nor the farmers have been slow to appreciate and to use against the Union Native. The sacrifice for the Protectorate itself begins even earlier than the manhood of the individual. It begins with his boyhood spent in the fields instead of in school. With the men away at foreign labour centres, the boys must tend the cattle and assist with work on the

land until, in due course, they are relieved of those duties by the new generation, and take their turn in the labour market. And so it goes on from one generation to another.

Thus the present situation in Basutoland offers little apparent justification for satisfaction. In spite of all its advantages, the country is to-day essentially a poor country. Even the £2 per head per annum estimated as the spending capacity of the population scarcely represents the full depth of its poverty, since that includes at least £96,072 paid in indirect taxation in the form of customs duties which means at least 3s. per head. But the poverty is not only material, it is spiritual as well. Its spiritual poverty lies in the sacrifice of its boys and men and the apparently complete absence of a policy. When Britain established a Protectorate in Basutoland, the purpose was ostensibly to give the Basuto security in the interests of the peace of some of its neighbours, but presumably the ultimate purpose of this security was to enable them to evolve in their own time the new form of society, whatever it might be, which must result from the contact of Black and White if the Basuto remained a free nation. That is, the purpose was dynamic, not static; it perforce involved the realisation that a nation is not a museum specimen but a living organism; it had presumably an eye to the future as well as to the past. And yet to-day, we find the Basuto nation a nation apparently without a future, except as part of the whole southern Bantu race whose standard it merely helps to lower and to keep low. Saved from the Free State Boer, it has apparently been handed over, gagged and bound, to a more dangerous because a more insidious foe than the enemy met on the field of battle, the foe of economic pressure. What is the explanation? Certainly not conscious betrayal on the part of Britain. Then what?

## HYBRID ORIGIN OF INDIRECT RULE.

### IV.

Basutoland occupies a particular place both materially and historically in the British Empire, which helps to explain why hitherto its possession, with that of the other two Southern Protectorates, has been taken very lightly by Britain. Rescued from the old colonial policy of dispossession and exploitation of the Natives characteristic of the 18th century, and without the economic attractions which have brought the tropical possessions into the limelight in the 20th century, it has been left, apparently peacefully and quietly "to develop along its own lines." Unfortunately it seems to have been nobody's business to discover what the desired or desirable direction of those lines might possibly be. This is one of the dangers of a system of divided control, that the actual making of policy may be forgotten in the attempt to decide whose function it is. The Colonial Office apparently felt that it had played its part and made policy so far as it was called upon to do so when it decided to support and maintain the authority of the Native Chiefs. The result was to throw the actual burden of policy-making on to the shoulders of the Chiefs. This was what the British Government presumably intended should be done, but, in establishing the system of indirect rule, it overlooked, certainly it left to chance, two important conditions of the success of the scheme from the point of view of the future of the nation.

#### *Chieftainship a Doomed Institution.*

The first of these was that the Chief should be a man of sufficient education to assist him in making a policy for his people based upon an appreciation of the new forces affecting their lives. The second was that he should be a man of sufficient vision to realise that the old tribal chieftainship is a doomed institution, a form of government which must pass as the people develop, and pass with a

rapidity corresponding to the success of the holders of the office in guiding their people along the paths of material and mental progress which they must traverse if they are to hold their own in the world of the future. These are difficult conditions to fulfil. If a man has no statesman-like qualities, a good and careful education may help to supply the deficiency, while if he has such qualities, such an education will give them the opportunity to blossom, but if a man has no generosity of spirit to guide his nationalism it is difficult to see how that defect can be remedied. Yet without these qualities and the equipment which education rightly directed can give, the position of the Chief is full of temptations to himself and dangers to his people. Realising as even the dullest must, that tribal sanctions, like tribal organisations, must break down sooner or later under the impact of western ideas and forces, he will almost certainly be tempted to cling to his power and to oppose any change which might threaten it, to struggle to keep alive a feudal state in the midst of European communities, not in the interest of his people but to pander to his own vanity.

In Basutoland, both the offices of the Paramount Chief and of the Sub-Chiefs are hereditary in Moshesh's family and its branches, and there is no provision whereby the children even of the Paramount Chief must be educated. The present Paramount Chief is entirely illiterate; he can neither read nor write, and none of his subordinates has received more than the most elementary education. It is not surprising then to discover that they are representative rather of the most conservative than of the progressive elements in the community, clinging to existing forms with the despair of drowning men. When one asks why trees are not planted to help to stop erosion, one is told that the people are afraid of the Chiefs, who oppose anything which looks like staking a claim, and may still attempt to "eat up" the man who improves his holding and makes it attractive. When one asks why gardens are not fenced and special crops grown, the answer is that the



Chief will not allow fencing. Perhaps within the radius in which European influence operates, the fear of the Chief is exaggerated, an excuse for conservatism. But even there, intervention has been necessary on occasions to save the individual from oppression, so that there is some justification for believing that, away from the eye of the European administrator, the Chief is a power to be feared.

On the other hand, the Paramount Chief is a strong defence of tribal land against any encroachment. For three years the Government endeavoured to get a small grant of land at Morija on which to build a European school. It is true they might have taken what they wanted but, in accordance with their traditions, they preferred a free gift. In the end they abandoned the attempt to get it and fell back upon the courtesy of the Paris Mission for ground for their building. It is continually hinted that minerals exist in the territory, but prospecting is strongly opposed by all the Chiefs lest it should end in land theft and alienation—a sad commentary on South African history generally. All this has much to be said for it but, unfortunately, it is the case of the half trained eye. While the Chiefs are desperately clinging to old forms and justifying themselves on the grounds of defending tribal claims to the land, they are entirely ignorant of the economic and political forces which are crushing out the nation's life and depriving it of a future to work for. They see their young men go out to work in the Union without a glimmer of appreciation of the factors involved both for themselves and for others.

#### *The European Administrator.*

In all these circumstances, the lot of the Resident Commissioner is neither easy nor enviable. While the lawmaking power is reserved for the High Commissioner and the bulk of the administration for the Paramount Chief, he fills an anomalous between position, partaking of the nature of adviser to both. His primary function,

according to the traditions of the Colonial Service, is to stand by and come to the assistance of the Paramount Chief when the latter gets into difficulties, being always in danger of being accused of interfering should he act without being invited to do so. On the other hand, he controls the revenue and is responsible for public works which might point to a greater capacity for shaping the destinies of the nation than at first appears. But in view of the economic condition of the people, the revenue does not allow much margin for a policy involving any considerable expenditure and, since the Colonial Office has not encouraged financial dependence, the European administration cannot be blamed for not doing what it has not had the means to do.

#### *The Basutoland Progressive Association.*

One of the unfortunate effects of the whole situation is the position of the so-called educated Natives in the territory. There is a comparatively small group of men who, having received some education, either at the missions in the territory or at schools in the Union or, as in rare cases, at both, have raised themselves out of the common rut, and in many ways, these are the most unhappy people in the territory. The illiteracy and the natural conservatism of the Chiefs have rendered them jealous and suspicious of men whose mental equipment is at least different from if not better than their own. They are afraid to have such men near them, with the result that they alienate them and deprive themselves of their assistance and support. On the other hand, the Government is no more sympathetically regarded by these educated people because in the first place, it will not take up a definite stand against the old order, and secondly, because it will not give them all the power they want. They complain that they are kept in the position of servants, that all their education is designed to keep them there, that they are not taught to stand on their own feet and become masters instead of remaining in subordinate

positions all their lives. A few years ago, this section formed itself into the Basutoland Progressive Association, and succeeded in inducing the Resident Commissioner to give them one seat in the Basutoland National Council. Now they are pressing for two seats out of the five which the Government has in its gift, but without much hope of a successful issue.

The Progressive Association is critical of the rule of the Chiefs and when it is really functioning, which happen only spasmodically, it acts somewhat as a political opposition both to them and to the Government which upholds them. Neither the Association itself nor its individual members, however, can be regarded as of any great political importance as yet. They are even more incapable of producing a policy than the Chiefs for, while the Chiefs can stand firm on the ground of tradition, the Progressive Association must find something to put in its place. But they, like the Chiefs, are ignorant of the real factors at work in their society. The elementary education which has fitted them to be moderately good servants has taught them little of societies and their development. It has given them little to think about and to exercise their minds upon, while their economic circumstances operate to prevent their widening their horizon by reading. They simply do not know what to work for, and their only avenue of experience is the Basutoland National Council, which has no executive functions and can scarcely even be regarded as advisory.

#### *Colonial Service Tradition.*

What is the implication of all this? It is that, in some way, the tradition of the Colonial Service has failed. That tradition belongs to the period when, according to accepted view, Government fulfilled its function when it played the part of policeman, maintaining peace and that security of property which enabled private enterprise to exploit the resources of the country to its own benefit. On to such a tradition has been grafted the idea of the Protectorate,

which of rights belongs more to the Socialist conception of government as trustee of national resources in the interests of the people. Unfortunately in practice, the system, as might have been expected, betrays its hybrid origin. While saving the country from exploitation by outside interests, within, the Government plays the part still of a paternal policeman, concerned really with law and order although anxious to encourage good ways. The result has been that, unable through ignorance to help himself, the individual has become more and more helpless in face of changing conditions until he himself falls victim to the exploitation from which his land has been saved. The Native of Basutoland is driven out into the Union labour markets because his own resources are undeveloped; he is exploited there because he has resources at home to develop. It is a vicious but fortunately incomplete circle, incomplete because there is still the possibility of the Mosuto staying at home, because there is still time for him to be assisted to do so, and all who are interested in the future of the Native in South Africa, from a sense of justice or for any other reason, must realise that it is imperative that he should be induced to do so.

## THE BASUTO FOR BASUTOLAND.

### V.

There is only one way in which the Basuto can be kept at home, and that is by improved cultivation and a development of all the natural resources of the country.

In the matter of improved cultivation, a small but painstaking, patient, and, in spite of all discouragements, hopeful Agricultural Department has pursued this line for years, and not without results. The fields of the Basuto are more satisfying to the eye than those of most of the Southern Bantu. They are better ploughed and generally better tended than the fields of Natives in Union reserves. Also earnest attempts have been made to improve the breeds of cattle, sheep and horses. All this work is the explanation of what increase in output per head there has been in the last few years. But the most faithful and devoted service in this direction finds itself thwarted at every turn by tribal methods, by the conservatism of the Chiefs, and above all, perhaps, by the absence of such education as would open the mind of the individual to new ideas and enable it to absorb progressive impressions.

It is always dangerous to advocate a change in tribal organisation in these days ; it brings one into opposition both to those honest minds which see some inherent virtue in the maintenance of tribal society and to those who reap a profit from its ignorance and inefficiency. But in these days, when co-operative and communal efforts are coming more and more into favour as possible solutions of the vital problem of distribution, it is scarcely necessary to advocate change from tribal ownership as the essential condition of improved use of tribal land. For tribal ownership, there is surely everything to be said, for it should mean the use of all the resources of the country for all the people. It does mean at present, communal responsibility both for the young and for the old, which has every advantage over the methods by

which this same responsibility is met in more complex societies where the people have lost all rights save those of living, and, if possible, of working.

But tribal methods of using resources are another matter. Here there is not only room for change but change must come. To-day, Basutoland is not overstocked but it is over-grazed ; it is not over-cultivated but the soil is steadily being impoverished by the continuous cultivation of the same crops. There is no rotation of crops and there is little money for fertiliser, even if the Native could be induced to use it. The only assistance the land gets is the occasional assistance of lying fallow, which is itself a loss to the community. If the community could be induced to fence its pasturage and divide it into camps, each provided with adequate water for the animals, the grazing could be conserved and the country could, with efficiency, carry all the stock it has at present, and more. And a conservation of the pasturage would take the burden of the cattle off the arable lands, so that instead of crops being grown with an eye to feeding the cattle on the gleanings, some at least might be grown with an eye to the physical well-being of the people and the demands of an outside market. To-day, Basutoland like all South African Native territories, suffers seriously from deficiency diseases, such as tuberculosis, which are generally attributed to contact with the mines. The conditions of labour, in which all of the men spend some part of their lives, are no doubt a contributory factor, but under-nutrition, due often rather to lack of variety in diet than to a lack of sufficiency to satisfy the pangs of hunger, helps to reduce the resistance of the individual to disease, while the periodic starvation or semi-starvation which always follows a drought or a bad season in communities which produce at a subsistence level must play its part.

### *Education.*

But nothing of any permanent value can be done in any of these directions without a general improvement in the

level of male education. This applies first of all to the Chiefs, who must be taught to help their people forward in the interest of their survival rather than to hold them back in the interests of their own power. They must be enabled to see their nation as one among many, to appreciate the necessity for meeting those others on their own ground, to understand the value of using the resources of their country to the fullest for this purpose, to realise that in this generation, the real danger to the possession of land lies, not in developing it, but in leaving it undeveloped for covetous eyes to feast upon. And they must be led to realise that this applies to mineral as well as to agricultural resources. If Basutoland really possesses minerals, instead of these being buried under villages as the present Paramount Chief would have them, they must be used as part of the national wealth for the Natives. At present, mineral development is, in their minds, synonymous with expropriation and loss of the land, and is steadily opposed by them. But only education will help to prove these things by showing the Chiefs how their people might take charge of the situation themselves. The only hope, both for the Chiefs and for their people, is that they should become leaders in a new society instead of conservers of an old.

But the rank and file need also to be provided with education, an education which will do more than merely teach them to read and to write, an education which will teach them to think and to reason and will provide them with some furnishing for the mind so that they may have something to think about and to reason upon. To-day, the Basuto, like most of the South African Natives, live not so much in a state of physical isolation from their European neighbours as in a state of mental isolation from them. The intricacies of political and economic relationships are still "Mysteries of State" to them. The conduct of even the most rudimentary business taxes their knowledge, rather than their ability, to a degree which it cannot meet. The accusation that they are

given enough education to serve and not enough to become masters has some justification. And in saying this, we must repeat that we cast no slur on the efforts of those who have devoted their lives to the education of the Basuto and who, both in Basutoland and elsewhere in South Africa, were the pioneers of civilisation among the Bantu, the Missionaries. They have done everything that could be expected in the circumstances. But they too have been victims of circumstance. They have been handicapped both by inadequacy of resources and by the demands which the tribal system have made on the boys of the community. They have been handicapped by the absence of openings for individuals with specialist training, and have not been able to keep technical classes going for the one or two who might possibly be absorbed by the community. But it is the community which has really suffered, for the few who might have received a special equipment and might have served their people by helping to lead them out of the old society into the the new, have been sacrificed to the many whose lot was to spend their boyhood in the fields and their manhood in the mines.

In a community of this kind, the very best education is necessary. On a foundation of general cultural education, agricultural and industrial training must both be provided and nothing but the most modern methods and the highest standards of efficiency should be tolerated. South Africa, and particularly the Native of South Africa, has suffered too much from slipshod and antiquated ways of doing things while the other side of the world has been pursuing efficiency in all directions. The type of mentality common to the South African Native and exemplified in the history of the wool trade in Basutoland must be eradicated. There, sheep rearing developed with the boom in wool during which good prices could be obtained for almost any grade of fleece, and the Basuto consequently saw no point in improving their stock, with the result that to-day, in a depressed market, their output commands practically nothing.



But, it will be said, to provide a community of this kind with the education which it needs would involve an expense which the present revenue could not possibly meet. That is true, and it is only part of the truth, for to launch the territory upon a policy of development which would aim at enabling it to absorb all its own labour, which it ought to be able to do and more, would mean expenditure not only on schools, but on roads, on fencing, on water conservation and other services as well. But all modern societies have had to face this problem. It is, after all, a question of capital expenditure with, in this case, fairly good evidence of economic justification and fairly good security for a return.

#### *Sentimental Regard for Britain.*

In these days of anxiety for markets, Basutoland remains like all Bantu communities in South Africa, a large, practically untouched field, only awaiting the opportunity to indulge an already awakened desire for all that the western world produces to add colour and amusement and movement to life. The Bantu have, to an exceptional degree, that passion for change and variety characteristic of youth which older nations count as one of the most important factors in their industrialised economy, and so far it has not begun to be satisfied. Surely a policy of Protection would not be betraying its trust if it assisted the establishment of a credit which, in encouraging Basuto development would have the incidental advantage of helping to provide employment in England and South Africa. For a very long time, Basutoland must remain an agricultural pastoral country, but its prosperity as such depends largely upon the use of machinery and chemical fertilisers, while the financial return of success means the purchase of clothes, umbrellas, bicycles, gramophones, motor cars and a host of other things. And the Basuto, like most Natives in South Africa, have a sentimental regard for Britain which would lead them always to look in her direction first.

At present, Basutoland serves only one purpose, to assist implicitly a policy against which England has explicitly set her face. With the expenditure of some thought, money and goodwill it might yet serve at least three purposes of which we need not be ashamed, the making of a Bantu nation, the provision of a future for the Southern Bantu as a race, and at least a little assistance in the solution of the problem of European unemployment.

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