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## CONTENTS

THE GRAVE OF THE MIND - - - - -	1
ONLY SWEAT AND TEARS - NO BLOOD? - - - - - <i>by David Marais</i>	10
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR - - - - -	11
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TOMLINSON REPORT - - - - - <i>D. Hobart Houghton</i>	13
THE BLOEMFONTEIN CHARTER - - - - -	22
SOUTH AFRICA'S STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY - - - - - <i>W. M. Sisulu</i>	27
DURBAN DIARY - - - - - <i>John Didcott</i>	32
BATTLE HYMN FOR THE REPUBLIC - - - - - <i>Marion</i>	40
AFRIKANERS AND OTHERS - - - - - <i>Julius Lewin</i>	41
PORTRAIT OF A CABINET MINISTER - - - - - <i>George Clay</i>	47
THE EVATON RIOTS - - - - - <i>Ezekiel Mphahlele</i>	55
COLOUR AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH - - - - - <i>C. W. M. Gell</i>	64
TRADE UNIONISM IN KENYA - - - - - <i>Tom Mboya</i>	77
EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA - - - - - <i>Elliot Berg</i>	86
THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN AMERICA - - - - - <i>Henry Lee Moon</i> <i>With illustrations by Fitzpatrick of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.</i>	96
THE BAAS COMES HOME - - - - - <i>Oliver Walker</i>	107
IN THE GOLD MINES - - - - - <i>Dr. B. W. Vilakazi</i>	115
THE WEDDING PARTY - - - - - <i>D. A. Leonard</i>	120

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# THE GRAVE OF THE MIND

IN February 1948, the same year the purged Nationalist Party first took possession of the country, a group of prominent Afrikaners calling themselves the Institute for Christian National Education proposed a new educational policy for South Africa that amounted ultimately to a ruthless and perpetual policing of the mind. That the influential Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies should have sponsored the policy statement of the Institute gave sufficient cause for general alarm. But that men like Dr. T. E. Dönges, M.P., Dr. E. G. Jansen, M.P., and Professor J. G. Meiring should have been actual Directors of the Institute, disturbed the one consolation the text itself may have provided, that the whole was a product of the lunatic fringe of Afrikaner Nationalism. A short burst of absolute horror followed the publication of the statement. The horror has subsided now, as one horror does in South Africa, to make room for another. Most of us who in 1948 raised startled heads high for a moment in protest have now forgotten even the name of the doctrine and our fright along with it. But then Dr. E. G. Jansen is now His Excellency the Governor-General of South Africa, Dr. T. E. Dönges is Minister of the Interior, and Professor J. G. Meiring, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape.

It was said in the first brave flush of opposition that Christian National Education was not Christian, not National and not Education. Since it defined Christianity as "*the creeds of the three Afrikaner Churches*" (Article 1), and since it is still open to question whether the thin, stooping Calvinism of the Afrikaner Churches perfectly represents the teachings of Christ, we were right in regarding the definition as a pledge of sectarian tyranny. Since also National was defined as "*imbued with the love of one's own, especially one's own language, history and culture*", and since South Africa is a nation of many peoples, languages, histories and cultures, and there is nothing less National in it than concentration upon group instead of society, the emphasizing and sanctifying of differences, we saw in the word that bleak promise of racial domination which was to become in the end, as we know, the insanity of "apartheid".

Least of all could Christian National Education have been considered Education.

"All white children should be educated according to the view of life of their parents. This means that Afrikaans-speaking children should have a Christian-National education, for the Christian and National spirit of the Afrikaner nation must be preserved and developed."

Article 1.

"The spirit of all teaching must be Christian-national, in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made."

Article 6(i).

"History should be seen as the fulfilment of God's plan for humanity . . . God has enjoined on each nation its individual task in the fulfilment of His purpose. Young people can only undertake the national task fruitfully if they acquire a true vision of the origin of the nation and of the direction of the national heritage. Next to the mother tongue the history of the Fatherland is the best channel for cultivating the love of one's own which is nationalism."

Article 6(vi).

"It is the Afrikaners' sacred duty to see that the coloureds are brought up Christian-national. Only when he is christianized can the coloured be truly happy; and he will then be proof against foreign ideologies which give him an illusion of happiness but leave him in the long run unsatisfied and unhappy.

He must also be nationalist. The welfare and happiness of the coloured lies in his understanding that he belongs to a separate racial group (hence apartheid is necessary in education) and in his being proud of it."

Article 14.

This, we all cried out, was not education, the development of independent thinking, of individual personality. It was mass indoctrination, a ruthless assassination of personality that would make from South Africa at last the grave of the mind.

With such a spade were the foundations of the Afrikaner Reich to be laid. It seemed absurd and impossible, the whole black programme. Thousands of Afrikaner children were to be disfigured into believing in their divine mission to rule over the Fatherland while hundreds of thousands of Coloured and African children were to be taught that they were born, and were always unprotestingly to remain, the servants of the chosen servants of God.

We may be forgiven for having forgotten the doctrine of Christian National Education so soon, for having had our one quick spurt of panic and then having tucked the statement away in a far fold of the mind. We forgot, but the Nationalist Party did not forget. In 1948 its Provincial Congresses in the Cape and the Transvaal called upon the Government to make C.N.E. the educational policy of the country. And every move the Government has made since first it barged its way into power in 1948 has been another firm step down the road to the Christian National State.

"We want no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races." So wrote J. C. van Rooy, Chairman of the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies, in his Preface to the Institute policy statement. And some months after the publication of the statement the herding into racial camps began. Separate facilities, never equal, for separate races. Separate doors and separate counters in public buildings, separate seats in public buses, separate benches in public parks.

Separate laws and laws to separate—residentially, industrially, politically, intellectually, sexually. Separation of White and Black, of Black and Coloured, of White and Coloured, of Black and Black and of White and White. And all separation firmly rooted in the schools.

“There should be at least two kinds of Primary and Secondary schools; one for the children of Afrikaans-speaking parents, with only Afrikaans as medium, and the other for children of English-speaking parents, with only English as medium. In each there should be the right relationship between home, school, church and state.” Article 8(i).

To date, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State have both passed Language Ordinances abolishing parallel-medium schooling—a system which has encouraged the mixing of children across the language line during breaks and extra-mural activities—and establishing instead compulsory single-medium education up to Standard VIII (two years before matriculation). The separation of English- and Afrikaans-speaking school children in both provinces is now complete. And the separation allows of no exception. The child is to be taught in the language which the authorities judge that he knows best, not in the language his parents may desire for him. The School Principal investigates and decides, and the parents have the right to appeal to the Director of Education. But the Director’s decision is final and there may be no further appeal from it. The compound walls must be made so high that no one can climb over them.

Only in the Cape Province, which was once, so long ago, the home of liberalism, have the authorities allowed themselves to be bent a little by the pressure of public opinion. Here also single-medium schooling has been made compulsory up to Standard VIII, but the parent can change the language-medium of his child after Primary school if he can obtain a written statement by the Principal, countersigned by an Inspector of the Education Department, stating that his child is capable of benefiting from instruction in another language. The final decision, however, still lies in the pocket of Departmental officials, so that the escape clause depends for access entirely upon the tolerance of its guards.

Civilized democratic society will accept the 1949 pronouncement of the General Assembly of the South African Presbyterian Church that “The parent is the primary custodian of the child . . . and should have the right to choose between the different schools available”. But Christian National Education upholds the paramount right of the State.

“The parents *in community* (not as individuals) must establish, maintain and control schools which will foster their own view of life, they must appoint the teachers and keep a watch on the teaching.” Article 8(iii).

What their own view of life is to be if they are Afrikaners the Orange Free State Language Ordinance of 1954 leaves in little doubt.

"It shall be the general policy of the Administrator to recognize, reveal and cultivate the Christian principle in education, and to maintain the national outlook, in order to develop in pupils a Christian philosophy of the world and life, to inculcate a healthy sentiment of undivided love for and loyalty to the common Fatherland and to cultivate an esteem for the traditions, language and culture of all sections of the people."

Ordinance 16.

One can only return with a shudder to the pamphlet issued by the Institute.

"Our Afrikaans schools must not merely be mother tongue schools; they must be places where our children will be *saturated* with the Christian and National spiritual cultural stuff of our nation."

Preface.

The White schools had been dealt with for the meantime. It remained only to deal as well with the Black ones.

Article 15 of the C.N.E. pamphlet deals with the Education of Africans.

"Native education should be based on the principles of trusteeship, non-equality and segregation; its aim should be to inculcate the white man's view of life, especially that of the Boer nation, which is the senior trustee."

In 1949 a special Government Commission on Bantu Education was constituted, to accomplish, amongst other things—

"The formulation of the principles and aims of education for *Natives as an independent race*, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their *distinctive characteristics and aptitudes* and their needs under ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration."

In a moment of astonishing lucidity, the Commission reported that—

"No evidence of a decisive nature was adduced to show that as a group the Bantu could not benefit from education or that their intelligence and aptitudes were of so special and peculiar a nature as to demand on these grounds a special type of Education."

But the Report was not to be caught with its slip showing again.

English and Afrikaans must be taught "in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities, to follow oral or written *instructions*; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his *work* and other subjects of common interest."

Paragraph 924.

"Your Commission recommends that handwork in the first four years of school should aim at the establishment of the habit of doing manual work."

Paragraph 932(c).

No wonder then the Report emphasized so strongly agricultural training for girls as well as boys, suggested needlework as an appropriate subject for boys, and paid less attention to University Education than to Gardening. Boer Trusteeship and the principles of non-equality and segregation were to become in practice what they were in Christian National principle—education for service in kitchen, garden and on farm.

What of the millions of Africans living in the cities, many of them born there and knowing no other home?

"Your Commission feels that special steps should be taken in the Reserves to facilitate and encourage the evolution of a progressive, modern and self-respecting Bantu order of life. Cosmopolitan areas in industrial centres where people of many languages and customs are herded together provide particularly difficult conditions for the orderly and progressive development of Bantu culture."

Bantu schools "of a Western type" already existing were objected to as being out of harmony with existing Bantu social institutions. (Paragraph 759.) And out of harmony they most assuredly are. But rather with the Government's policy of turning back to the tribe millions of Africans absorbed by an industrial economy and heavy with its habits and demands. The planned expulsion of numberless women and children from the cities, the forced calamitous break-up of so many homes and families, the establishment at camps like Langa of barracks for thousands of adult African males, these are the pock-marks underneath the paint of "the evolution of a progressive, modern and self-respecting Bantu order of life".

Since even the bleached Christian National State cannot do without labour, it will be imported from the areas where Bantu Culture is in brightest flower. Wives and children will be taught the virtue of unprotesting slavery in the Reserves as part of their peculiar cultural heritage, and adult males, though husbands and fathers most of them, will be so suffused with a sense of duty to their Trustees that they will leave their families for years on end to live in sterile squalor at the service of the State. With millions starving in the eroded Reserves, the "progressive, modern and self-respecting Bantu order of life" will never be progressive, modern or self-respecting enough to allow African males to live contentedly with their families in their homes in the Reserves.

The measure of a tyranny is the degree to which it tolerates opposition. The Institute for Christian National Education is unequivocal in its distaste for criticism and firm in its decision to smother it.

"The spirit of all teaching must be Christian-nationalist; in no subject may anti-Christian or non-Christian or anti-nationalist or non-nationalist propaganda be made." Article 6(i).

"The Church must exercise the necessary discipline over the doctrine and lives of the teachers. The vigilance must be exercised through the parents." Article 8(iv).

And so, in the policing of the mind, there are the truncheons of the law. With the absolute authority given him by the Bantu Education Act, the Minister of Native Affairs has become the patrolling Black Maria of African Education. He is empowered

to close any school, private, mission or Government, at his discretion, and appoint, promote, transfer or discharge any teacher on the staff of a Government school, either directly or through a petty official of his Department, without reason or redress. Since 31 March 1955 every African school has had to be registered with the Minister whether applying for grants-in-aid or not. Such registration may be refused if

"The Minister, acting on the advice and recommendation of the Native Affairs Commission . . . is of the opinion that its establishment or continued existence is not in the interests of the Bantu people . . . or is likely to be detrimental to the physical, mental, or moral welfare of the pupils or students attending . . . such school."

Clause 9(ii).

"Any person who, after the date fixed under sub-section (i), admits any Bantu child or person to, or establishes, conducts or maintains any Bantu or native school which is not registered in terms of this Act, shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £50, or in default of payment, to imprisonment for a period not exceeding 6 months."

Clause 9(iii).

Amongst others, the School of Christ the King in Sophiatown has already been refused registration on the grounds that it was "a protest school", and from 1 January 1957 Adams College, for over one hundred years one of the finest schools for Africans in the country, will have to close down because the Minister has refused to register it as a Private School. It is a concentration camp of the mind that the Government is busy building for South Africa. All schools will soon be Government schools and

"The Minister may from time to time make regulations—

- (c) prescribing a code of discipline for teachers in Government Bantu schools, the punishments which may be imposed for, and the procedure to be followed in connection with, any contravention or a failure to comply with the provisions of such code, and the circumstances in which the services of any such teacher may be terminated."

Clause 15(i).

It seems so monstrous as to be utterly unreal. The Bantu Education Act and the edicts of the Minister of Native Affairs since its passing have flourished the principles of Christian National Education in the white face of a country frightened into shutting its eyes. No article in the original pamphlet has been neglected, not even that grotesque and shameless one that "*Native education should not be financed at the expense of white.*" Since what is spent on a White child is thirty times what is spent on an African one, so that at present only 25% of African children ever get to school at all and of those 50% are in the sub-standards, and since the Bantu Education Commission speaks of "incentive to economy" and no "high financial demands", we are left in no further doubt what the Christian National future of African education is to be. With the Minister of Native Affairs threatening to levy further taxes on African men and introduce taxation



for African women, the meaning of the article in the pamphlet takes on a measure of horror that only the millions of Africans starving in the Reserves and the crooked shanty-towns can fully appreciate. A nation of slaves needs little education and what little is needed to make it efficient and satisfied can be paid for by drilling another hole in its belt. In Nazi Germany, we may remember, the victims of Hitler were made to dig their own graves.

With the Bantu Education Act and the Provincial Language Ordinances, Christian National Education is already part of our society, a malignant growth on the stricken mind of South Africa. And now this creeping death is to attack the Universities. For what in the context of present Government policy does the threatened enforcement of segregation upon the liberal "mixed" Universities ultimately mean? Only the annihilation of Higher Education in this country—the spawning of monster Government academies in which Geography will not hobble beyond the Limpopo, in which History will deal with the Apocalypse and the mission of the Afrikaner elect to govern South Africa, in which lecturers will be appointed for their blind loyalty to the Government and students relentlessly disfigured into bigots and slaves.

Let us remind ourselves of what the Institute for Christian National Education had to say of Higher Education in Article 11—

(ii) The secular sciences should be taught according to the Christian and National view of life . . . Science should be expounded in a positively Christian light, and contrasted with non-Christian science. Universities should never give unintegrated instruction, merely choosing here and choosing there; there should be no attempt to reconcile or abolish the fundamental oppositions; for Creator and created, man and beast, individual and community, authority and freedom remain in principle insoluble in each other. Especially in the Universities do we need the right personnel; for professors and lecturers make the institution and determine its guiding spirit. It is all-important therefore that the teaching staff should be convinced Christian-National scientists.

(iii) Higher education should be so controlled that the Christian-national view of life may come into its own.

We have been warned already. The "conscience clause"—that teachers do not need to possess any particular religion in order to be accepted as teachers in Government schools and universities—is fundamental to educational practice all over the civilized world. But in 1949, Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice still and then Minister of Education as well, told a Free State audience that as far as he was concerned, the "conscience clause" might very well be scrapped. And in 1950, Parliament passed the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education Bill. Instead of the usual "conscience clause", the constitution of the new University was made to read:

"In appointing teaching, research and administrative staff the Council shall ensure that the Christian-historical character of the University shall be maintained, provided that no *denominational* test shall be applied to any person as a condition of his becoming" a graduate or staff member of the University.

In protesting, fruitlessly, against the change, forty-five Professors and Lecturers at the University of Cape Town wrote that the amended conscience clauses

"clearly envisage the exclusion of individuals from the staff of the new university on religious grounds. We consider that such a limitation cannot be justified in an institution supported by taxation of all sections of the public. We regard this . . . as a precedent which, if it is once established, may become a source of danger to academic liberty in all South African universities."

This year Mr. J. C. F. Littlewood was forced to resign as Lecturer in English from the staff of the University of Stellenbosch because his method of teaching English to Afrikaans-speaking students was "not conducive to the best interests of the University". The method complained of was the use in Comprehension tests of "provocative" passages containing religious and political opinions most likely to stimulate fluent discussion and critical scrutiny—a technique employed in civilized countries to awaken interest through controversy.

Mr. Littlewood was told that "very important people" were seriously concerned about his "activities", and the Rector warned him that he had in his possession a dossier on Mr. Littlewood who had been "under observation" for some time. This has happened at Stellenbosch, not Potchefstroom where Christian National Education has its nest and constant observation of staff is to be expected. Is a University teacher to employ only those techniques of which "very important people" approve, although the "very important people" may know nothing at all of how to teach the subject involved? The whole Littlewood case smacks of mental wire tapping of the most sinister sort.

The late Dr. T. B. Davie, Principal of the University of Cape Town, said in a lecture in 1955 on "Education and Race Relations in South Africa"—

"the 'universality' of the university is in general regarded as one of its basic requirements. Its doors should at all times be open to everyone who can benefit by or contribute to its teaching. Its desire for freedom from interference is primarily directed to what is taught, but is inextricably bound up also with who shall teach and who shall be taught."

Once the Government has imprisoned the Universities by establishing its power to dictate to them who shall be taught, it will employ its authority to dictate to them also who shall teach and ultimately, what shall be taught.

Segregation is a moral leprosy, it flaunts injustice under the guise of being scrupulously just. Even if we were convinced that equal University facilities were to be provided for the non-

White students abandoned by the mixed universities, we would utterly oppose it, because in the words of the Supreme Court of the United States of America "separate facilities are inherently unequal". As it is, there is not the slightest doubt that equal facilities will not be provided. Indeed the sort of Higher Education that the Bantu Education Act promises is inherently unequal in content and intention. If the African is to be educated for manual work under a system which, in the dark phrase of the Minister of Native Affairs must "stand with both feet in the Reserve", it is unlikely that he will enjoy anything approximating to a University education once removed from the "mixed" Universities.

But inextricably linked to this issue is the right and the duty of a University freely to admit all students regardless of race, colour or creed, to assist them in the pursuit of truth and knowledge, to train them for service to the community as a whole. It is this right and this duty which the Government seeks to assassinate—all in the cause of the tyranny over mind and body that it plans.

The Universities cannot and must not accept this. If the Government stops the financial grant on which they depend for most of their running expenses, they must call on the country and the world in the name of Education to keep them firm in their struggle to survive as Universities. If, as is more likely, the Government introduces segregation into the "mixed" Universities by law, it is better, far better that they should close than that they should give themselves up whole to the Government for their disfigurement. It would be a monstrous betrayal of all the Universities stand for if they were to provide the cells for their own imprisonment. To say that a bad education is better than no education at all is false to the roots. It speaks, as Father Huddleston wrote, in the voice of Vichy. If the Universities must suffer mutilation, let them suffer it as victims, not condone it as accomplices. For otherwise they will be as guilty in the end as the original perpetrators.

But so far as it is the concern of the Universities, so far is it the concern of the whole country. There comes a time in the agony of a people when out of their despair they must gather up courage enough to say—no more, not at any price. Our fight to keep the Universities free is a fight as much for our children as for ourselves. To allow the State to lay in South Africa clusters of academies which will deform the minds of future generations into the belief that they were born masters or a belief that they were born slaves is to build for ourselves and for those coming after us a country bordered by barbed wire and lit only by searchlights.

"A plain, white, circular label shall be attached to the container of blood of European origin."

*Blood Transfusion Regulations of the South African Medical and Dental Council.*



"ONLY SWEAT AND TEARS — NO BLOOD?"

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Sir,

In his article on "Bantu Education and the African Teacher" Mr. Sihlali states the dilemma of the African teaching profession ably but, in my opinion, with a sense of exclusiveness which even the title does not warrant. In particular the statement that: "Except for a handful of militants from the Transvaal and Natal, the Conference was attended mainly by C.A.T.A. members who, together with the Teachers' League of South Africa . . . have been among the few to adopt a firm and principled stand against Bantu Education" (my emphasis), gives the unknowing reader a completely false impression of the exact nature and extent of the protest with which Bantu Education was met.

True, Mr. Sihlali is concerned with the African teacher, but is it not possible, in fact desirable, to conceive of his role as being but one in a process involving the whole community? In African education in particular, I believe that no objective assessment of the real meaning and effect of Bantu Education can be arrived at unless something is said, even in passing, of the attacks on and stands taken by the African National Congress, the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Liberal Party and last, but by no means least, those "creators" of African education, the Christian missions.

The stand of the Roman Catholics to retain full control of all their schools (some 800) at all costs; of the American Board Mission not to hand over Adams High and Industrial School, though Ministerial discretion has now deemed it fit to order closure, (after more than 100 years devoted service to the African community); of the Community of the Resurrection to close St. Peter's, the "Eton" of African education; of the Diocese of Johannesburg to close twenty-three schools rather than lease them to the Government are surely all "firm and principled" stands?

What of the boycott of many thousands of school children organized by the African National Congress in Benoni, Brakpan, Germiston and Western Areas? Seven thousand of these children did not return to school despite the Minister's severe warning and their future education is in a state of balance awaiting the Minister's power to forgive! What of the calling of a very large representative conference by the Institute of Race Relations to protest against the Bantu Education Commission Report of 1952 on which the Act is based? What of the strong protests of the Joint African Advisory Boards and the Liberal Party? Can it be honestly claimed that these are not all "principled" stands?

Whilst in full agreement with Mr. Sihlali's condemnation of the new

system and its effect on African teachers, the really sinister aspect of this whole vicious scheme cannot be truly understood unless one knows that it involves not simply the victimization of individual teachers, but of whole groups, educational institutions and the African community itself. Education from now on must become a tool in the implementation of our "broad national policy". This policy is based on the assumption that there is no multi-racial society in South Africa, but a series of well-defined and separate societies each to have its own particular brand of education. For the African, education is to become no more than a Bantu Vocational Training Scheme!

Violaine Junod,

DURBAN.

Sir,

Re Fenner Brockway's assertion that the multiple vote is dangerous—tripe! Surely he realizes that an unqualified universal franchise would spell the death of democracy in Central and East Africa as much as it did in Germany, Russia and nearly did in Italy. The fact that in the U.K. so many people vote Conservative and Labour without any reasons other than class or emotional ones is sufficient to show that in a so-called politically mature country even, the population is scarcely capable of exercising the vote responsibly.

Even more so in Central and East Africa—the crucial thing is that there should be no race discrimination in opportunities for attaining the heights, socially, politically, economically and morally.

Disputes, friction, class—these are endemic to human society. The evil lies in basing things upon a false distinction like race or colour. This applies to the multiple vote, as does the necessity for preserving the stability essential to the growth of democracy. The least that can be said about education, income, property, occupational attainment, etc., is that they do provide some sort of guide to a man's capabilities, character, intelligence or whatever—colour does not.

But to say that the populations of Central and East Africa are ready for universal franchise is sheer silliness.

We have enough trouble with stupid strikes—designed, by the look of them, to convince the Central African European that the African is incapable of behaving responsibly—without people like Fenner Brockway needling and then flitting off back to England to the security of squabbles between two trade unions over who should bore holes in ships!

B. J. H. Blancharde,

BULAWAYO.

# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TOMLINSON REPORT

D. HOBART HOUGHTON

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## THE BACKGROUND

After the conquest of Southern Africa in the nineteenth century, certain areas remained in occupation by various Bantu tribes, and, by the Land Act of 1913, Africans were given the sole right of occupation of these areas, but were restricted in their rights to acquire land outside them. The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 made provision for additional land for Native occupation, so that the Reserves now amount to some 17,500,000 morgen (about 57,000 square miles) and they represent about 13 per cent of the area of the whole country. These Bantu Areas, as the Commission calls them, are situated for the most part in the higher rainfall areas of the country and have fairly good farming potentialities, but they have remained under-developed areas where traditional primitive tribal subsistence farming still prevails. Overstocking and bad husbandry are destroying the fertility of the soil, and productivity, always deplorably low by modern standards, is declining still further. The pressure of poverty has led to considerable emigration into the expanding industrial and commercial economy of the rest of the Union, and the Reserves at present accommodate less than half the African population of the country. Of a total of 8.5 million Bantu in 1951, a little over 3.6 million were in the Reserves, 2.6 million were on European farms and 2.3 million were in urban areas. These latter, who are mainly employed in mining, manufacturing, transport and commerce, have been increasing rapidly in recent years. This influx of Africans into the towns has been absorbed in the expanding urban economy and has been an important factor in facilitating the rapid growth of mining and manufacturing, but housing and social services have lagged behind and deplorable slum conditions have developed on the outskirts of many large cities. Moreover the large cities have been traditionally European centres and the large influx of Africans, which inevitably alters their character, has given rise to severe tensions.

The National Party won the election of 1948, and their success

at the polls was attributed in no small measure to their programme of "apartheid", or the separate development of the various racial groups. Although powerful as a political slogan, the concept of "apartheid" had not been clearly defined nor its full implications explored. Interpretations varied over a wide range. Some understood it to mean the total and complete separation of the African peoples in an area of their own, where they would be able to develop their society to the full limit of their capacities: at the other extreme were those for whom it meant little more than the determined maintenance of the *status quo* and the preservation of white dominance. In the former group were many who supported "apartheid" from the highest of motives in the belief that only by separate development could justice be done and the African be relieved of the many disabilities under which he at present labours.

Moreover, in spite of the change of Government, and much talk of "apartheid" and various restrictive measures, it was apparent that the Africans were being absorbed into the general economy at an increasing rate. There was a widespread demand for a clearer definition of "apartheid", and a recognition that its practicability depended upon (a) the possibility of developing the Bantu Areas so that they would be capable of supporting the whole African population, (b) the question whether the general economy of the country could survive if the African labour force were withdrawn or severely curtailed, and (c) the willingness of both White and Black to accept "apartheid" and their readiness to make the sacrifices which it would inevitably involve.

In 1950 the Government appointed a Commission under the Chairmanship of Professor F. R. Tomlinson, charged with the task of devising a "comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of the Native Areas with a view to developing within them a social structure in keeping with the culture of the Native and based upon effective socio-economic planning." The Commission's Report was presented in 18 volumes, and an abridged version published in March, 1956. The early volumes are mainly historical and sociological and represent a vast accumulation of fact, somewhat marred in places by the tendentious manner of their presentation, as for example, the attempt to prove that the traditional policy in South Africa has always been one of separate development. It is, however, the later volumes containing the Commission's recommendations which have naturally evoked most interest. These may be regarded from two rather different points of view: either in a relatively narrow context as merely a programme for the rehabilitation and



development of the impoverished Bantu Areas, or in a wider context, as a comprehensive programme for the future development of the Union of South Africa on "apartheid" lines. Let us first devote our attention to the wider aspect of the report.

#### BLUEPRINT FOR APARTHEID?

The Commission examines the alternative courses of development and comes to the conclusion that ultimately there are only two possibilities, either the progressive integration of Europeans and Bantu into a single homogeneous society, or their separate development, each in its own area. The Commission writes with a sense of great urgency and to understand this we must consider the demographic situations. According to the 1951 census, there were 2.6 million Europeans and 8.5 million Bantu in the Union, but by the end of the century it is estimated that there will be between 4.5 million and 6 million whites and 21 million Bantu. In 1951, however, 3.6 million Bantu were in the Bantu Areas and only 4.9 million in the so-called "European Areas", but unless the productivity of the Bantu Areas is greatly developed the major part of the increase in the Bantu population will have to be accommodated in the "European Areas", and this number is estimated by the Commission to be about 17 million in the year 2000. Moreover, if the present rate of urbanization is maintained, by far the greater part of these will be in the large cities with consequences that may be illustrated by the estimated population of the Southern Transvaal. This great industrial complex might then have a population of over 10 million of whom 7.4 million will be Bantu, so that Europeans will be outnumbered by 3 to 1 in what is the very heart of the industrial economy.

The Commission draws attention to the rapidly increasing rate at which the Africans are leaving the Reserves and being absorbed into the urban industrial labour force. It maintains, however, that they are not fully integrated into the new urban society because of cultural differences and prejudice, and instead they tend to form an uncertain and unstable group living upon its fringe. They are mostly employed in unskilled jobs and opportunities for advancement, even for the more industrious and talented members, are severely circumscribed. Their potentialities are thus not being used to the full and they inevitably suffer a sense of frustration. The Commission is convinced that as the Africans come increasingly to share our Christian principles and our civilization, and as their sense of duty and responsibility increases, they must be accord-

ed equality of opportunity in the economic, political and social life: indeed any attempt to deny these opportunities would be contrary to the fundamental Christian beliefs upon which our society rests.

The Commission considers the possibility of a peaceful evolution towards a common society in which equal rights in all spheres will progressively be granted to Africans as they adopt a civilised way of life. The Commission is of the opinion that no matter what franchise system is adopted, the European must eventually be swamped in a common society by the superior numbers of the Africans and that this will lead to the disappearance of the former as a distinct racial entity. The Europeans in South Africa have, however, developed over the last 300 years into a definite and self-conscious society, and there are no grounds whatever for believing that they would now, or at any time in the future, voluntarily surrender their own separate racial identity. South Africa is therefore confronted with the dilemma that the Europeans have an unshakable resolve to maintain their separate identity, while the Bantu are increasingly demanding equality of opportunity in all spheres of economic and social life. Under these circumstances, the Commission believes that a policy of increasing integration will only intensify racial friction and animosities, and therefore recommends, as the only alternative, the establishment of separate racial communities in separate areas, where each will have the fullest opportunity of self-expression and development. The analogy is drawn with what was formerly British India where, mainly for religious reasons, the country was divided into Pakistan and India, and the opinion expressed that in South Africa differences are more fundamental than they were in India.

The Commission believes that there is no middle course, and urges a clear and unequivocal choice between "ultimate complete integration and ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu". It strongly urges the latter course and advocates a vigorous policy of rehabilitation and development of the Bantu Areas so that they may become a national home for the African peoples in South Africa. This development scheme offers the Europeans the only hope of continued existence as a separate entity, and to the Africans it offers the opportunity to develop their own society in their own area, where they will enjoy unrestricted employment opportunities and the chance for individual and social advancement.

Although the Commission advocates *complete separation* the hard

logic of fact forces them to be satisfied with something which falls far short of this. If the Commission's development scheme is fully implemented, it is estimated that in the year 2000 the Bantu Areas will be capable of supporting a little under 15 million people, and the remaining 6.5 million Africans will be within the "European Areas". On the Commission's figures the population of the mis-named "European Areas" will at that date be:

Europeans	4.5 to	6.0 million
Africans		6.5 million
Coloureds		3.9 million
Asians		1.4 million
		<hr/>
Total		17.8 million

so that even on the most optimistic numbers the Europeans will be outnumbered by 2 to 1 in the *European Areas*.

These facts are not emphasized in the published report, but, upon analysis, it becomes clear that the scheme of separate development, as envisaged by the Tomlinson Commission, is the creation of two distinct areas. In one at the end of the century will be 15 million Africans, free to manage their own affairs (though the Commission is reticent about the control of defence and foreign affairs): in the other there will be about 18 million persons of whom one-third will be Europeans. The fact that some 6 million Africans are to remain within the "European Areas" relieves the Commission of the task of investigating the effects upon the national economy of the removal of all African labour. For this they must have been thankful, for one of the main arguments of the opponents of complete segregation has always been that it would lead to the stagnation or collapse of the whole economy. The retention of the 6 million Africans, however, raises other equally important problems. What is to be the status of the non-whites in the "European Areas"? If Africans in the Bantu Areas are to enjoy opportunities for economic, social and political advancement, is it reasonable, or possible, to deny similar opportunities to those Africans in the "European Areas" who by their labour will be making a direct contribution to the prosperity of these very areas? If they are denied full opportunities, surely the Commission's cogent arguments about the present inefficient use of African labour will also apply in the future? It would seem that the "European Areas" will continue to have to face all the problems of a plural society, and it must be regretted that the Commission

failed to give due consideration to these, for to have done so would have introduced a welcome note of reality.

#### A SOUTH AFRICAN T.V.A.

Let us turn now to a consideration of the Commission's recommendations in the narrower context, regarding them merely as a programme for the rehabilitation and development of the under-developed Bantu Areas. From this point of view the development programme appears as a bold and imaginative project based upon a careful consideration of the existing problem in all its diverse aspects. It naturally invites comparison with the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority for the size of the Bantu Areas is approximately the same as that of T.V.A. Some conception of the enormous task may be gained by remembering that each of these areas is approximately the same size as the whole of England, but whereas T.V.A. was built around a great river which had to be tamed and harnessed the Bantu Areas lack this asset. Moreover the people of the Tennessee Valley were relatively homogeneous in culture: they all spoke the same language and had a similar cultural heritage, but in the Bantu Areas there are half-a-dozen major languages and the people have a cultural heritage which has had little contact with the modern world.

The Commission attributes the present poverty in the Reserves to the survival of a primitive subsistence economy, which through bad husbandry and over-stocking is destroying soil fertility. Yields per acre are deplorably low and in the area as a whole livestock exceed the estimated optimum carrying capacity of the land by 50 per cent. The resultant destruction of pasture and soil is a major problem of great urgency. The Commission reviews the reclamation work being carried on by the Native Affairs Department which, though excellent, is far too slow, and draws attention to the fact that at the present rate of progress it will take 245 years to complete, while experts state that unless effective action is taken in the next two decades the fertility of the land will be permanently destroyed.

At any given time nearly 500,000 adult males are away from the Reserves working in the industrial areas and the average man divides his time almost equally between agriculture and industrial work. The Commission stresses the fact that no real progress can be expected without a radical change in the whole structure. The present peasant holdings are far too small to permit of scientific land use, but to produce economic land units about half the

population at present engaged in agriculture will have to be removed from the land, so that those remaining may become efficient full-time farmers. The Commission's programme therefore includes plans for the radical reform of land tenure, mass education in improved methods of farming, the extension of irrigation, the introduction of cash crops such as sugar-cane and fibre, and large scale afforestation.

Alternative employment for those displaced from the land will have to be provided, and the development programme includes plans for the rapid expansion of mining, manufacturing and tertiary activities, the expansion of transport facilities and other essential services, and the establishment of over 100 towns and cities in the Bantu Areas. It is recognised that poverty, ignorance and certain tribal customs unite to inhibit progress, and that economic advancement is not possible without an advance in the general culture; therefore education, religion, health, and other welfare services have a prominent place in the general scheme for the Bantu Areas.

Some idea of the magnitude of the project may be gained from the recommended expenditure. The Commission estimates that during the next ten years a sum of £104,000,000 will be required and an unspecified sum thereafter. The proposed allocation of this sum is as follows:

	£
Agricultural development	33,886,000
Soil reclamation	27,400,000
Credit facilities	3,000,000
Sugar-cane production	370,000
Fibre production	116,000
Irrigation	3,000,000
Forestry development	3,000,000
Mining development	1,000,000
Manufacturing and tertiary activities	30,000,000
Urban development	12,000,000
Transport and other basic facilities	13,000,000
Health services	5,000,000
Educational services	3,000,000
Welfare services	3,600,000
Total for first ten years	<u>104,486,000</u>

Although they were specifically charged with the task of planning the development and social structure "in keeping with the culture

of the Native", they have declared themselves unequivocally in favour of accelerating the rate at which the African is adopting Western civilization. This would seem to conflict with Government policy, as manifest in the Bantu Authorities Act, which strives to strengthen tribal authority and affiliations. Instead of basing their programme upon the traditional power of the chief in a subsistence economy, bigger and better witch-doctors to improve crops, and upon women's labour as traditional in agriculture; the Commission builds its development programme upon the extension of Christianity and education on Western lines; on schools, technical colleges and universities; on freehold tenure and scientific agriculture; and upon industry and urbanization. These things are incompatible with the survival of the traditional tribal culture, and the implicit recognition by the Commission that for the Bantu the adoption of civilized ways of life is the only progressive course, should do much to refute the myth that it is possible to allow the African to "develop on his own lines" in the twentieth century. Professor Tomlinson and his colleagues have produced a bold and comprehensive programme for the development of the Bantu Areas, and their report has justly become a best seller in South Africa.

#### REACTIONS TO THE REPORT

The Government's attitude towards the recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission were made known in a White Paper published in April 1956, and in the debate on the report in the House of Assembly. In general the Government commends the Commission for their rejection of the principle of integration and their acceptance of a policy of separate development as the long term policy of the country. It is not prepared to accept the detailed recommendations of the Commission, however, and the Minister of Native Affairs was at pains to explain that his department was already satisfactorily carrying out much of the programme recommended by the Commission. He indicated that he regarded the expenditure proposed as excessive and in general appeared to play down the importance of the report, saying that it should not be regarded as the beginning of a new era, but should be seen as but one of many attempts to solve the problem. Three major recommendations are specifically rejected. The Commission recommended sweeping reform of the tribal system of land tenure and the introduction of freehold tenure in both rural and urban areas as an essential pre-condition for agricultural reform: it also advocated the use of private European

capital and enterprise in the industrial development of the Bantu Areas and the establishment of industries deep within these areas: and it proposed the establishment of a Development Corporation for the Bantu Areas on the grounds that the implementation of their recommendations was too great a task to be carried out by the Native Affairs Department, even if it were to be considerably augmented. These three are essential elements in the Commission's programme and their rejection is a serious blow to those who support the Commission's recommendations.

In June a Volkskongres met in Bloemfontein to consider the report. It was sponsored by the Dutch Reformed Churches, the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations and the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs and there was an attendance of about 800 persons. The Conference was in a dilemma, for many there were advocates of complete "apartheid" and must have felt that the Commission had not gone far enough in this direction. Others must have been disappointed that the Government had not seen fit to support fully the development programme of the Commission. Professor Tomlinson and others associated with the report stood firmly by the Commission's recommendations reiterating those which had been rejected by the Government, but the Congress successfully sat on the fence, commending the Commission for its excellent report, and at the same time avoiding any criticism of the Government's reaction to it.

Whether any positive action results from the Tomlinson Report or not, it is certainly a most important document. It has received great publicity, and extracts and articles upon it have appeared in all the leading papers. Its recommendations have presented clearly the immense difficulties of attempting to reverse the present integration trend, and have demonstrated clearly the impossibility of achieving complete "apartheid" in the foreseeable future. To the sincere Christians who had placed their faith upon "apartheid" as a just and equitable solution of the problems of a multi-racial society it has been a severe blow that will necessitate some deep re-thinking of the whole position, and to the people of South Africa as a whole it has demonstrated that there is no easy and simple formula for the solution of the nation's economic, social and moral problems.

# THE BLOEMFONTEIN CHARTER

The African people of the Union of South Africa, at the invitation of the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation, assembled in a national conference in Bloemfontein from 4 to 6 October to consider the Tomlinson Report. The representative character of the conference was indicated by the fact that 394 delegates, drawn from all parts of the country, both urban and rural, and representing all shades of African political and other opinion, were in attendance.

After detailed examination of the principles and policies enunciated in the report the conference desires to place on record its total rejection of the report as a comprehensive plan for the implementation of apartheid in South Africa for the following reasons:

"The Tomlinson Report concedes that a solution of this problem will only have been achieved when a satisfactory arrangement in regard to the political aspect is arrived at. This conference can find nothing in the report remotely resembling a satisfactory arrangement in regard to the political aspect.

"An arrangement on the commission's own premises could logically mean only sovereign independence for the so-called Bantu areas."

"This conference does not subscribe to the view that the choice before South Africa consists only of two alternatives—'ultimate complete integration' or 'ultimate complete separation between Europeans and Bantu.' The conference maintains that a proper reading of the South African situation calls for co-operation and inter-dependence between the various races comprising the South African nation and denies that this arrangement would constitute a threat to the survival of the White man in South Africa.

"The conference finds that the net result of the implementation of the Tomlinson Report will be a continuation of the status quo and indeed an aggravation of the worst evils of the present system, including their extension to the Protectorates. Under the present conditions the policy and practice of apartheid denies the African inalienable and basic human rights on the pretext that the African is a threat to White survival and denies him:

"(a) A share in the government of the country.

"(b) The inviolability of the home.

"(c) Economic rights, the right to collective bargaining and to sell labour on the best market.



“(d) The right to free assembly and freedom of travel, movement and association.

“(e) Inviolability of person.

### ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

“This conference has examined the detailed plans for the economic development of the reserves put forward by the commission, but can find no justification for the view that this development should be linked with the application of the policy of apartheid.

“The conference maintains that any programme of rehabilitation and development of these distressed areas of the Union, based upon this ideological approach, will not command the desired support and co-operation of the African people.

“The general economic development of the resources of all parts of the country in which the skills and abilities of all its peoples are utilised is sound policy. But a separate plan of development of the Native areas, based on the policy of apartheid, and the concept of separate national homes for the Africans coupled with deprivation of basic and economic rights and opportunities in the rest of the country is something totally unacceptable to this conference.

“Furthermore, this conference notes that the Government itself in its White Paper on the report has rejected some of the principal and most significant recommendations of the commission and has thus undermined the goals which it sets out to achieve. Thus the claim that the Government is moving in the direction of these goals emerges as a hollow political bluff.

### CIVIL RIGHTS

“In dealing with the question of civil liberties, the Tomlinson Report is at pains to prove that in regard to their wider civil rights the Africans are ‘substantially in no worse position than other sections of the population’.

“This conference rejects this false picture of the South African situation which seeks to gloss over the glaring inequalities and disabilities from which the Africans suffer under the mounting discriminatory legislation of a Parliament in which they have no effective representation.

“The continuation of this policy has already created a grave situation in which orderly government and the foundations of South Africa as a viable State are seriously threatened.

“Police raids, banishment orders, dismissals for political non-conformity, extension of the pass system to women, detention camps, farm prisons, convict labour, the slave markets euphemistically called the labour bureaux, and all the other trappings

of a Police State constitute an intolerable burden to the African people.

“The conference reiterates the demand of the African people for the abolition of discriminatory laws and the extension of full citizenship rights to all, which alone will guarantee peaceful and harmonious relations between Black and White in South Africa.

#### EDUCATION

“The recommendations of the Tomlinson Report on education are unrealistic as they propose to prepare pupils for a life in a society which is non-existent—a mythical Bantustan. Economic and world forces tend to channel African development in the opposite direction of co-operation and inter-dependence.

“One of the tests of a good educational system is whether it is able to throw up leaders of ability and character. In spite of the promise of full development opportunities in the future separate sphere, it seems that training of leaders does not occupy a very high place in the priorities of the new system. Thoroughness, breadth of vision and individual excellence are being played down as over against the superficial education of the mass of the people.

“Further, the compulsory use of the African languages as media of instruction throughout the educational system will tend to reduce horizons and make true university education impossible by diminishing the opportunities of intercommunication between the African groups themselves and the wider world in general of which they form part. The contemplated establishment of a Bantu University of South Africa with constituent colleges organised on an ethnic grouping would be a further threat to academic freedom.

“The colleges established under such a scheme of differentiation would not only be starved of adequate financial support but would also lead to isolation from other university institutions of the country and deterioration in academic standards.

#### CHURCH AND STATE

“The commission looks upon the Church or Churches as something to be controlled and used by the Government to further its own schemes. The conference disagrees with the commission on the grounds that the Churches are the instruments of God for the establishment of His Kingdom on earth and therefore answerable only to God with a right to intervene in moral issues affecting the nation as a whole.

#### SEPARATE AREAS

“The conference rejects the theory that there can be in South

Africa so-called European areas and Bantu areas. Africans and other non-Europeans claim that there is not an inch of South African soil to which they are not entitled on an equal basis with Europeans.

“The conference therefore asserts that Africans and other non-Europeans are entitled to all rights, privileges and immunities enjoyed by Europeans wherever they live and work. Conference therefore rejects the mass removals of non-Europeans and their dispossession of freehold rights under the Native Resettlement Act of 1952 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 (as amended) and similar legislation.

“Conference rejects the concept of national homes for Africans in certain arbitrarily defined areas for the following reasons: Africans are the indigenous inhabitants of the country with an indisputable claim to the whole of South Africa as their home.

“There is no part of the country to the development of which they have not made their full contribution. Such a concept facilitates the exploitation and economic strangulation of the Africans and perpetuates White domination.

“The Tomlinson Report has suggested a revision of the direct taxation paid by the Africans ‘with a view to an increase in such taxation commensurate with their high earning capacity and the low monetary value of the pound’. In the opinion of the conference it is difficult to appreciate the commission’s suggestion and reason, because for precisely the same reason of a low monetary value of the pound, the earning capacity and the ability to pay direct taxation of the African are affected.

#### SAME TAX BASIS

“It must be noted further that the commission seems to have taken no account in recent years of the number of Africans who pay income tax on the same basis as Europeans. The commission has also not considered the inequity of the present system of direct taxation of the African upon which it has based its recommendations nor can direct taxation alone be a true index of the full contribution of the African people to the total revenue of the country without taking into account their contribution in indirect taxation.

“The belief so widely held by White South Africans, that it is so-called White monies that are financing African services and welfare, is in total disregard of the fact that the very profits and incomes made by Europeans are the result of the use of Africans as an essential factor in production, and a low wage is paid to them. In other words it is the Africans who are subsidising the Europeans and not vice versa.

“This conference is convinced that the present policy of apart-

heid constitutes a threat to race relations in the country. Therefore, in the interests of all the people and the future of the country, this conference calls upon all national organisations to mobilise all people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to form a united front against apartheid.

"This conference welcomes the initiative of the Inter-denominational African Ministers' Federation in bringing together African leaders to consider the Tomlinson Report and its implications for South Africa, and appeals to the Christian Churches in South Africa to take a clear and unequivocal stand in the defence of Christian and human values now being trampled underfoot in the name of apartheid.

#### POWERFUL BODY

"We appeal to that strong and powerful body, for which the Dutch Reformed Church speaks with recognised authority, to re-examine its approach to the race question. We call upon all South Africans who realise the dangers and effects of apartheid to take a positive step to break down the colour bar in group relations. We urge them furthermore to ensure that democratic and Christian opinion expresses itself on discriminatory legislation in ways most likely to impress on the mind of the people of South Africa the urgent need for a positive alternative to apartheid or separate development."

# SOUTH AFRICA'S STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY

W. M. SISULU

*Ex Secretary General of the African National Congress.*

The fundamental principle in our struggle is equal rights for all in our country, and that all people who have made South Africa their home, by birth or adoption, irrespective of colour or creed, are entitled to these rights. The fight for a democratic South Africa is assuming greater dimensions. Since the 1952 Defiance Campaign, the liberatory movement, faced with extreme difficulties, has not again taken the offensive on so wide a scale. Yet the movement is gaining momentum in its general mobilisation of the non-European masses, with the support of a small, but determined and growing number of European democrats. The country is in a state of ferment. The racial segregation and racial conflict on which the Europeans have based their government is now reaching unprecedented heights as a result of the numerous repressive apartheid laws of the Nationalist Government of Mr. Strijdom.

In dealing with the development of South Africa, it is important to mention two events which will go down in history as the two major turning points since the end of the frontier wars.

The first was the formation of the Union, when four separately-ruled provinces were brought under one central government on the 31st May, 1910. From the very day Union was established the Europeans allocated to themselves the exclusive right to govern and, except for the non-Europeans in the Cape Province who had a qualified franchise, to vote. Even this slender qualified right of the non-Europeans in the Cape to vote on a common roll with the whites was taken away from the Africans in 1936 and from the Coloureds in 1956, although the legality of the latter act is still being tested in the courts. Following Union the exploitation and the robbery of the Africans was legalised, mainly by the Labour Regulation Act of 1911 and the Land Act of 1913. The Africans lost their land and their movements were increasingly restricted.

The second important stage was reached when the Nationalist Party, inspired by Nazi racialist ideology, came into power in 1948, after furiously whipping up racial hysteria among the more

backward section of the electorate, especially in the rural areas. They impressed upon the electorate that the Afrikaner nation was fighting for its very existence against Black domination and Communism, which they alleged were encouraged by what they called the "liberal" policy of the United Party. They claimed that they had a solution to the Native Problem—a systematic apartheid policy, which would prevent the dangers of miscegenation, integration and equality.

In an attempt to implement their policy, the Nationalists passed numerous oppressive laws. They promoted their chief propagandist and architect of the apartheid policy, the former newspaper editor, Dr. Verwoerd, to a key position in the Cabinet, to become, as Minister of Native Affairs, "Ruler of the Black Colonial Empire". His appointment as Minister of Native Affairs was appropriate, for Dr. Verwoerd was, during the war years, an ardent admirer of the Hitler Nazi regime.<sup>1</sup> His arrogance and the ruthless manner in which he administers the apartheid policy, as if he cared nothing for human dignity, shows this up clearly. Only a man of his type could have spoken the way he did at Potchefstroom recently, where he is reported to have said:

"The fight which our forefathers fought against an overwhelming majority of barbarians is still being carried out, but now it is not against uncivilised people and barbarians, but the shrewdest, cleverest and most dangerous enemies, both from overseas and in our country".

The effect is to imply that open warfare exists and to incite the Afrikaner people against the African people. What a statement to be made by a Cabinet Minister!

The European opposition parties have shown themselves incapable of offering any effective opposition to the Nationalists. They have confused themselves by waging a battle of words, unrealistic and meaningless. "What is the meaning of apartheid, what is the definition of this mysterious word, apartheid?" Answering themselves, it means *Fanakalo* (like this). To the present day, the United Party does not seem to know exactly what it wants, what in fact it should tell the country. The United Party is not ashamed to tell

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<sup>1</sup> "The question is whether . . . he (Dr. Verwoerd) is entitled to complain if it is said of him that what he writes supports Nazi propaganda and makes his paper a tool of the Nazis. On the evidence he is not entitled to complain. He did support Nazi propaganda, he did make his paper a tool of the Nazis in South Africa, and he knew it".

Excerpt from Judgment of Mr. Justice J. Millin in the case of Verwoerd versus Paver and Others, 1943. Witwatersrand Local Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

townsmen that apartheid means oppression, and then to go to the platteland and tell the Nationalists' supporters that the Government is spending too much money on the Natives.

The non-Europeans have no time to look at dictionaries, nor to pretend not to know what apartheid means. They have known Apartheid to mean precisely what Hitler's racialist policy meant to the Jews and to the world. For this reason they forewarned the country of the dangers of apartheid. And now Europeans also in the country are beginning to see and appreciate the correctness of these predictions made almost ten years ago.

The non-European political organisations have grown in strength and in status and have aroused confidence in their ability to save South Africa from the iron rule of the Nationalist police state.

The bitterest battles which have been fought by these organisations since their inception have been on the land question and restriction of movement. Even to the present day, these are still the burning issues, issues which will inevitably bring about continued clashes between oppressor and oppressed until the people have won the rights to own land and to move freely without passes. Both the Indian Congress and the African National Congress have fought against the pass system as far back as the beginning of the present century. The latest phase in this fight was the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and even to the present day, a vigorous struggle is being organized around the pass system, Group Areas and restrictions on the Trade Union movement. Recently there have been a number of women's demonstrations, the biggest of which was the 20,000 strong march of women to see the Prime Minister on the 9th August, 1956, in protest against the extension of the pass system to African women. Successful All-In Group Areas Conferences have been held by the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress. The people seem to be in no mood for retreating.

The fact that the women have now taken such a firm stand in the fight against the tyranny of the Nationalists must be regarded as the writing on the wall, the warning to all those who still have illusions of the permanency of White domination. It is true that the youth of the country has not yet been organised to take part in the liberatory movement, but any struggle waged against the passes is bound to bring the African youth into the movement.

Foremost in the freedom struggle in South Africa is the Congress movement, comprising the African National Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation, the South African Indian Congress and the South African Congress of Democrats, the

Federation of South African Women and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. The Congress Movement having realised that the majority of the people were very much concerned with the future of their country and in particular the solution to the racial problem, convened a Congress of the People, to which political, economic and cultural organisations of all races were invited to participate and which was held at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on June 25 and 26, 1955. Among the numerous organisations invited were the Government Nationalist Party and the Official Opposition, the United Party, both of which declined.

This most historic multi-racial assembly adopted a Freedom Charter based on the demands of the people throughout the land. The Freedom Charter is now the policy and programme of the Congress Movement. It declares that the Government of the country shall be based on the will of all people, Black and White, and that all adults shall be entitled to a Universal suffrage, and that all national groups shall be equal and racialism shall be considered a serious state crime.

This distinguishes the Congress movement from the Nationalist Party Government policy of apartheid, United Party policy of segregation and the Labour and Federal Party policies of qualified franchise.

To many Europeans, this policy is "unrealistic", yet to the followers of the Congress movement, this policy is not only correct in principle, but represents the only real alternative to apartheid, segregation or White domination. Yet though Congressmen are convinced that the struggle for the Freedom Charter is the only correct policy, they are prepared and anxious to co-operate on specific issues with all who oppose any manifestation of oppression and apartheid.

The alliance in the struggle against apartheid is broadening. Congress realises that not all people who are opposed to apartheid accept the Freedom Charter. But if for instance, the Liberal Party, the Labour Party, or the Black Sash Movement do not yet accept all demands of the Charter, they may nevertheless stand with us on many questions.

An important step in the direction of broadening the basis of a united front against apartheid was taken at the recent All-In African Conference at Bloemfontein. This Conference which was called to discuss the Tomlinson Report, after full discussion, held in a calm and objective atmosphere, unanimously rejected the Tomlinson Report and the policy of apartheid. It further called for



a multi-racial Conference and concluded its three-day session by making the following stirring call to the country:—

“This Conference is convinced that the present policy of apartheid constitutes a serious threat to race relations in the country. Therefore, in the interests of all the people and the future of the country, this Conference calls upon all national organisations to mobilise all people, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to form a united front against apartheid.”

It is heartening to note that some of the newspapers in the country welcome the proposal for the calling of a multi-racial Conference to consider an acceptable solution to the country's problems. Most of these newspapers have hitherto tacitly or expressly supported reactionary policies. Their attitude is an indication that the idea of a united front is gaining ground.

Thus we see two powerful forces crystallising out in the country — the one represented by the Congress movement and its allies, and the other by the Nationalist Party. As far as the Nationalist Party is concerned, any serious analysis will reveal that it has reached its high-water mark. There is no possibility of the Nationalists growing stronger than they are at present. They have played all their cards, but one — namely, the Republican issue, which itself appears unlikely to arouse any greater enthusiasm for the Nationalists than exists today. Already there are signs that the edge of the Nationalist blitzkrieg is blunted in the face of the determined and growing resistance of the people.

On the other hand, the liberatory movement does not only derive strength from the knowledge that the Colonial peoples everywhere are achieving their independence, and that a larger part of the world is hostile to racialism and White domination, but even more than that, they derive strength from the fact that their forces are growing, the resentment against oppression is becoming greater every day, and in particular, the Europeans of the country are gradually beginning to see that South Africa has no choice but to follow the road to a multi-racial society free from sectional domination and on the basis of the Charter of Human Rights.

The coming year will be decisive in the struggle against the Nationalists. Even the United Party will have to make up its mind. It will be faced with the question of joining with the Nationalists completely and sharing the fate which will face all racialists, or joining with the larger family of the democratic forces against apartheid.

# DURBAN DIARY

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BETWEEN every July Handicap and the following June when the sardines begin running again, Durban relapses into a comfortable contemplation of its balmy weather. Fortunately any ensuing boredom is relieved by the province's favourite game of tag, played with zest and without pause for breath by the United and Federal Parties.

At present the good clean fun between Feds and Saps has reached its jolliest, and even the press controversy about the noise dogs make has taken second place.

The excuse—or justification, depending on how you look at it—has been the 1956 Natal Congress of the United Party. For years the Federals have taunted the United Party into committing itself on the claim that Natal has the right to a separate referendum if a republic is proclaimed. The Congress decided to obtain legal opinion on the point. It seemed a clever move of “heads I win, tails you lose”. If the opinion upheld this right, the United Party would embrace the new cause and steal the Federal thunder; if not, it could accuse Federals of irresponsibly proposing an unconstitutional solution.

The Federal reaction claimed the referendum as a moral right, asked where the United Party stood on that, and discounted the sanctity of legal opinions in a country where the letter of the law bears little relation to its spirit. Deuce.

Of course it would be naughty to suggest that the republican controversy is a little irrelevant. No one can pretend our present constitution has been any kind of success. Not only was its original colour-bar basis thoroughly immoral, but it has proved ineffective in safeguarding even those paltry few rights some non-Whites possessed; and a U.S.-type constitution with rights for *all* irrevocably entrenched and power diffused among different authorities would be a great improvement. Nonetheless the Broederbond brand of republic can be relished by none but Afrikaner Nationalists, and a strong anti-Republican stand is therefore, as far as it goes, important.

But how one wishes the two largest White parties in Natal would face up to the the basis of the problem. Ultimately the important

alternatives are not a republic or a constitutional monarchy but a multi-racial democracy—in republican or monarchical dress matters less—or its present opposite. The fundamental choice is between the democratic and the authoritarian society. The choice of constitutional form is no more than a choice of means by which to attain the postulated ends. That is why the advantage is and must be with the Nationalists. They have decided on the authoritarian end and the republican means, while Federal and United Party leaders are opposing or pretending to oppose the means, but desperately avoiding any decision about the end.

The questions that liberals, radicals, progressives, African Nationalists, members of the Congresses—the most numerous, albeit unrepresented, group in Natal—must ask both Federals and the United Party are therefore these: When you talk of a referendum for Natal, do you intend that *all* the people of Natal should participate in it? And if you advocate secession from the Union as a last resort, do you intend to build a real democracy in Natal in which *all* Natalians may have a voice? If the answer is no—which we all know it is—it seems that the only essential difference between “liberated” Natal and Broederbond South Africa would be between worshipping the Crown and the Kruithoring\*. In that case who, but the White supremacists on either side cares a damn?

Of course we in Natal know we are quaint and odd and have our feet all over the place except firmly in South Africa. We are, of course, also the traditional espousers of lost causes. But this is not the context in which one reports on the recent combined activities of the African National Congress, Natal Indian Congress and Liberal Party. Members of all three organizations have co-operated to form the Natal Vigilance Committee on Group Areas, and successful public meetings in Northern Natal have been addressed by joint platforms of Africans, Indians and Whites.

The view that the Group Areas or “Ghetto” Act is probably the most wicked of all the noxious legislation in our statute-book has been confirmed by the plans for its implementation. Organised resistance is therefore thoroughly worth while for its own sake. But in the long run even greater value may be derived from this joint activity.

Co-operation between the races—even among people who are at one in their loathing of the colour bar—is incredibly difficult in

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\* The ‘Kruithoring’ or ‘powder-horn’ is the official emblem of the Nationalist Party.

South Africa, more difficult than most well-wishers overseas realize. Not only does one face the barrier of legislation and convention which makes ordinary intellectual or personal contact with other races a matter of constant, intentional effort, rather than the result of normal intercourse. The White radical must also contend with a growing lack of enthusiasm among many non-Whites for co-operation with Whites. Many are suspicious of White motives, because of repeated betrayals throughout this century by Whites who called themselves liberals; others feel that the non-Whites, especially the Africans, can never attain political strength until they develop their own leadership on their own; still others have reacted to White sectional racialism by evolving their own sectional racialism. However understandable each of these reactions may be—as they certainly are—their result merely helps to achieve the Government purpose: an acceptance of the thesis that the different races have mutually antagonistic interests which can be resolved only by rigid racial separation.

Not only in relation to the Vigilance Committee but in other ways too—for example, a recent African National Congress Conference on the Tomlinson Report, to which Liberal Party speakers were invited—Natal has made encouraging progress in persuading White and non-White to make common cause. Nothing spectacular has yet been achieved, but in comparison with Natal's past and also with the present situation in most other parts of the country, a very worth-while beginning has been made. For the sake of us all, this had better not become just another lost cause.

“The final cynical touch in the hypocritical war of words over the Suez crisis”, the *Natal Sunday Tribune* told us recently, “is that while Mr. Nehru in world affairs indulges in high-flown condemnation of ‘colonialist suppression’, at home and hidden from foreign eyes he is carrying out his own bloody war of colonial suppression against the rebellious Naga tribesmen.” These words are quoted not from an editorial, but from a news report accredited to the paper's London correspondent.

One finds it increasingly difficult to reconcile the reporting by many South African newspapers of events in, for example, India, West Africa or the southern states of the U.S.A. on the one hand, and on the other their indignant protestations against alleged prejudiced and ill-informed articles on South African affairs by overseas journalists.

In particular, one must be forgiven for regarding complaints

about a vendetta against South Africa with a degree of cynicism, when one takes note of the persistent and virulent vendetta a large proportion of the South African Press, English and Afrikaans, has waged for years now against India and the person of Jawaharlal Nehru. When we are not being titillated by horror stories of the impending invasion of Africa by Nehru's vast armada of aircraft-carriers and jet bombers, we are being invited to lick our lips about riots in Bombay, disputes over Kashmir, and of course that evergreen, the caste system.

Yet White South Africans who seize on Nehru as the scapegoat for their self-inflicted troubles, and who gloat lovingly over the colossal problems his new country is facing, may live to thank the man who had done more than any other since the death of Gandhi to prevent Asians from being forced into a solid, bitterly anti-Western bloc.

But until that time we must expect to continue being told that India's efforts to free Goa from Portuguese domination are "imperialist", while the greedy eye of South Africa on the Protectorates lacks that gleam; and that journalists in London can know nothing about South Africa without coming here, while they can simultaneously become authorities on the Naga troubles without ever visiting the remote mountain regions of Assam. Perhaps it all goes to show that whether reporting is prejudiced or not is simply a matter of bias.

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When in London recently, I was searching for accommodation with friends, two South Africans studying at Cambridge. A homely and gay club in Earl's Court, run by South Africans mainly for South Africans, was recommended to us. Certainly, we were told there, accommodation could be found for us. "We guarantee good digs," the man said. "Sound plumbing and no Coloureds". In South Africa we should have been conditioned to this. But in London it was somehow too much. We declined.

Of course most White South Africans take their prejudices overseas with them, keep them warm in cotton wool, and return with them intact. What does, however, surprise me is that so many who would indignantly deny any Nationalist sympathies when at home, fall over themselves to become apologists for the Nationalists once they leave the country. They are doubtless flattered by the pep-talks the State Information Office gratuitously gives on their role as "ambassadors", while a plentiful supply of glossy propaganda ensures that no cues will be missed or awkward questions unanswered. But a more alarming possibility is that the

insidious lie is gaining acceptance that criticism of the party overseas equals treason to the State.

The truth, of course, is that nothing so "blackens the name" of White South Africa in the eyes of the world as for White South Africans abroad to justify apartheid. Fortunately there is a small but significant group of young White South Africans in London and at Oxford and Cambridge who are rendering their country magnificent service and enhancing its prestige by making unequivocal their total repudiation of the monstrous evil and sterile injustice of the colour bar.

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The White citizens of Natal, the most pro-British group in South Africa, face an agonizing dilemma whenever they are forced to take notice of the British Labour Party. They dare not adopt too hostile an attitude towards a party which is likely to become Britain's next Government and the umbilical cord of the "British connection" they value so highly. On the other hand, they are intractably anti-Labour. Labour's race relations policy is anathema to this doughty band which invented its own ghetto policy as long ago as the days of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, before the Nationalists were ever heard of; mainly an affluent group, their views on socialism are pure High Toryism; most of the Englishmen they know personally are either fugitives from taxation or the leisured gentlefolk who avoid the English winter on our beaches, and whose railings against the Welfare State in either case are as melancholy as they are incessant; and their judgement of British politics is conditioned by a press largely controlled by the mining groups, of whose attitude towards any Labour Party little need be said.

The local reaction to the excellent resolution passed by the British Labour Party Conference on racial discrimination in South Africa has reflected the triumph of annoyance over discretion. "South Africans are becoming increasingly irritated by the sanctimonious moral judgements passed on their homeland by doctrinaire politicians and theorists," the *Natal Daily News* proclaimed in sonorous tones.

But when it talks of "South Africans", the *Daily News* of course refers only to a minority. Non-White South Africans are anything but irritated by these "moral judgements". White liberals and radicals draw tremendous encouragement from them too, for they are refreshing evidence that if the White liberal is something of a curiosity in South Africa, the "traditional" White South African is even more of a curiosity in the world.

The time has come, however, when we White liberals or radicals must cease merely to draw quiet personal satisfaction from world opinion. Too often the argument that "loyal" South Africans must resent international criticism gets across by default. It is high time we seized the initiative: by announcing our loyalty not to racist bigotry but to all South Africans by recognizing the tremendous menace to peace and source of international tension White South Africa represents; by supporting the right this fact gives other nations to take cognizance of what our Government does; and by openly and proudly associating ourselves with the British Labour Party, the United Nations, the Government of India, the Rev. Michael Scott and anyone else who fights our fight.

At Blackpool Mr. James Griffiths paid generous tribute to White liberals and radicals in South Africa. It is time for us to repay the compliment, even if the price of our doing so is the fury of the Free State isolationists and the "Little Englanders" of Natal.

Nearly 1,000 people—Africans, Indians, Europeans and Coloureds—squeezed into a packed Indian cinema in Durban on a recent Sunday night to hear four hours of jazz performed by leading local White and non-White musicians, in a concert arranged by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Standing in the crowded foyer before the show began, I overheard a young European woman ask the lady selling programmes whether seating would be segregated. She was told it would not be. "In that case", she said to her escort, "I don't think I can go in".

Her inhibitions were shared by few. The audience, overflowing into the aisles, were too preoccupied with pumping their knees and shouting encouragement to the musicians, as they swung from hot Dixieland to the cool, intellectual modern music, to care two hoots who was in the next seat as long as he was not a "square". Applause reached its climax in a thrilling "battle" between a young Coloured and a young White guitarist, each striving to create the more exciting and expressive solo.

I could not help recalling the point made by Yehudi Menuhin to Father Huddleston that it was jazz which forced some of the early cracks in the colour bar in the United States. But then the F.A.K. (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Societies) can always decide that jazz—like Carols by Candlelight—is a foreign influence requiring eradication.

Adams College, the famous 105-year-old African mission school in

Natal, has been refused registration as a private school by the omnipotent Dr. Verwoerd, and will cease operating at the end of this year.

Writing in *Indian Opinion*, African journalist Jordan Ngubane says: "Quite clearly the closure was, in the final reckoning, not a triumph for apartheid. On the face of it, it seemed to be that. What it was, was an open confession of inability to lead a multi-racial nation. Adams had produced men and women who were a credit to their country and whose names were known right round the world. They were incontrovertible proof of how absurd apartheid's pontifications were. Apartheid could not explain away the phenomenon of Black men distinguishing themselves in fields which it regarded as the exclusive preserves of peoples with a White skin. The only answer was to close down Adams.

"But if the closure was a challenge, it was also a criticism of what we, who oppose evaluating human worth in terms of race, had done over the decades and centuries to keep South Africa on the path of truth as preached at Adams. What we had done was wholly inadequate; how inadequate was shown by the fact that a famous school like Adams could go down at the stroke of the pen of a bureaucrat in Pretoria whose name will not last a quarter of the time Adams College has been in existence. True, we protested; and those who went before us protested. But in the light of what has happened neither we nor they fought hard enough and to-day Adams is paying the price. The ideals it stood for are being crushed underfoot by a tyrant. Again we protest mildly and feebly. As I thought things over, it seemed to me that we have reached the point where it is no longer enough to protest; we must be ready now to go to jail and perish there if necessary in defence of the values of life we believe to be true and desirable."

He was no older than 16, though he looked a great deal older. A face tortured with suffering and pain gave him a premature maturity, as did the broad, powerful shoulders, strong from dragging the weight of his dead, withered hips and legs.

They were trying him for murder. It was nothing much as murders go—just another of those ordinary stabbings that, like shebeen queens, police raids and pass laws, are always with the shanty-town people, just as the shanty-town people and the Problem are always with the White cities.

After they had lifted him into the witness-box, he told the judge that until two years ago he had lived in Cato Manor with his father and the woman. He was studying hard, hoping to pass the matric-



ulation examination which would open a new world to him, a world which, although still bounded by the dreary desolation of the shanty-town, would somehow be above it. Then the disease ended it all, and the laughter and eagerness went out of his eyes, and life and ambition became existence and acquiescence.

When he came out of hospital a year later, his father was dead and the woman reigned in his father's house. Many men came and went, and at night he would hear the carousing from the shack at the back where she had left him. She would not cook for him, nor later even buy him food. And so he would drag his dead legs into Durban every day to buy a little meat and bread, which he would sell at a small profit to the shanty-town people, and so be able to keep staying alive.

Then one night the woman, aflame with isishimayane, ordered him to leave his father's house. And so he stabbed her and killed her.

After they had arrested him the disease returned and he nearly died. But in the prison hospital they kept him alive and made him well enough to stand trial.

The advocate that the State paid to defend him pleaded eloquently that he should be acquitted, and that if he was to be convicted he should not be sentenced to death because of the extenuating circumstances.

"If he is to live, he must be sent to gaol for a long time," the White doctor who had tended to him in the hospital said when the court had retired. "He will never get better, but with proper care and attention he may never get worse," he explained.

"If he is convicted, he will be able to go to a prison hospital, and will be given work like basket-weaving. Outside of prison there are no hospital beds for him. All the beds are needed for patients who may recover, and we have no hospital here for non-European incurables. He will go back to Cato Manor and will have to find work and look after himself. He will not live six months."

The judge returned. And they sentenced him to seven years' imprisonment.

The correspondence columns of the *Natal Mercury* contain a novel suggestion. Stung by the report that the Blood Transfusion Services are to segregate European and non-European blood by marking bottles of the former with a white spot, a correspondent suggests a further extension of this principle.

What would happen, the correspondent asks, if a good Nationalist, through no fault of his own, was to be contaminated with the

blood of a Communist? To safeguard the purity of each political group, European bottles should be labelled thus: red for Communists, pink for Liberals, mauve for Federals, pale blue for the United Party and deep blue for the Nationalists.

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And from *Indian Opinion*: An African boarding a Durban bus was told by the conductor that it was full and he should "go to hell". Whereupon the African promptly replied: "I went there, but I saw a board saying: FOR EUROPEANS ONLY."

## BATTLE HYMN FOR THE REPUBLIC

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the President-to-be;  
 He is trampling out resistance to the pigmentocracy  
 For he's sworn that Whites for ever shall maintain supremacy;  
 His challenge marches on.

He has summoned us to answer him before his judgment place;  
 He is sorting out the souls of men according to their race;  
 And only Whites are human and the rest must know their place;  
 This challenge marches on.

The rest, a lower order, shall forever servile be;  
 But men can not be less than men, though reared to slavery  
 And legislation can't destroy a man's will to be free—  
 The future marches on.

Yet he casts a mighty shadow; fear and silence are abroad,  
 And the soul is slow to answer him, the spirit overawed;  
 But the future holds the lightning of a terrible swift sword  
 And the future marches on.

*MARION,*

# AFRIKANERS AND OTHERS

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It is 250 years since a White man at the Cape first called himself an Afrikaner. Significantly, he was saying to a magistrate that "you can't do this to me—I am an Afrikaner". And he and his friends tried to get their own back on the magistrate at Stellenbosch who had dared to punish a White man for mere drunken disorderliness.

In the two and a half centuries that have passed since that incident occurred, the character of the Afrikaner people has remained something of a mystery not only to the outside world but even to their fellow-countrymen in South Africa. The very name of "Afrikaner" was hardly ever applied to them in the world Press until their first political victory in the general election of 1948. Before that they had simply been "the Boers" who had fought gallantly in that old, unhappy war with Britain, and who remained somehow doggedly un-English in spite of all temptations to accept quietly the process of being anglicized.

The ignorance of the English-speaking world about the Afrikaners is easy to understand. There is not a single book in the English language devoted to a description, let alone an analysis, of this unknown nationality. Nor could such a book be well done except by someone who knew Afrikaans and had achieved that degree of sympathy with Afrikaners so much harder to attain in these days than the degree of criticism that should accompany it.

Books about Afrikaners will assuredly be written in the coming years for English readers. The important position held by Afrikaners in the continent of Africa makes it certain that the world will want to know much more about them. Apart from a million Frenchmen in Algeria, the Afrikaners are the only White-skinned community in the continent to-day who are likely to be still recognizable as a distinctive White community in the year 2000.

The political victory of the Afrikaner Nationalists in 1948 was followed by an even fuller triumph in 1953; and no realist doubts that it will be further entrenched by the general election due in 1958. Political success has, however, tended to obscure the economic and social progress of this people, a fact less visible but no less significant. But before I pass to this aspect of their life, let me dwell for a short space on the extent of their political success.

It was not won quickly. The story goes back to the middle of the South African War. Even at that time the British themselves recognized (although the recognition was not openly announced) the necessity to come to terms with the Boers when victory was won. This recognition began when Britain abandoned the belief that a less repressive Native policy could be imposed on the Boers after the war. In the peace treaty of 1902 the British promised to postpone a decision on the vital matter of the franchise until after self-government had been conceded to the Transvaal. But before that happened the British went even farther to meet the Boers' known attitude on the subject by themselves proposing in 1905 that the franchise be restricted to white men. Then in spite of warnings from W. P. Schreiner and others, the British allowed Union to come without any attempt to ensure the extension of the Native franchise beyond the Cape Province. It is commonly believed that such an attempt would have wrecked the prospect of Union. But as Keir Hardie, the Labour leader at Westminster, said at the time, "it is ridiculous to say that the great (British) trading and commercial interests whom the Act of Union will benefit—the customs and railway interests and the whole of the property interests—are going to throw away the benefits they anticipate because the House of Commons insists that the Union Parliament shall remain open to Africans, as the Cape Parliament was open".

The British surrendered one other position that was to hasten the ultimate political triumph of their enemy, the Boers. By an intrigue (the full details of which are still buried in unpublished papers), the British Government in 1910 deprived John X. Merri-man, the most experienced and accomplished of the available political leaders, of the office to which he was entitled, namely, that of the Union's first Prime Minister. Instead, their influence hoisted the pliable Louis Botha to that office. Botha was a modest man and (to apply Churchill's memorable phrase about Attlee) he had a great deal to be modest about. But he did have the incomparable merit of being an Afrikaner. So the political convention was at once established that the Prime Minister of the Union must be an Afrikaner. From that day to this no one has seriously challenged this convention and now it is observed by the United Party as solemnly as by the Nationalists, to whom of course it presents no problem of leadership.

Before 1948 every Cabinet consisted of English speaking members as well as Afrikaners. Since that date the Cabinet has consisted entirely of Afrikaners. To-day over 80 per cent of the members

of Parliament are Afrikaners. So is the Governor-General and, almost without exception, so are the permanent heads of all the departments of State. Indeed, not only are all the key positions in the civil service held by Afrikaners but most of the minor positions are staffed by them too. The Army and the Police Force are also very largely manned by Afrikaners, who certainly predominate in all ranks. Since no informed person believes that the Nationalists will be ousted from political power in the foreseeable future, this whole situation is what I mean by the political triumph of the Afrikaners.

It is a victory that took just about half a century to win. It was, as I have suggested, actually facilitated by the British in spite of their apparent opposition to every step in its steady accomplishment. The reason why the British can be said to have facilitated it is not hard to understand. The British interest in South Africa has always centred mainly in economic life. After all, that is where the inner substance of empire lies when all the external trimmings have fallen away. As long as the British are assured that their economic interests are in no danger they will be extremely reluctant to quarrel, to the point of open conflict, with any country. That is why they could so generously forgive the Boers for the war that wronged the Republics so grievously.

By the irony of history it was the South African War that led, step by step, to the domination of the Union's politics by the aggrieved Afrikaners. Ten years after the end of the war, Hertzog formed the Nationalist Party; but another forty years were to pass before it came to exercise unchallenged political power. For the party's growth was retarded by the two world wars, an embarrassing intrusion of external events on a domestic scene otherwise isolated from an unsympathetic world.

If anyone wants to inquire in more detail how the Afrikaners accomplished their political success, he will not have far to look. Dr. D. F. Malan left the pulpit in 1915 to become the first editor of the new daily newspaper in Cape Town, *Die Burger*. Dr. H. F. Verwoerd left a chair at Stellenbosch University in 1937 to become the first editor of the new daily newspaper in Johannesburg, *Die Transvaler*. A chain of other newspapers and magazines was forged around the country. With their aid several publishing firms grew up. To-day few books or even articles can ever reach a sizeable number of Afrikaner readers without the approval of the Nationalist leaders, who control the production of the printed word in their language.

To make assurance doubly sure, the Nationalists and their powerful ally, the Dutch Reformed Church, captured the minds of Afrikaner youth. They did this by winning, some twenty years ago, official recognition for a policy that insists on the single-medium Afrikaans school as the normal type of institution for all children whose home language is not English. In these schools few teachers survive, and none are promoted, who dare to challenge the orthodox outlook bred in combination by the Dutch Reformed Church and the Nationalist Party. In these schools children are, in effect, taught a version of South African life, and especially of history, that makes the non-Europeans their first enemy and the British their second enemy. No wonder that by the age of eighteen (if not earlier) the younger generation is wedded to a life-long loyalty to only such Afrikaner ideals as the Church and the State choose to honour. The surprising thing is not that this happens to the vast majority of Afrikaner children; the surprising thing is that even a small proportion ever escape this fate.

I mention the fact that some few have escaped because I shall inevitably be reminded that Afrikaner and Nationalist are not synonymous terms. That is true. There are still, especially among the older generation, Afrikaners who worship the names of Botha and Smuts; who recognize that all Englishmen are not (and never were, even in 1899) imperialists; and who may, at least in their hearts and consciences, question the authority of their Church on various subjects. Yet it would be an illusion to suppose that this type of Afrikaner counts for anything in politics to-day. Their number is dwindling steadily and they are destined virtually to disappear. However hard the United Party pretends to be an alternative political home for Afrikaners, the electoral figures—coupled with the birth rate, the death rate, and the lack of immigrants—tell their own inexorable tale. In any case, it is well to remember that even if the Nationalist Party split down the centre to-morrow—an improbable event—no mere realignment of existing political forces, dividing the unity of the Afrikaners, is likely to produce new national policies fundamentally different from those prevailing now.

Unhappily for the Afrikaners, however, politics only constitutes a half (or less than a half) of public affairs. The other half goes by the name of economics.

A glance at the economic aspects of South African life helps to explain why the Afrikaners cannot relax their exertions and celebrate their political victory. They know perfectly well that

political success normally rests on economic foundations. They knew this from the beginning of their Nationalist movement. They were not content to run newspapers and rely on the force of political argument, important as this undoubtedly was. From its early days the Nationalist Party was not simply an alternative political party; it was a broader nationalist movement of a kind whose pattern of growth is familiar to students of nationalism from a score of examples provided by the recent history of other countries in America, in Asia and in Africa, as well as in Europe in the nineteenth century. Any nationalist movement, if it is to succeed in its aims, must find expression in economic institutions complementary to its political forms. The Afrikaner Nationalists have built up such institutions. There are insurance companies, banks, building societies, nursing homes, undertakers, and a host of other large financial and commercial enterprises that have prospered greatly in the last twenty years. Their growth has been deliberately supported by special organizations with one eye on the main chance of commercial profit and the other eye on the indirect political value of such enterprises. This economic progress has, of course, been accelerated more recently by the fact that Afrikaners can now confidently turn to the State for practical sympathy and encouragement. Afrikaners had indeed to secure such support, in a variety of ways, before they could effectively cease being only "boers", as they were a century ago.

The Afrikaner middle class took a long time to emerge because it was slow to accumulate the capital necessary for further growth. And even now its economic growth is retarded by the fact that it must compete with British capital (whether from abroad or at home) holding the lion's share in several major fields of operation.

On this subject figures are difficult to come by and they come mainly (and significantly) from unofficial Afrikaner sources. According to J. L. Sadie, professor of economics at Stellenbosch University (quoted by the State Information Office in *South African Affairs*, January 1955), the Afrikaner share of the national income is one-quarter of the total (which was about £1,500 million in 1954). Apparently, farming is still the main source of wealth for Afrikaners. In the field of manufacturing, they own 3,000 of the smaller factories; but in mining their share is only about  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Professor Sadie estimates their share of "control" of wholesale trade to be "only 6 per cent of the total annual turnover of £32,000,000". These few figures confirm what is known from general observation. Afrikaners predominate in agriculture, in all

the public services, and no doubt in the lower White ranks of clerical and administrative employment generally. But in all the most profitable fields (except farming) they play a relatively minor (though increasing) part. These include mining, insurance, banking and finance; and the professions such as law, medicine and the rest. Until a proper economic survey can be undertaken, a more precise analysis can hardly be made in a reliable fashion.

Here, then, is the clue to an understanding of South African life at the present time: political power rests entirely in Afrikaner hands while economic power remains largely in English hands. The English in the Union, influenced by British capital and its outlook, are not deeply dissatisfied with this division. Indeed, the present English adjustment to a division on these lines continues a process that, as I have indicated, began in the minds of the mine-owners, and was soon legible in their policies, just after the conclusion of the South African War. Even at that early date it was realized that if British interests were to continue to enjoy the fruits of their economic enterprise and investment, they would be wise to avoid further conflict with Afrikaners in the political sphere. Formal opposition, in the parliamentary sense, has of course continued down to the present day. But it has grown more formal and less vigorous and purposeful as the sheer weight of Afrikaner numbers in the White population has put the outcome of political contests beyond all doubt. This division between economic and political power is a strange one, probably without parallel in another country. It is largely responsible for the continued tension between the two White races; and this tension is one factor that prevents the ruling White race from enjoying the fulfilment of its avowed political aims.

Finally, another factor, looming ever larger in the background, should be mentioned. It is the part necessarily played by the ubiquitous non-Europeans in the economic life of the divided country. In their attitude to non-European the Afrikaners can, broadly speaking, count on the support of their English fellow-countrymen on all fundamental issues. Nonetheless, the dependence of South African society on the labour of the non-White keeps the ruling Afrikaners uneasily aware of the weakness of their own position. They have begun to realize that they now have everything under control—except the aims and aspirations of 10,000,000 people who, while looking on Afrikaner nationalism as the root of all evil, are developing a rival nationalism of their own.



# PORTRAIT OF A CABINET MINISTER

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UNTIL 30 November 1954, Afrikaner politics was a patriarchal affair. In the tradition of the Voortrekkers the Afrikaners chose as their political leaders the elders of the clan, men with their roots deep in the soil, men of years and of wide experience. They were more than political leaders; they were an expression of what the Afrikaners saw as the mature personality of Afrikanerdom.

The four Prime Ministers since Union had all been cast in this mould—Botha, Hertzog, Smuts, Malan. But Malan was the last of the patriarchs. There was another patriarchal figure ready to succeed Dr. Malan—The Minister of Finance, Mr. N. C. Havenga, a Boer War veteran still limping from his wounds, with a lifetime of experience in the service of Afrikanerdom.

But by the time his turn came the personality of Afrikanerdom had changed. The agricultural economy of South Africa had been replaced by an adolescent industrialism. Afrikaners in their thousands had forsaken the land for the more sophisticated delights of the industrial city.

With this sophistication came subtle changes of personality—and it was the younger, impatient, extremist Afrikaner politicians who first sensed this change; they laid their plans accordingly.

So it was that at a caucus meeting of the Nationalist Party in the old Transvaal Republic Raadsaal in Pretoria on November 30, 1954, Dr. Malan's choice as a successor, Mr. Havenga, was pushed aside and instead Mr. Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom, "the Lion of the North", was elected to the national leadership of the Party, and thus to the premiership.

It was a dramatic coup, but not entirely unexpected. It had been

preceded by as intensive an undercover campaign as South African politics had ever known. Carefully keeping aloof from all the lobbying which centred around him, Mr. Strijdom, for the first time in his life, left the country. He took his wife on a holiday trip to England and the Continent, a journey that he had always pooh-poohed as unnecessary and even undesirable for the right-thinking Afrikaner.

On his return by air to Jan Smuts Airport, Johannesburg, a curious scene was enacted. As he stepped from the aircraft a welcoming roar went up from the hundreds of Nationalist Party supporters who had gathered for the occasion. Before he reached the waiting crowd, however, a little group of men went running across the tarmac to meet him. They held a whispered, conspiratorial conversation with him, and only then did Mr. Strijdom go on to meet his followers.

And on the day the chairman of the Nationalist caucus announced Mr. Strijdom's victory in the Raadsaal it was the members of the airport group who were first to surround him again—but this time to shower him with exultant congratulations.

Photographers' flashbulbs popped as the little knot of conspirators followed Mr. Strijdom to the steps of the Raadsaal. Next day, when the news of Mr. Havenga's political "assassination" was announced in the Press, newspaper readers saw pictures of a smiling Mr. Strijdom surrounded by this triumphant group.

Most of the faces in that group were familiar: Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, Minister of Native Affairs, Mr. C. R. Swart, Minister of Justice, Mr. Eric Louw, Minister (then) of Economic Affairs. But at the new Prime Minister's right elbow stood a burly, balding man in a dark suit. His was not then a nationally well-known face. The captions recorded that he was Mr. Jan de Klerk, chief organizing secretary of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal.

What the captions did not say was that this was the man who had organized and administered the intricate campaign which had resulted in Mr. Strijdom's victory. They did not say either that this was a man about to emerge from the Nationalist Party's back-room onto the very centre of the stage, a man who was to become a powerful figure in South African politics—a man who typified the "new" Nationalism.

Within a few months, however, the whole country knew the name of Jan de Klerk. Before that Raadsaal victory almost his sole claim to public fame had been his platform reference, while a member of the Transvaal Provincial Council, to Mrs. Lakshmi

Pandit, President of the United Nations Assembly, as "*daardie ou koeliemeid*" (that old coolie woman).

As a king-maker, however, Mr. de Klerk could expect a royal reward. Mr. Strijdom was prompt in discharging his obligation. Mr. de Klerk was taken up immediately into the Cabinet in the portfolio of Minister of Labour, although it was some months before a seat could be found for him in Parliament. Eventually he was put into the Senate.

When South Africa learnt that Senator de Klerk was also Mr. Strijdom's brother-in-law there were cynically understanding nods. But those who saw this as the sole reason for Mr. Strijdom's favour both did Mr. Strijdom an injustice and underestimated Senator de Klerk.

The fact is that not only Mr. Strijdom but the Nationalist Party of the Transvaal as a whole had good reason to feel indebted to Mr. de Klerk for the contribution he had made personally to the spectacular Nationalist election victories of 1948 and 1953.

It was Mr. de Klerk who planned and administered the election campaign in the Transvaal—and influenced the campaign in other provinces too—with a shrewd understanding of the psychological change that was coming over the Afrikaner, and a drive that extracted the last ounce of enthusiasm just where it counted most.

Nationalism's victory in 1948 was, in fact, less the result of any electoral "swing" than of the efforts of an army of professional political organizers like Mr. de Klerk. Most of them have since been transferred from the Party's to the taxpayers' payroll and form the Nationalist élite corps in Parliament.

They are a very different type to the farmer-politicians who, with a certain peasant shrewdness but perhaps more gusto than guile, had fought the Afrikaner-Nationalist battle for so long. But while they might not in themselves express the character of Afrikanerdom, they have mastered all the means of manipulating Afrikaner sentiment. They have psycho-analysed nationalism and adapted it to the Afrikaner psyche, reducing it in the process to a matter of conditioned reflexes, push-button controlled.

There is a sameness about these Nationalist professional politicians—they are slick, sleek men for the most part. And Senator de Klerk is the archetype of them all.

Jan de Klerk was born in Burgersdorp, in the Cape, in 1903, the son of a minister of the "Dopper" sect—the most Calvinistic wing of the Dutch Reformed Church.

He went to school and to university in Potchefstroom, educational

cradle of northern Nationalism, and grew up as a Transvaler, rather than in the tradition of the Cape.

Like so many Afrikaners of his generation, landless and lacking either the capital or the "contacts" to give him the entrée to the commercial world, he became a teacher. Unlike many others who have become prominent Nationalist leaders, however, he did not go on to great academic heights.

But he gained experience in a sphere which was to make him most valuable to the Nationalist cause. He became a townsman teacher — on the Witwatersrand, where the Afrikaner communities were swelling rapidly as industrialisation enticed more and more young Afrikaners away from the boredom and near poverty of their existence on the land.

He saw around him the changes in Afrikaner character and psychology wrought by this change in environment. And in his school he saw the new generation of urban Afrikaners growing up.

In 1937 he became principal of the Primrose Afrikaans School at Germiston and was soon welcomed onto the committee of the Reddingsdaadbond, the Afrikaner-Nationalist co-ordinating organization which was just then setting out to ensure that those Afrikaners who were being absorbed into the economy of the cities were not lost to the Nationalist fold.

The aims of the Reddingsdaadbond were unambiguously stated by its chairman, the Rev. Jac Conradie:

"The Afrikaner worker will for many years to come still represent the largest number of white workers of our land. That means that they will still in the future form the kernel of our nation. That is why we must see the inclusion of the Afrikaner worker as one of the main objects of the Reddingsdaadbond.

"The Afrikaner worker is today forced to subject himself to the existing trade unions so that approximately half of the Afrikaner nation is to-day ensnared in the powerful machinery of the trade unions . . . an enormous task awaits to rescue the Afrikaner nation from the claws of this un-national power . . ."

Jan de Klerk was one of the key men selected to carry out that task.

In 1945, at the early age of 42, Mr. de Klerk rather precipitately gave up teaching. The Reddingsdaadbond had a job in mind for him, however, for which, with his knowledge of that new political animal, the urban Afrikaner, he was well suited.

He became the founder secretary of the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond (White Workers' Protection Society). This was

an offshoot of the Reddingsdaadbond, a "Christian-National" workers' organization whose main aim was to keep the new class of Afrikaner workers from drifting into "foreign" trade unionism and thus perhaps being weaned from sectional grouping based on race to new political allegiances based on economic interests.

The chairman of this "workers'" organization was a clergyman; its secretary was a teacher; several of its executive members were prospering Afrikaner capitalists. The Bond, nevertheless, did succeed in inculcating in many Afrikaner workers the idea that their group loyalty should be towards Afrikanerdom rather than to any common workers' front.

The Bond, with Mr. de Klerk's drive behind it, became the spearhead of Afrikaner Nationalism's campaign against the trade unions. It was an all-in campaign. Agents within the unions worked for their disruption; the Dutch Reformed Church brought pulpit pressure to bear on Afrikaner workers; the Nationalist newspapers and politicians used every opportunity to smear and vilify the trade union leaders as "communists" and "*kafferboeties*" (nigger lovers). The "*swart gevaar*" (black peril) was, of course, the main propaganda lever used to prise Afrikaner workers away from the other workers.

The public platform was not in those days Mr. de Klerk's battleground. But Mr. Ben Schoeman M.P. (later to be Senator de Klerk's predecessor as Minister of Labour) was also an executive member of the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond. And he told Parliament in 1942 what the Nationalist outlook on labour issues was: "Self-government in industry and collective bargaining should be eliminated from our national life. . . . there must be changes in the foreign British system, which does not conform to the character and traditions of the Afrikaner . . . the present (labour) system must be destroyed and a new one created . . . the principal function of the present trade unions will disappear . . . they will not so much be entrusted with the function of obtaining better wages and better working conditions by means of collective bargaining with the employers, they will be mainly entrusted with the task of regulating domestic matters as between the employers and the employees, and for the rest of looking after the spiritual welfare of the workers."

Those were the aims for which Mr. de Klerk was working through the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond.

In 1947, however, he was called to an even more important post. He became the first full-time organizing secretary of the Nationalist Party on the Witwatersrand and it was in this position that he did so

much towards the 1948 election victory. It was largely as a result of his organizational efforts that the Nationalist Party was able to capture the eight urban seats on the Rand which give it the balance of power.

His contribution to the 1948 election success made him the obvious choice for the job of first full-time organizing secretary of the Party for the whole of the Transvaal, which he took over just in time to plan the Party's election campaign for the 1949 provincial elections.

Although his contribution to the Party's election victories was appreciated, however, the Transvaal Nationalists were not yet sufficiently in the ascendancy within the Party for him to be able to claim preference over Cape men in Dr. Malan's apportionment of Cabinet rewards.

Mr. de Klerk did become a provincial councillor (for Krugersdorp), however, and his ability and standing in the Party won him a place on the Provincial Council's Executive Committee.

But Mr. de Klerk must have known that he was marked out for greater rewards. In 1951 he resigned from the Executive Committee, forfeiting the financial benefit this post carried with it, to concentrate on the organization of the Nationalist Party in the Transvaal for the 1953 election.

The task of drawing up a Nationalist-favouring delimitation plan for the Party to put before the Delimitation Commission—a plan that was very largely accepted by the Commission—was mainly his. And the result of the election—a consolidation wherever it was sought—was another feather in Mr. de Klerk's cap.

Then came, for him personally, the most important campaign of all—the "Strijdom for Premier" campaign. And again everything went according to Mr. de Klerk's plan.

So, in 1955, Jan de Klerk took his place with South Africa's top Nationalists in the Strijdom Cabinet.

If he felt any self-consciousness about having ridden into Parliament on the steps of Mr. Strijdom's triumphal chariot, Senator de Klerk did not show it.

During one of his first appearances in the House of Assembly he was subjected to a sarcastic attack by Mr. S. J. Marais Steyn (United Party M.P. for Vereeniging). But Senator de Klerk retaliated with blunt belligerence: "If he thinks he can bully me he will discover that he will be treated very roughly".

Senator de Klerk's self-confidence must have been the envy of many more experienced Parliamentarians. At times he was even

loftily condescending. Even some of his own colleagues squirmed when the new Minister of Labour (Parliament's most junior member in terms of service) tapped his palm for attention and told the veteran Parliamentarians around him: "Now the House will have to follow me very carefully".

Senator de Klerk's big moment came in his second Parliamentary year. He had the satisfaction of piloting through Parliament, in the teeth of bitter opposition, the long contested Industrial Conciliation Bill.

This was the measure which finally broke the power of the trade unions in South Africa. Among other things it provided (1) for reservation of jobs on a racial basis; (2) for the prohibition in future of multi-racial trade unions; and (3) for splinter groups to break away from existing mixed trade unions to form separate uniraical unions.

Looking back to the days when he helped frame the constitutional aims of the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond—" (1) there should be a clear determination of which occupations must be reserved for Europeans and which for non-Europeans; (2) no undesirable contact between European and non-European workers should be tolerated in their employment; and (3) mixed membership of trade unions of Europeans and non-European workers shall be prohibited"—the founder of the Bond had good reason to be pleased with himself.

With his "enormous task" accomplished Senator de Klerk could afford to be indulgent.

"The Government is in favour of the encouragement and the promotion of sound trade unionism in South Africa . . . collective bargaining is an essential requisite for the regulation of labour matters . . . the Government favours the preservation of self-government in industry . . ."

Time, and the Industrial Conciliation Bill, had apparently greatly changed circumstances since Mr. Ben Schoeman, executive committee member of the Blankewerkersbeskermingsbond spoke a little over ten years before.

From the sworn enemy of trade unionism, Jan de Klerk had become the Lord Protector of the trade unions.

The odd thing is that Senator de Klerk resembles nothing so much as a certain kind of trade unionist—the type that has grown fat on the successful conduct of his erstwhile working mates' affairs. He has a breezy, down to earth manner: the air of a "working man's friend". In fact this is perhaps the most valuable part of Senator de

Klerk's stock-in-trade, for he was one of the pioneers who laboured, after industrialisation began to seduce rural Afrikanerdom, to present the Nationalist Party not only as the "farmers' party", as it had always been regarded, but also as the "workers' party".

As he strolls cheerily through the Parliamentary lobby, Senator de Klerk looks like a convivial clubman seeking an audience for a *risqué* joke. He has a hearty chuckle which sounds often from the centre of the little groups which gather round him. He teeters to and fro, rocking on the balls of his feet, thumbs hooked into his waistcoat pockets, while he exchanges pleasantries with opponents and colleagues alike.

But behind this genial exterior is a ruthless purpose. "Forceful" and "relentless" are words which come immediately to mind when one seeks to describe the character of Jan de Klerk. And it is perhaps significant that he should have chosen these words to epitomize the character of Nationalism.

Speaking on the Government's decision to pack the Senate as its trump card in the constitutional dispute, he recalled a statement in which the four provincial leaders of the party had once promised "forceful and relentless" action.

"Now people are surprised that we are acting," said Senator de Klerk. "Our action will remain forceful and relentless".

Senator de Klerk's philosophy is revealed, too, in a number of other statements he has made since, as one of the Party's Big Five, he began publicly to set the pace for Nationalism.

Colour: "My consistent attitude will be the maintenance of the White man's position and the domination of the European in South Africa".

Dedication: "Afrikaners must be prepared to work, work, work for *baasskap*" (domination).

Power: "Wherever you allow the economy of your country to slip out of your hands you yourself disappear".

Deviation: "Liberalism (or internationalism) among the Afrikaners is more dangerous than the 'Hoggenheimers' could ever be; the only antidote is the proper teaching of national history".

Constitution: "The republic will come as sure as the sun will rise—and it will be a Calvinist republic".

Education: "Afrikaner children should be brought up on stories of their national heroes, not on fairy stories".

And perhaps the most revealing of all: "We are taking this step (packing the Senate) because we are Calvinists who believe that God is sovereign and delegates that sovereignty to the lawful rulers of



the land. We therefore have the right to determine what must be done and no court, even if it is the highest in the land, can take away the sovereign power that God gave to his people”.

This, then, is the typical Nationalist politician of the South African industrial age: a sophisticated townsman with the technique of power politics at his fingertips; a master of mass psychology; a white-collar representative of the working man; an intransigent authoritarian who claims his authority on spiritual grounds; a party official who has become a party boss.

The patriarchy has given place to an autocracy of party officials. And such is the trend of things in the Nationalist Party to-day that the king-maker could yet be king.

## THE EVATON RIOTS

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THE riots precipitated by the bus boycott at Evaton, the non-White township twenty-four miles south of Johannesburg, have been the strangest on record in this country. When the Evaton residents organized pickets last year to boycott the Italian-owned bus company running the Johannesburg route, they little suspected that they would find themselves split into two violently opposed groups—boycotters and anti-boycotters. And yet the boycott has hardly ever been an ideological one in the accepted sense. It has had none of the features of passive resistance such as characterized the Montgomery bus boycott in the United States or the recent short-lived one in Cape Town. It started because the bus company raised the fares. And since July of last year boycotters and anti-boycotters have been at war with each other, killing, assaulting each other, and burning down houses, making their township a hive of unrest and bitter civil strife. And the Government and the bus company have been watching, doing little or nothing about it.

The White Press has been at pains to try to prove that the Evaton riots were precipitated by a group of irresponsible young men who dared to start a boycott against the bus company. A reporter even wrote in the *Rand Daily Mail* that the boycott had been engineered by “hired political agitators” who wanted to use Evaton as a base for a mass political campaign.

A *Star* editorial said that the bus boycotters had no case because

they decided to live far out of town where they are not required to pay rates. This implied that the Evaton residents should not complain against the raised bus fares because they are free from handicaps which should, after all, be the Black man's cup of tea.

Now that we are far from the vortex of the disturbances in both time and place, let us examine the facts critically. Although an agreement has been made and concluded between the Evaton People's Transport Council and the Evaton Passengers' Service, there reigns only an unquiet peace. A dangerous one at that. The question that immediately arises is: if, as is the case, the Passengers' Service is under legal obligation to revert to the old fares as they stood before July 1955, why do the people not use the buses in full force?

Here is the answer. Many of Evaton's residents feel embittered against a company that has lasted the boycott distance, contrary to expectations. At least the Italian-owned bus company has had its licence renewed by the Transportation Board. The residents opposed the company's application on the following grounds: that the new fares were high; that the Passengers' Service was inefficient; that the company had failed to erect sheds in the township for passengers; that the bus conductors and drivers were rude and undisciplined; that hooliganism was going on unchecked in the buses. The counter-application was rejected by the Transportation Board as "frivolous". The people thus genuinely felt that once again they were powerless in the presence of a gigantic financial-political machine. This bitterness unleashed scalding wrath that made the people turn against themselves.

The leaders of the boycotters—the People's Transport Council—had first toyed with the idea of forming a people's bus company to take the place of the Evaton Passengers' Service. What had started as a mere suggestion caught fire with the people, and most of the boycotters, if not all, sustained the boycott in the hope that one day they would be served by a non-European bus company. But capital was not forthcoming. The leaders explained the whole problem of raising sufficient capital. But the feelings of the people had already been geared to prospects of a new era in their transport system.

Again, by May this year six men had been killed as a result of clashes between boycotters and anti-boycotters. By the end of July twelve more people had been killed as a result of further acts of violence. The residents argue that the bus company looked on while Evaton was on fire resulting from the company's insistence

on raising the fares on the Johannesburg route. The people feel they have had enough of the bus company and would be glad of a more sympathetic one, White or non-White. Whether or not the present company is White or not is irrelevant at the moment so far as the people are concerned.

The Evaton bus boycott, now seventeen months old, is certainly the strangest on record in this country. The big Sophiatown—Newclare boycott of a few years ago against municipal trams brought the service to a standstill. But there was little violence. The City Council removed the trams altogether and the service has not since been revived. And yet Evaton has a homogeneous population, at any rate it is not as cosmopolitan as Johannesburg townships.

These are the factors that contributed to the violent clashes, killings and widespread arson at Evaton:

(1) The bus company, on its own admission to the Transportation Board, employed six men to "protect the buses against pickets". These men happened to be blanketed Basotho whom people everywhere else have come to associate with "Russians", a gang of rough blanketed men which originated in Newclare about 1948. They arm themselves with sticks and their sole method is physical violence.

(2) After fifty years of existence, Evaton, a sprawling, peri-urban freehold area, has as its only authority the Native Commissioner and a very small police force. For many years now the residents have been asking the Government to allow them to set up a peri-urban authority. In 1947 the Native Affairs Commission conducted an inquiry into a number of grievances put to them by Evaton residents. Among them were: (a) property-owners could not obtain their deeds of transfer; (b) bad roads; (c) primitive sanitary and water systems such as pits and a handful of windmills; (d) the rising incidence of hooliganism caused partly by the fact that Johannesburg criminals have found a good hiding place in Evaton; (e) the section of Evaton called Small Farms, although under the Peri-urban Health Board, enjoys no substantial services. For the rest of Evaton, it is "pay your poll tax and take care of yourself", as Africans there say.

The Commission did nothing about the residents' resolution to reject Government peri-urban and health committees such as places like Kliptown and Alexandra possess. The people wanted to constitute a local committee composed of six elected Africans and three Government nominees. In short, Evaton was saying it

wants to govern itself untrammelled by municipal controls, bee raids and so on.

(3) The third factor grows out of the second. Soon after the bus company had posted six men to guard the buses, a small group formed around them and began to work against the boycotters. It became obvious that most of them were "Russians" who came from the Small Farms sector: they were people who were not using the buses anyway. For "Russians" do not work. They live in semi-rustic ease and indifference, loafing about and often sprawling in the sun. A man called Ralekeke Rantuba, self-styled chief of the Evaton Basotho living at Small Farms, led a number of his people against the boycotters. He was seen at every scene of trouble between the boycotters on the one side and the people hired to look after the buses and those who owe allegiance to Ralekeke on the other. It also became obvious that the small group was asserting itself as some authority over Evaton, and that they were cashing in on the state of unrest. A great number of cases of extortion followed. Residents at Small Farms were being bullied into paying "protection fees" and forming a "chief's army". "Russians" were imported from Johannesburg as reinforcements. Forty of them were arrested on their way from Evaton for trespassing on mine premises in the city. They told the magistrate that they had been hired to fight against bus-boycotters at Evaton.

These, then, are the factors that set the stage for a boycott which developed into open war over seventeen painful months, and turned a once peaceful township into a terror-stricken, violent little town like a lawless outpost of the Wild West. To make things worse the police were failing to make arrests and to prosecute. Up to October this year there had been only one conviction—that of a man who had been seen in possession of a revolver.

To-day, even although the township has just emerged from a self-destructive fire, people still shout, "Azikwelwa!"—"Don't ride them!" (buses). And as before, the cry is relayed from street to street. The same tension, suspicion and mistrust prevail that made the late Bishop Sims one of the most frightened men in Evaton and finally led to his murder.

It all began on the cold morning of 25 July 1955. The Evaton Passengers' Service, which has been doing business on the Evaton-Johannesburg route for thirteen years, had raised the fares. Mr. Vusimusi Make and Mr. Joseph Molefi, who were born and bred

in Evaton, got up a group of leading men in the township and they called themselves the Evaton People's Transport Council. Make became chairman and Molefi secretary. They decided to call the residents together and to put before them a plan to boycott the buses. Most of the people resolved to carry it out. Pickets were organized. Feelings ran high and in September one of the buses was set on fire.

The bus company hired men to look after the buses. This angered the people and a trail of assaults and arson followed. In August three men were arrested and charged with common assault. Would-be passengers had been beaten up. The men were later acquitted. Six men had already appeared in court on a charge of malicious damage to property after the destruction of the bus. Five of these men were boycotters. They were later acquitted.

24 October came to be known at Evaton as "Black Monday". On this day boycotters marched up and down the streets singing and shouting: "Azikwelwa! Hadipalangoe!"—"Don't ride them!" "Russians" suddenly appeared on the scene in a counter-demonstration. In the hazy light of the spring afternoon both groups clashed. Two boycotters were killed on the spot. Seven men, all boycotters, were arrested and charged with public violence. The leaders of the Transport Council were also included in the group. They were acquitted early this year. In December of the same year another major clash followed between boycotters and anti-boycotters, who again consisted of "Russians". No prosecution followed.

For the first time since the beginning of violence, a man was arrested and convicted on a charge of pointing a gun at an anti-boycotter. His plea was self-defence. He was fined £30. There was now free and wanton use of firearms. Both sides suspected every person who drove into Evaton in a Johannesburg car of smuggling in revolvers and selling them to the opposite camp. Night after night torches ripped through the dark in the unlit streets. Men were taking turns in patrolling the streets until daybreak in the boycott section of the township. Various members of the Transport Council reported to the local police that they were being threatened with murder. The police were not enthusiastic.

In May, John Appolis, an elderly Coloured man whose son is a boycotter, was smoked out of his house after unknown thugs had set it on fire and smashed windows with clubs and firearms. No arrest followed. In the same month bus inspector Johnson Choko, aged 55, a trusted member of the company's staff for

twenty years, was found battered under a tree one rainy Sunday afternoon. He died the next day from a fractured skull and a bullet wound.

Bishop Sims of the National Church of Africa, who had openly declared himself against the bus boycott, woke up one night to hear people smash into his house and shoot. From then, up to the time of his murder, he lived a life of perpetual fear.

Still the police did not intensify their patrols. The writer went to Evaton one week-end to investigate the riots. He and his colleague got out of their car to see how many passengers were going to board a stopping bus. Immediately blanketed men emerged from the dark, armed with sticks, and surrounded the two men, spitting threats of violence all the time. Just behind the two men a White constable was sitting in his van during all this, laughing heartily. The armed men sent the writer and his friend off in a hurry, poking their sticks into them.

In the meantime the buses were moving between Evaton and the city quite empty. The company reduced the fleet from seventeen to eight buses and the staff by half. The fares had been raised as follows:

Monthly ticket:	£2 15s. od. from £2 5s. (excluding Sun.).
Weekly ticket:	18s. from 15s. (excluding Sun.).
Week-end ticket:	2s. 6d. per day from 2s.
Daily ticket	2s. od. as before (single journey).

Train fares are as follows:

Monthly:	£2 18s. 6d. (including Sundays).
Weekly:	17s. od. (including Sundays).
Daily:	5s. 11d. return fare.

Thus the passenger has been losing 3s. 6d. on the monthly and gaining 1s. on the weekly ticket by using the train. Again, the worker who buys a daily train ticket and who takes the bus controlled by another company to the station—charge, 6d. each way—pays no less than 7s. a day for transport. If he cannot take a bus he has to walk five miles to and from Evaton station. The first train to Johannesburg leaves at 4.30 a.m., the only other one being at 6.10 a.m. There are only two afternoon trains from the city: 5.17 and 6.10.

The boycott, which involves 2,500 workers, has been 95% successful. Ordinarily the workers are said to spend 25% of their income on bus transport. If they work on Sundays as well, the figure rises to 40%. The people are prevented by influx control measures from working at Vereeniging or Vanderbijl Park,

which are the nearest towns to Evaton. So they are forced to work in Johannesburg.

Before the agreement was signed between the bus company and the Transport Council, the residents used to meet regularly every Sunday to hear reports about the boycott and victims of assault. Then the Native Commissioner banned any public meeting convened by the Transport Council. The people moved on to a private vacant stand in the European section of Evaton. This meant that they were not obliged to ask for permission to hold meetings. But they had to walk five to six miles each way to and from the venue. The Special Branch of the C.I.D. has been attending every meeting of the residents, thus giving the impression that the boycott has a political orientation—in the orthodox sense.

The leaders of the boycott movement continued to preach non-violence throughout the whole period, but things reached a stage where the "Russians" were not interested in the boycott as such any more. For them it became a fight for ascendancy and power. They continually provoked the other side, and gloried in the use of sticks, battle-axes and guns. The other residents complained that the "Russians" loaded and unloaded their guns in the presence of the police, "unchecked and with impudence". The situation assumed the same characteristics as those of the Newclare riots in Johannesburg a few years ago, when the "Russians" were first heard of. There again, it was a fight for power and, as Father Trevor Huddleston writes in his book, *Naught for your Comfort*, the police always disarmed the victims of the "Russian" menace while the thugs retained their lethal weapons. There was a mass exodus of people from Newclare, who squatted on an empty plot outside the township.

On the day of the funeral of bus inspector Johnson Choko the "Russians" marched through the streets and brandished their sticks and battle-axes and later assembled at the grave—"to protect anti-boycotters" as they said. The manager of the bus company told the writer that he had employed only six men and that he was not responsible for the faction war.

And still people and the Press in many parts of the country continued to ask: Why don't the police take action? Why does not the Government institute an inquiry, in reply to a request from the boycott leaders? Is Ralekeke Rantuba recognized by the Government as a chief? What have the "Russians" to gain by resisting a boycott when they are generally won't-works?

In November last year Mrs. S. Muller, an attorney acting

on behalf of the Transport Council, wrote a letter to the District Commandant of the South African Police at Vereeniging, expressing the Council's complaints and requesting him to receive a deputation from her clients. Among other things the Council's case was that whenever there was a clash between boycotters and anti-boycotters, i.e. the "Russians", the latter were left untouched by the police, even although *they* provoked a fight. The boycotters, it was alleged, were invariably arrested and detained and often charged. The Council had cited a number of instances to prove this. The police had replied that each person should lay a charge, and they had declined to prosecute.

The attorney further related the story of Bob Asmal, an Indian skopkeeper at Evaton and the only Indian member of the Transport Council. Asmal had been arrested for allegedly attempting to defeat the ends of justice and inciting to public violence. The only witness for the Crown was himself. Asmal stated in court that the statement alleged to have been given by him to the police had been elicited from him by force and was not true. He was discharged, but nothing was done to inquire into the conduct of the police.

A copy of this letter was sent to the Attorney-General. The District Commandant replied that the police had done everything to investigate every charge made. He refused to receive a deputation.

The Council and the bus company met several times in an attempt to come to an agreement, but every time the talks broke down. The bus company dismissed the Council's demands as "impossible", e.g. that the company appoint full-time dispatchers; that the service keep to strict schedule; that Africans should replace European inspectors; that scholars be given concessions, all this in addition to the demand that the company revert to the old fares.

The Council then asked the Transportation Board for a Government subsidy on bus fares, such as the people of Sophiatown, Alexandra, etc., enjoy. The application was unsuccessful. An official of the Public Utility Transport Corporation, the biggest bus service operating among non-Europeans, says that the subsidy between Alexandra and Johannesburg was granted for three main reasons: (a) Johannesburg is the only town adjacent to Alexandra offering opportunities for employment to its residents; there are between 15,000 and 20,000 workers travelling daily from Alexandra to Johannesburg. (b) If such large numbers of workers were affected by a dislocation of bus transport the city's industries



would suffer tremendous loss. (c) There is no convenient train service between the two places.

The argument is that none of these reasons can be applied in the case of Evaton. But then Evaton people have influx control regulations to contend with when they try to seek work in Vereeniging and Vanderbijl Park. The people are in effect being told to pay the penalty for choosing to live in a peri-urban area which no municipality or central government department is interested in adopting. The ugly thought that naturally comes to one in these circumstances is that, because there is no big White population near Evaton, any disturbances that occur inside the township are not serious: only Blacks are affected. If the same thing happened in, say, Sophiatown or Newclare or Alexandra, a commission of inquiry would likely have been instituted immediately. Whenever there is a riot as domestic as any that can occur in a municipal beer hall, police are quick to stand by with sten guns. But of course there is the safety of municipal property involved, and there is nothing like municipal assets in Evaton!

But it is inane to suggest that Evaton, secluded as it is and without a concourse where Black and White have to chafe against one another, could be the political hive or base the *Rand Daily Mail* reporter divined.

## PRESS IN DANGER?

LEGISLATION for internal censorship of printed matter published in the Union is to be introduced at the next session of Parliament, I learnt from a reliable source last week. At present the Government can only prevent literature from overseas coming into the country. It has no power to ban books printed and published within the Union although anyone publishing obscene literature could be charged in the law courts.

The Government does not, however, consider this to be a satisfactory means of controlling the type of book that South Africa reads. It wants control not only over obscene literature, but over anything that it considers to be "objectionable". And it does not want to have to go to court to prove its case.

I understand, too, that it wants power to deal with "troublesome" periodicals and newspapers—although, because of the opposition of the Nationalist Press, it is not likely to make its controls of the daily Press too rigid.

I believe it has been disturbed, however, by the effect of exposé articles published in magazines such as *Drum* (the concentration camp story, the Bethal "forced labour" story), and by the outspoken comment of such liberally orientated publications as *Africa South*, a new quarterly published in Cape Town.

# COLOUR AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH

C. W. M. GELL

*Ex-Editor of "Africa X-Ray Report"*

Two articles, which I wrote in 1954 about the controversy of Canon Collins with the South African Church, were refused publication because editors thought they would offend white readers. And this, on the mundane commercial level at which the attitude of editors is possibly excusable, is precisely the temptation to which the Church in South Africa is succumbing: the fear that, if it acts vigorously against the colour bar within and outside the Church, it will lose the allegiance of its white members.

"The Church", as an African Anglican priest told Canon Collins, "is riddled with the colour bar." This takes three main forms: differentiation of stipends as between white and non-white clergy, systems of election to governing councils of the churches which are designed to preserve white control, and separate churches or services for whites and non-whites. The first of these is a rather technical and tedious matter which I shall have to omit here. The third I shall return to. The second reveals certain basic self-deceptions commonly (and often unconsciously) practised by white South African Christians.

At this stage we must necessarily speak of the Churches, not the Church. Christ is indeed divided in South Africa: Church from Church and white from black. What has to be said here about Church organisation does not apply to the Roman Catholics, whose system is not based on election, or to the Dutch Reformed Churches (D.R.C.) whose non-white adherents do not participate in Church control. All the other main Churches regulate part of their affairs through elected parish councils, diocesan synods, provincial or episcopal synods—or their presbyteries, assemblies, circuits, etc., in the non-Anglican communions.

For the sake of brevity and clarity, because also it is the Church to which I belong, I will deal chiefly with the Anglican system. What has to be said is applicable with minor modifications to the other Churches. Bishop Ambrose Reeves of Johannesburg told an American audience that "Europeans and Africans sit in my synod with equal voting rights". Canon Collins with equal truth said:

"The Church sees to it that there is no chance for the African to outvote the white man".<sup>1</sup>

For delegates are elected to synod by a system that ensures continued white control. The details vary slightly from diocese to diocese. But in the neighbouring diocese of Pretoria it works like this. In every European parish, one delegate may be elected for every 12 communicants, two for every 75, three for every 150, and a maximum of four for every 300 and upwards. For Africans, one delegate may be elected for every mission district, two if there are 400 or more communicants, and a maximum of three if there are 1,000 or more communicants. The diocese of Johannesburg has proportionately more white members of the Church than most. But under a similar system of election its 17,196 white communicants (29 per cent.) elect 58 per cent. of the delegates to synod and the 40,850 black communicants (71 per cent.) elect only 42 per cent. However equal their voting rights once there in synod, and whatever the reasons may be for this state of affairs, it is, in fact, a "packed house". And it is impossible to accept the usual argument that the reason is financial not racial—the whites contributing the greater proportion of Church funds and therefore "deservedly" retaining control—unless it can be shown (as it cannot) that there is similar discrimination in England between rich and poor parishes.

In some of the Free Churches the method is rather different but the result much the same. Where, as in the Presbyterian Church, representation to presbyteries is by congregations (equally represented), African communities are either too small (and therefore financially unstable) to rise from mission stations to full status as congregations, and thus do not qualify for representation; or achieve financial self-sufficiency and status by having far greater numbers than most European congregations, yet only receive the one delegate allotted to each congregation. Where, in the Anglican case, the system of loaded representation seems to have been a deliberate departure from the English norm, the Presbyterian and others have achieved loaded representation by transplanting their democratic systems direct from the motherland to a country where the class and racial divisions so largely coincide, where the economic colour bar makes it doubly difficult for the poorer congregations to raise even the lower stipends paid to their African clergy. The

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<sup>1</sup>. There are three dioceses in South Africa—Zululand, Basutoland and St. John's—where the African vote is in the preponderance and decisive. These three dioceses consist of almost exclusively African territories in which the white minority is so infinitesimal that it would be virtually impossible to devise a voting system leaving whites in control.

non-white membership of all Churches, except the D.R.C., greatly exceeds their white membership. Yet all are white-controlled.

"Is Christ divided?" asked St. Paul. The affirmative answer is all too obvious when one looks at worship in South Africa. The D.R.C., of course, has erected separate worship into a virtue and there have been periodical attempts to justify it on scriptural grounds. The fundamental precept of the old Boer republics, "No equality in Church or State," held firm in the ecclesiastical sphere as in the secular. Over 53 per cent. of the white population are members of the three D.R.Churches, nearly 1,500,000 people. But these Churches also include over half a million non-whites, roughly half Cape coloured and half African, organised in separate congregations under a separately controlled Mission Church<sup>2</sup>. And the stresses and strains to which the allegiance of these non-whites in the D.R.C. Mission Church is subjected as the repressive aspects of apartheid are applied with increasing vigour in order to subordinate non-whites in the "white areas" (88 per cent. of the country)—together with the isolation in which the D.R.C. found itself at the World Council of Churches at Evanston in 1954—account for the birth (it is no more yet) of a new defensive attitude among some of the intelligentsia of the D.R.C. and, certainly, among those closely in contact with its mission work. It could hardly be otherwise with Churches which have admitted (through the mouth of the Rev. C. B. Brink, the most influential D.R.C. leader today) being "in a special sense responsible for much that is done and said today in regard to non-European affairs"<sup>3</sup>. Thus, as non-white revulsion from the oppressive features of apartheid spills over into unrest within the D.R.C. Mission Church and even disaffection and breakaways, that Church is forced to search its heart. In its latest authoritative pronouncement the Federal Council of the D.R.C. has declared that it

<sup>2</sup>. The white population divides (1951 census):—

D.R.C. . . . . .	53 per cent.	1,402,703 persons
Anglican . . . . .	15·8 per cent.	416,472 persons
Methodist . . . . .	8·3 per cent.	219,021 persons
Roman Catholics . . . . .	5·3 per cent.	141,330 persons
Presbyterian . . . . .	3·8 per cent.	100,739 persons

Congregational, Lutherans, Baptists, Christian Scientists, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists, Spiritualists and Jews account for most of the rest.

For non-whites the latest available figures are for the 1946 census, which show the three largest non-white communions to be:—

Methodists . . . . .	1,094,254	(Africans 1,002,955)
Anglicans . . . . .	741,192	(Africans 552,633)
Ned. Geref. Kerk . . . . .	533,633	(Africans 248,771)

The recently published Tomlinson Report gives the following percentages of total Church

“will work for a closer community of the faithful of all race groups”. It maintains its absolute prohibition on “the danger of the mixture of the white and non-white races”, insists that there is as yet no demand for “a change in the existence of separate Churches for white and non-white”. But it shows by its very mention of the subject at all that some of its leaders are becoming aware of a serious defect in its Christian witness.<sup>4</sup> However, these are still but straws in the wind.

The general position in regard to mixed worship in the other Churches is seen in the contrast between the quite unequivocal declaration of the Episcopal Synod of the Anglican Church (repeated many times earlier and later by leading priests and prelates) that there is no colour bar, and the plain unpalatable fact that whites and blacks very seldom worship together. Here again, I will speak chiefly of my own Anglican Church; but it is roughly representative. There *are* Anglican parishes which practise mixed worship, though they are a tiny proportion of the whole number. There are rather more which permit separate services for non-whites in their church building at times when it is not required for whites. But there are many more—probably the great majority—which neither worship together nor provide separate services because they do not believe there is any demand for either; because non-whites do not come to their theoretically open services (and, therefore, the question of excluding them or making separate provision has not arisen), and it is thought that they are adequately catered for in their separate churches in the location (African township) or elsewhere. Finally, there are some parishes in which the issue has been raised, in which the recalcitrance of the white

membership to total South African population:—

D.R.C. . . . .	15.4 per cent.	Roman Catholics	4.8 per cent.
Methodists . . . .	11.2 per cent.	Lutherans . . . .	4.1 per cent.
Anglicans . . . .	9.8 per cent.	Presbyterians . . . .	2.3 per cent.
Bantu Separatist		Apostolic Faith	
Churches	6.7 per cent.	Mission	2.2 per cent.
		Congregationalists	2.0 per cent.

<sup>3</sup>. Mr. Brink, who was a fellow-student with Dr. H. F. Verwoerd at Stellenbosch University, is on “Bert” and “Henk” terms with the powerful Minister of Native Affairs, leading architect of Nationalist apartheid; and has said that he often consults with him.

<sup>4</sup>. The statement said *inter alia*: “It is also our calling . . . to trust expectantly that in this country, too, the Gospel of Jesus Christ will gradually bring about the execution of the command and ideal of the Master with regard to the unity of his people”. It then referred to the dispersion through sin and selfishness of the “one great human family” into different and hostile nations. “In spite of the incarnation of the Lord this disruption and conflict between peoples and nations outside Christ will last to the end of time.”

It must be explained that for Afrikaner Nationalists, and the D.R.C. seems sometimes to share this view, there are several “nations” in South Africa—Afrikaners, English, Jews, Indians, Coloureds and Bantu; the last-named being further classified into at least four main “sub-sections” on tribal and linguistic grounds.

congregation and the priest's infirmity of purpose have combined to forbid mixed worship or even the use of the Church building for separate non-white services.

The second and third categories, which comprise the overwhelming majority, are the main problem of the Church today. It is often said, and often with much truth, that the ministry is wrestling with a stubborn and prejudiced laity. But as stated, the problem is oversimplified. Where the priesthood fails, both at the parish and episcopal levels, is not in sharing benighted prejudices and irrational attitudes with their white flock; but in not being always sufficiently aware of the immorality, the un-Christianity of the present apartheid in worship, not perceiving that the message of the Church and its function in society are being vitiated by this failure to practise the unity in Christ that it preaches, in not thus realising the urgency of the problem which "patience" and "time" (so often pleaded) are totally inadequate to solve, in discharging their conscience and their duty too much in exhortation and too infrequently in more direct pressures.

Upholders of the Church's present policy will be able to cite individual instances against the charge—the inter-denominational, inter-racial community at Wilgespruit, near Johannesburg, where white and black work and pray together on funds chiefly subscribed from outside the Union; the refusal of the present Archbishop of Cape Town to consecrate a Johannesburg church the lease of which contained a *caveat* against its use by non-whites; the refusal of the Bishop of Kimberley to accept a church site offered by a municipal authority in his diocese subject to such a clause; mixed worship in a number of parishes, some of it after a battle to obtain or retain it. Against these I will tell one actual story—not the worst, not the best, not typical in all its details, not untypical in the attitudes it suggests.

In 1947 the rector of an Anglican parish in a small country town suffered a nervous breakdown of which the primary cause was his struggle to retain one mixed communion service a month against the wishes of the majority of his council. His successor from England decided that "parish unity" required him to sponsor the council's resolution withdrawing the mixed service and forbidding the use of the church building for separate services. Although the resolution of the council was clearly *ultra vires*, being against the doctrine and discipline of the Church, the bishop said and did nothing. "Parish unity" was restored, white attendance rose and Church funds multiplied. Seven years later that rector was replaced

by another straight from England, who shortly received a request from his African colleague in the nearby location to permit one monthly communion in the "white" church at 5.30 a.m. (the white services begin at 7 a.m.) for African servants employed in the "white area".

Deeming it better, though strictly unnecessary, to carry his council with him, the rector sounded out its 15 members privately and obtained favourable assurances from 11. Two were definitely hostile; two undecided but probably hostile. On the matter being laid before the council in open session, however, four of the "assured" defected and the resolution withdrawing the seven-year-old ban was defeated 8-7. The reasons given ranged from "bugs in the pews" and nauseatingly sanctimonious thunder about the immorality of native girls who would come straight to Church from sleeping with their unmarried boy-friends (a frequent enough occurrence under the system of migratory labour) to the inexpediency of standing out against convention in a Nationalist-dominated countryside (this applied particularly to a railwayman in Government employment, a bank clerk, and a shopkeeper) or the fear that this was "just the thin edge of the wedge" (i.e. the first step towards mixed services, as it possibly is and rightly should be). The priest then approached the new bishop who came as soon as he could. During the months that elapsed all but two of the recalcitrants, who left the Church with their families after the bishop's decision, were more or less reconciled to accepting something for which (as the bishop was imposing it) they could not be held personally responsible; though there was some ominous muttering about what they would do "the day *they* come into Church with us". So now the separate services proceed. The Africans bring their own chalice to forestall any accusation of contamination and the parish has temporarily settled down.

This rather dismal story with its partially successful conclusion makes several points peculiar to the South African scene. There is the irony of the aversion to "*their* coming into Church *with us*". Of course, in every way except that of actually joining in equal worship, they *do* come in to clean and tend our churches, as they tend and clean our homes. The objection is, of course, not to their presence, but to their assuming any status outside the master-servant relationship. Secondly, this incident disproved a widely held belief on the part of whites that, provided there is an African Church within reasonable reach, there is no need or demand for non-white worship in the white church.

Although most Africans live in the locations, servants in the "white areas" live in "quarters" at their employer's residence. In the case in point the African location was three miles from the "white town". When the monthly 5.30 a.m. service for Africans began, it was regularly attended by about one-third of the total number of black communicants living in the "white area". The need was there all right.

Nor should it ever have been doubted, because every Sunday in the heart of that Nationalist-dominated countryside the Roman Catholics' mass in the "white town" was attended by white and black Catholics alike. In this respect the Roman Catholic Church is ahead of all others. Its laity having no control in Church affairs, the hierarchy has been able to disregard ordinary South African lay prejudices, and insist on unity and community within the Church. Few non-Roman Christians in South Africa realise how regular a feature of Roman Catholic worship mixed services are. Here in Port Elizabeth, in the heart of a "white city" now notoriously illiberal, despite good transport to the location and services available there, not less than 25 per cent. of the attendance at mass in the largest Church are non-whites. The difference is that the Roman Catholics have made a point of insisting on mixed worship and gone out of their way, when establishing it, to make sure that non-whites know they are welcome. The Presbyterian Church, and many other Free and Anglican Churches, are theoretically open to non-whites as well as whites. But nothing is done to assure the former that their presence will not merely be tolerated but is actively desired. And non-whites do not come because they fear, often with good reason, that they will be received with resentment or even (despite the theoretical position) actually turned away. This was recently tested by the African assistant editor of the magazine *Drum*. In attempting to attend "white" services he found himself welcomed at 12 out of 13 Roman Catholic Churches and nearly every Anglican Church<sup>5</sup>; he was gladly received at one Methodist Church but shown coldly to the gallery in another; one Presbyterian Church let him in, another turned him away; he was allowed to sit through one D.R.C. service amid "much muttering", others refused him entirely, one threw him out and at yet another the Special Branch (political police) were summoned.

<sup>5</sup> The Johannesburg diocese, where these events took place, is the most "enlightened" of the Anglican dioceses with the most militant of bishops. Anglican churches would probably have shown a lower percentage elsewhere, certainly if "Mr. Drum's" attendance looked like becoming habitual or the precursor of more substantial African attendance.



For attending a Seventh Day Adventist service he was manhandled and arrested, though the flimsy charges of "trespass" and "squatting" were later withdrawn.

Except where they are *known* to be welcome (and this, in the South African context, implies active measures, not just absence of a constitutional colour bar), non-whites will not ordinarily attend "white" churches. The position in the Cape in regard to the Coloureds is not so much better than for Africans. Various repressive apartheid measures, setting off race from race residentially, and for labour and pass exemption purposes, have led to a devilish form of witch-hunting on both the white and African fringes of the Coloured community, and this has had some deplorable repercussions in their Church life. Dark-skinned Coloureds have been made unwelcome in some churches that admit whites and Coloureds but do not cater for Africans. And some "white only" churches have begun to enquire into the racial qualifications of persons in the large twilight zone between white and Coloured, in which the Government (and some private citizens of malice) are trying to discover differentiation where none is visible.

There is clearly need for a much more positive approach to this question of mixed worship. All Churches, except the Roman Catholics, face the difficulty that authority is circumscribed by the primacy of the individual Christian conscience. But I cannot honestly see how any form of personal segregation—even the "voluntary segregation" sometimes encountered in Roman Catholic churches where non-whites then communicate last—can be justified by the *Christian* conscience, least of all in Church services. The only question, surely, is the best and quickest methods of ending it.

A South African Church so divided within itself as to what might be called its own "internal apartheid" must inevitably fail effectively to carry the message of the Gospel out into its relations with society and the secular state. How can Christian charity "take by storm the citadels of prejudice", when its warriors are themselves "riddled with the colour bar" even in Church? How, indeed, can they even tackle the vulnerable theology of the D.R.C. at the conference table, when the former so obviously practises its ethic of separation more fully than the other Churches practise the unity of all Christians in Christ which they preach?

Here we must take leave of the Roman Catholic Church. For, as elsewhere, it stands apart from all other Churches. Alone having a reasonably clear "internal" conscience, it yet does not intend to crusade from that springboard except on strictly limited issues.

Where the State attacks its own essential Church interests, it resists. Otherwise it disapproves; but does not give a strong verbal, let alone active, lead. It is very conscious of being a small unpopular minority Church in South Africa and concentrates on survival in a hostile environment. It thinks in centuries, not in decades; intends to outlast any secular oppression and still be there, a living organism, to minister to its flock when tyranny has passed by. Even where it has apparently stood firm on a particular issue (e.g. Bantu education), its stand is much more limited than is generally appreciated. It was not, for instance, fighting for African education. It was and is quite prepared to teach the "Bantu syllabuses", desiring only to retain complete control of the spiritual guidance of its African children. In that large sphere of public life which the Roman Catholic Church considers outside its immediate spiritual jurisdiction, it will not appear (with others) to challenge the evils of racial discrimination.<sup>6</sup>

Nor, of course, will the D.R.C. The very few voices raised within the D.R.C. attack general issues only, never specific injustices. Certainly there was the inter-Church, inter-racial conference at Pretoria in December 1954, made possible by money received largely outside the D.R.C. and largely outside South Africa. At this conference white and black ministers occupied the same hall in segregated seats, drank segregated tea and coffee, made tactful speeches (firm in principle but equivocal on application), only occasionally coming to life as with an African minister asking: "If our Lord Jesus Christ came into this room, on which side would He sit?" It was something that the meeting was held at all. It may have sown a few seeds of new growth within the D.R.C., but these will take long to ripen—too long to affect the crisis of Church and State in South Africa today. It may have bred a little more tolerance in some of the other Churches, but at the risk that their sense of urgency may have been further submerged.

Was it a sign of new grace that an African minister last March was elected an assessor at the synod of the D.R.C. Mission Church in the Eastern Transvaal? Hardly, since his message was the

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<sup>6</sup>. There has, of course, been no authoritative Roman Catholic comment on Father Huddleston's book. But the review in the Roman Catholic weekly, *Southern Cross*, is significant. The writer, a Dominican priest, said that *baasskap* (boss-ship; "white man boss") is not as completely ruthless as Father Huddleston suggests. The backgrounds of the European and native are so different that they cannot be "assimilated". (All Europeans? All Africans?) Therefore, the former is afflicted with the emotion known theologically as "horror", derived from ignorance and fear of the powerful unknown. But this, the reviewer believes, is mitigated by considerable generosity and a desire to combine the preservation of European culture with "a fair deal for the majority of natives".

entirely unrepresentative one (so gratifying to white ears) that "the development of the native will be gradual and I do not believe a time will come when the native will no longer need the help of the European". Mr. Tema was probably quite sincere. But all over the country "yes-men" are arising among the Africans to climb on the apartheid bandwagon for the sake of the various favours in Dr. Verwoerd's gift—increased powers and pay as Bantu Authorities (i.e. tribal pseudo-chiefs), or posts in Bantu Education and the Native Affairs Department. Inevitably, Mr. Tema's voice will be confused with theirs and whatever message he may have to pass on to his white colleagues in the D.R.C. will suffer thereby. Events in South Africa will not wait for the D.R.C. to sort out its mind, now tentatively astir after three centuries of intellectual isolation. And, for long yet, the main body of the D.R.C. will continue to provide its laity, whose favourite texts are pre-Christian, with a firm theological basis for the ethic of separation, discrimination and enforced inferiority.

And so we return to the Churches other than the D.R.C. and R.C. These would generally agree that the social problems of mankind are the rightful concern of Christians. Many of their members probably share the contemporary greater awareness of social rather than personal sin and the consciousness that Christianity and social injustice are not compatible. But the manifest fact is that the message of the Church and its witness in society is quite fatally impaired by the colour bar within. Thus every exhortation and condemnation by Church leaders is met by that irrepressible ecclesiastical controversialist, Mr. Eric Louw (S.A. Minister of External Affairs), with enquiries about the extent to which apartheid is practised in the services and schools of the Church. To this baiting the Church really has no answer. Not only is there apartheid for congregations and pupils; but in at least one case (and in how many others is such an experiment even attempted?) the parents and old boys of an Anglican "white" school (St. Andrew's) prevented an African priest from preaching a sermon in the school or officiating at Holy Communion. Only the other day a Diocesan Synod was in trouble for appointing a "European" supervisor of Sunday schools. When African priests questioned the necessity of specifying the man's race, the lame excuse was made that "a fully trained person" was required—this in the oldest diocese of the Anglican Church in South Africa. By such little incidents does the Church reveal its unpreparedness for the challenge of the hour.

In the same diocese, again, lives the Rev. James Calata, Anglican priest of Cradock. At the time of the Defiance (passive resistance) Campaign in 1952 many African priests were penalised for lending their moral and active support by the Government's withdrawing their marriage licences and travel concessions. Most of these sanctions were subsequently lifted. But in the case of Mr. Calata, who is a prominent and active member of the African National Congress, the withdrawal is permanent and his permit to purchase communion wine has also been put on a monthly basis. Yet his diocese slumbers on unprotesting, keeping the silence that the Church kept over the proscription as "statutory Communists" of African Christians like Oliver Tambo (Anglican) and ex-Chief Albert James Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, a man widely respected for his Christian liberalism. Now, of course, Africans in the "white areas" are being segregated away in fenced and controlled locations, separated from the rest of humanity by 500-yard "buffer strips" on which there may be neither building nor playing field nor cemetery. The sites of Church buildings have been reduced to an annual basis, subjected to three months notice of cancellation "if in the opinion of the Minister for Native Affairs (Dr. Verwoerd) the activities of the occupier or any of his representatives, whether on the site or elsewhere, are such as to encourage deterioration in the relationships between Natives and Governmental persons or bodies". Presumably all Anglican sites everywhere *could* be terminated because of any priest's activities. If the Government has so far shown no desire to come into direct conflict with the Churches, this is partly because the Churches have often shown an even stronger desire to avoid precipitating a clash.

South Africa, however, is clearly heading for a situation in which the Churches will have to insist on crossing the legal and administrative barriers being placed between the races or abdicate its ministry to non-whites. For the doctrine of residential and social apartheid intends almost complete severance of normal contact across the colour bar and the prohibition of "non-native persons" from regularly working in African locations. Some Churches, like the Methodist, despite expressions of regret, handed over the burden of their mission schools with private relief to Verwoerd's "Bantu Education" (whereby Africans are to be taught that "there is no place for them in the white society above the level of certain forms of labour") in order to devote their resources entirely to evangelisation. Such voluntary surrender of responsibilities must

look to Africans like desertion in the hour of their greatest need; and this will affect the whole future relationship between them and the Church, however narrowly its functions are conceived. Nor, surely, is the attitude of "don't let's be beastly" or the even commoner "Leave it to us on the spot; we know how to handle these people" even remotely appropriate to the present phase in South Africa.<sup>7</sup>

For the situation is far, far worse as regards non-whites (especially Africans) than is generally realised. Against the facts of urban African living conditions it is irrelevant to urge that we spend more per head on "uplifting" them (and less in proportion to our national income, as the only wealthy industrial state in Africa) than any other territory on the continent. What we stand condemned for is our blasphemous intention, our *direction*, our determination to extend separation and maintain subordination until the end of time. This attitude was expressed in an exaggerated and possibly deranged form in a letter to me from an adherent of a Christian sect, a sort of hysterical outburst from the dark sub-conscious mind of white South Africa. "Your article<sup>8</sup> in defence of Huddleston's book is even more blasphemous than the *evil* book itself. I pray that the good loving Almighty God will send a plague *soon*, to destroy every cursed, repulsive, beer-sodden, wool-headed Negro and Missionary bastard in the whole world. Neither you nor Huddleston, Scott, Collins or Fisher<sup>9</sup> can raise what God has cursed. I pray that God will mete out punishment till the likes of you and Huddleston stop trying to raise what God has abased. It is incredible that any European could be so depraved as to live

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<sup>7</sup>. One has only to think of the utter inadequacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury's otherwise unexceptionable plea for more courtesy as the sole key to better race relations, of the failure of any Anglican bishop to speak up for Father Huddleston when he was viciously attacked from the privileged platform of Parliament, or of the leading Free Churchman (well known for his spirited denunciations of apartheid) who had one of his ministers transferred for being 'tactless' about the colour bar. This last incident occurred in the same district as the Anglican parish which banned non-whites from its church. In this case the Methodist minister caused a furore among his white flock by inviting African Methodists to attend meetings in his house. His wife overheard a conversation in the street: "I don't know what the town is coming to. The Anglican minister wants to have kaffirs in his church and the Methodist to invite them to his house".

<sup>8</sup>. A favourable review of Father Huddleston's "Naught For Your Comfort" in the April 7, 1956, issue of the Evening Post, circulating throughout the Eastern Cape Province. The letter quoted came from East London, an anti-Nationalist stronghold.

<sup>9</sup>. Rev. Michael Scott, predecessor of Huddleston as militant spokesman for and servant of the African people. A regular petitioner at the United Nations.

Canon L. J. Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, frequent outspoken critic of S.A. race policies. Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, who regularly features as a member of this quadrumvirate in my correspondent's diatribe, presumably because he advocates decent treatment and good manners.

amongst thousands of wool-headed, cursed, evil beasts for even 12 hours, let alone 12 years . . . A God of love would *not* be so unkind as to make anything so hideous as a wool-headed, repulsive kaffir, as God is responsible for everything Good and Beautiful, and the Devil for everything ugly and sin . . .”

At the other end of the intellectual scale come these comments from a liberal-minded Johannesburg periodical in a discussion with the Bishop of Johannesburg: “One must concede the one true fact [*sic*], namely, that an almost complete intellectual, social and sociological *incompatibility* exists between white and black. If we accept the view that this state of *repulsion* is an unavoidable product of the South African setting, what is the next step? If we must have European domination—and we must have it—how are we going to prevent the moral degeneration of Europeans?” How indeed? And the climate in which Father Huddleston’s arguments find their setting is further defined by the leader of the white so-called Opposition, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, calling for silence about the book lest controversy increase its sales. “The country knows we (the United Party) have nothing to do with Father Huddleston and do not share his views. Let us rather” (addressing Prime Minister J. G. Strijdom, the chief apostle of *baasskap*, boss-ship) “in a positive way speak with a united voice.” This is the authentic voice of white South Africa.

In this climate, and in the context of an already established police state, so far as Africans are concerned, must Father Huddleston’s opinion be considered that “there is only one really vital issue confronting the Church in South Africa today, and I do not think the Church is facing it as boldly as it should, as it *must*, if it is to be true to its Master and itself.” All Africa today awaits the Church’s reply to the question: “Who is my neighbour?” Jesus gave it in the parable of the Good Samaritan. Dare the Church pass by on the other side?<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>. The following letter from an African woman recently appeared in the press:—“The white men came to this country and told us about Christianity and the happiness of the Christian. We joined them, out of the promise of their Christianity. But the happiness we are getting is the pass (about to be extended to women, as well as men—C.W.M.G.), which is taking us to prison cells, to be prisoners instead of Christians.

“Now I am even sorry to have joined them. But the new Church I have joined is the African National Congress. In this Church there is no colour bar and no apartheid which says don’t love thy neighbour as thyself.”

# TRADE UNIONISM IN KENYA

TOM MBOYA

*General Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour.*

As in most other parts of Africa, trade unions in Kenya are young and in their first stages of development. To understand our problems it is necessary for one to have a background of the labour population and its problems; our system of government and its impact on trade union development; and our society, including its political life and social structure. These are factors which influence the course of trade union development and the pattern and structure of the unions.

Kenya has a mixed population of Europeans (settlers and civil servants), Asians and Africans. Of the three, Africans form the largest unit with a population of  $5\frac{3}{4}$  millions, as against the Europeans with 45,000 and the Asians with 160,000. The African, though the native of the country, is the poorest of the three. He occupies the lowest economic and social status. He provides the unskilled labour which keeps the European's coffee, tea and sisal plantations going. He provides the manual labour for the Asian's commercial concerns and the houseboy for both. He is paid starvation wages and is housed either in camps of mud and wattle huts or in unplastered ceilingless rooms in African locations in the urban areas. Here the principle of housing on a bed-space basis is universally accepted and practised. He lives in two worlds: the urban or plantation area where he works and the native reserve where he must return when he is old and worn out and no longer of any use to his employers. For him there is no security and the coming of old age means a one-way ticket back into the reserves or a life in the towns in grim poverty. Despite the many changes that are now taking place, the white settlers still enjoy a privileged position in the social, economic and political life of the country. By their superior numbers in the legislative council, the Europeans have ensured their security at the expense of the African. The policies of land distribution, education, medical services and trade are generally discriminatory to the advantage of the white settlers. Labour laws, including minimum wages and conditions of employment, are decided directly or indirectly by the legislative council, hence the close identification of the white settler representatives with the European employers, who constitute the largest employing class.

My critics might say the above analysis of Kenya is out of date. They will refer to the changes that have taken place since the war and they may even say that there is a growing European liberal opinion that aims at improving the social and economic position of the African. One thing is certain: that none will challenge my facts but all will appeal to me to look into the future. As things stand, the future is both dark and uncertain. Today fear and suspicion reign in Kenya and the country is engaged in fierce racial politics. The Europeans defend privileges under the guise of security, the Africans seek their rights as individual citizens.

Kenya's trade union movement is predominantly African. The European workers are mainly employed in executive, professional and supervisory jobs. The Asians are employed in such skilled jobs as artisans, masons, etc. Clerical jobs are shared among Africans and Asians, with a few Europeans occupying secretarial jobs.

Until January 1955, wages in the Civil Service and in industry generally were paid on a racial basis. Thus, Europeans occupied Scale A, Asians Scale B and Africans Scale C, with the European at the top and the African at the bottom. This system applied even where the workers concerned were in possession of similar qualifications and did the same job. Today, the principle of equal pay for equal work is accepted and enforced in the Civil Service and High Commission services. Industry is also following suit. For the first time, therefore, a small number of professional Africans are entitled to the same salary for the same job. The application of this principle will, however, only affect a very small number of African workers, for the bulk of the African working population is unskilled and as such their wages are based on a minimum wage operated in various specified areas. The Asians, however, will move from their old buffer position upwards or downwards, according to the decision of the grading terms.

In Kenya, due partly to the lack of a genuine European working population and the fact that most skilled jobs have been performed by Asians, the problem of reserving jobs for whites has been almost non-existent. So far, the only problem has been to get Asian craftsmen to agree to teach Africans.

It can therefore be said that the Kenya trade union movement has been forced to take on a racial structure in its membership because of the structure that existed in industry, as outlined above.

The employing class is predominantly European, with a relatively large Asian employer class in commerce. This, I think, is another reason why unions have developed in racial compartments. Lastly,



I think that the political atmosphere and social structure that exists in Kenya has played a great part in marking these racial boundaries among workers.

Today we have in the main African trade unions in Kenya, with a few Asian unions, the oldest and most important of which is the Asian Railway Union. In the Civil Service there are three workers' associations, one for Europeans, Asians and Africans respectively. These, however, negotiate with the Government through one Central Whitley Council. Since the introduction of unified terms and conditions of service, the three racial organisations of High Commission employees have merged together in one body. There still exist three separate racial unions in the railway service, among post office workers and local government workers.

The history of the trade union movement in Kenya dates as far back as the 'thirties. For the purpose of this article we shall confine ourselves to the post-war years. Kenya did not become trade union conscious until 1947. During that year there was a big strike in the port of Mombasa. The strike was costly both in the working days lost and the chaos caused by the riots which accompanied it. Following this, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the causes of the strike, and in its findings the Commission pointed out, among other things, that the lack of channels of contact between workers and employers was the main cause. The findings of the Commission led to an awakening in Government circles of the need to encourage the setting up of joint consultative bodies with direct Government assistance or participation.

At this time too the Colonial Office (Labour Government) decided on a general policy of encouraging the development of trade unions in British Territories. Mr. James Patrick, a Scottish trade unionist, was sent to Kenya to become its first trade union adviser in the Labour Department. The title was later changed to that of Industrial Relations Officer. The settlers objected to this move by the Government, and at a meeting held in Thika in 1948 they told Mr. Patrick to go back to England (Scotland) and return in 500 years when Africans would be ready for trade unionism. In 1952, the Kenya Government passed a Bill through the Legislative Council. Thus the Kenya Trade Union Ordinance was enacted. Under this law, all unions in Kenya must be registered. They must submit their books of accounts to the Registrar of Trade Unions once every year and at any other time as the Registrar may demand. The Registrar has wide powers to refuse registration or to cancel registration of a union if, in his opinion, the union does not act

within its constitution.

Kenya has a total African labour force of 450,000. This labour force is equally divided between agriculture or plantation employment and urban employment. The trade unions are organised among the urban workers. There being no properly developed industries the unions are organised among the following groups of workers:

Railway African Workers' Union

Kenya Local Government (African) Workers' Union

Domestic and Hotel Workers' Union

Distributive and Commercial Workers' Union

Tailors' and Garment Workers' Union

Building and Construction Workers' Union

Dock Workers' Union

Typographical Union of Kenya (all African workers in the printing trade)

Transport and Allied Workers' Union.

The above unions are entirely African and are all affiliated to the Kenya Federation of Labour, which is the only central organisation of trade unions in Kenya. In addition to the above, there are:

The Kenya African Civil Servants' Association

The African Medical Staff Association

The African Postal & Telegraphs Employees' Association.

The non-African workers' organisations include the:

Asian Railway Workers' Union

Nairobi European Local Government Servants' Association

Nairobi Asian Local Government Servants' Association

Asian Civil Servants' Association

European Civil Servants' Association, and the

E.A. High Commission Staff Association, which includes workers of all races.

Our trade union movement can therefore be traced back to Mombasa where, under the leadership of Chege Kebachia, African workers formed a General Union under the name of the African Workers' Federation. This organisation was involved in the 1947 Mombasa strike, following which Chege Kebachia was arrested and deported to the Northern Province of Kenya, and the Mombasa African Workers' Federation collapsed.

The next attempt at unionism was in Nairobi. Most of the unions now affiliated to the Federation were formed as early as 1949. The first real attempt to form a central organisation was made by an Indian, Markham Singh, and Fred Kubai. They formed the East

African Trade Union Congress. This body was banned before even registration. Following this, Markham Singh was deported.

The Kenya Federation of Labour came into being in 1952, then under the name of Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions. As a Federation it did not have to register under the Trade Union Ordinance, but last year, after much settler agitation, the Government called upon the Federation to register under the Societies Ordinance.

Prior to the declaration of the Emergency, the unions were financially strong and numerically the total number of organised workers was 60,000. This excluded agricultural workers who have not so far been organised. During the Emergency, however, many trade union leaders have been arrested and detained on allegations of being associates of the Mau Mau movement, although they have never been convicted before a court of law. Many workers in Nairobi in particular, and in all other towns of Kenya in general, have been suspect when found in possession of union cards or literature. Cases have been known where possession of union cards have resulted in some workers being beaten up by members of security forces. Trade union offices have been subject to searches by police and documents seized in some cases.

In one case during one of the large sweeps in Nairobi (Operation Anvil) two European officers, carrying out a search of premises, entered the Federation offices and while one of them was asking the people found in the office to show their identity cards the other went out in the corridor to continue the search. A few minutes later a shot was heard. In the office one of the trade unionists collapsed in his chair. The officer out in the corridor had fired through the dividing cardboard wall and shot the trade unionist through the hips. The Federation made a complaint to the authorities. An identification parade was held and the officer duly identified. He admitted having fired the shot. He was never committed for trial despite repeated demands by the Federation. It took twelve months' pressure, both by the Federation, the British Trades Union Congress and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to get the Kenya Government to pay compensation to the trade unionist.

There were other instances of apparent lack of discipline among members of the security forces which even when not directly aimed against trade unionists had effects on unions all the same.

While talking about the Emergency it is appropriate to mention a few aspects of the Emergency which created untold problems to

workers generally. The mass arrests and detentions created numerous social problems. To African families the arrest of men meant the removal of the breadwinner, leaving his wife, children, and in some cases other dependants, without means of subsistence. The arrested person himself lost his job and wages for the period of detention. Some lost all privileges earned including seniority of service, when they came back after screening. In the course of these mass arrests, property was often lost or suffered damage.

It is difficult here to go into the whole question of the Emergency, including, of course, the atrocities committed by Mau Mau, which in themselves made it necessary for the Government to take such measures as would restore law and order. I cannot however help saying that it is highly questionable whether all the measures taken were justifiable.

The conditions of the Emergency resulted in the reduction of Trade Union members and a general weakening of the movement.

Miraculously, the trade union movement has survived the repressive Emergency regulations, but more than this, the movement's influence has increased considerably during the Emergency. The stronghold of the movement is still to be found in Nairobi and Mombasa. The dominant position of the Central Province has, however, been considerably reduced and today there is a majority of members from the non-Kikuyu tribes—although tribalism has never been a problem in Union organisation.

Apart from the Emergency, the major problem in trade union development has been the high mobility rate among African workers. Most African workers are migratory and return to the African reserves every so often, hence it becomes very difficult to organise them. The main reason for the presence of this migratory labour force is the lack of security at the place of employment and the terribly low wages, poor housing arrangements and inefficient social services. The only security an African has for his old age is the small piece of land in the African reserve. To maintain his claim over this piece of land he has to renew his contact with the reserves regularly. Another problem is, of course, that of recognition by both the Government and the employers. Today it is Government policy to encourage the growth of trade unions. Because of this, the Federation is represented on such bodies as the Colony's Labour and Wages Advisory Boards. But the sincerity of the Government is still questioned when it comes to appointing trade unionists to various *ad hoc* committees set up from time to time to examine labour problems. There have also been cases

where the Council of Ministers has turned down decisions of Wage Councils to increase African wages.

The employers (mostly European) have been and still are hostile to the trade unions. Direct voluntary negotiation has been made impossible, except in one or two cases. Even a responsible body like the Nairobi City Council have refused to recognise the trade unions until forced to do so by a recommendation of a Board of Enquiry.

The following two resolutions passed by the Association of Municipalities of East Africa, on 7th January and 23rd March, 1955, respectively, help to illustrate the attitude held by some would-be responsible employers:

“... that no direct representation on to any such committee (Joint Staff Committee) be accorded the Kenya Local Government Workers' Union or any other local union.” 7-1-55.

“... that each local authority be asked to arrange its relations with its African staff so that the Trade Union movement, as now embodied in African staff matters, is not recognised.”

But despite this, relations with the Kenya Government have improved to some extent, except for the attempt recently to ban the Federation. This is dealt with later. One problem, however, that remains to be settled is the question of the functions of the labour department in the light of trade union development. Before the development of unions, the Government, through legislation and administrative arrangements, played the part of both conciliator in industrial disputes and protector of the workers generally. So long as there were no unions, this function was justified and, indeed, necessary. The development and establishment of unions in various industries means, however, that there must be friction between the Labour Officers of the Government and the Unions on the question of who should perform what function. It is particularly necessary that a Government declaration be made on this point, in view of the fact that many employers and even some workers, having got used to the old relationship, regard trade unions as intruders.

Strikes have not been prevalent in Kenya during the Emergency. So far the only major strike was the seven-day strike at Mombasa in April 1955. It is, however, difficult to see how strikes will be avoided after the Emergency is over, unless the employers become more co-operative and agree to recognise and negotiate directly with the unions.

The white settlers have shown themselves terrified of the trade unions in most statements they have made over the last few years. The Government's policy of encouraging the growth of trade unions has been attacked violently at settler public meetings and by settler representatives in the legislative council.

Since 1954, the question of distinction between trade union and political activity has been raised several times in the Kenya Legislative Council. The European settler members of the Council have accused the Kenya Federation of Labour of engaging in political activity, and have consequently urged the Government to legislate against trade unions taking an interest in politics or even making statements or commenting on political problems.

The accusation against the Federation arises out of the fact that several times during the Emergency it has condemned Government handling of the Emergency, and also condemned European political actions. Since the banning of the Kenya African Union it has been the desire of Europeans to silence completely any form of African political expression. The Federation further sent resolutions to the 1955 Vienna Conference of the I.C.F.T.U. drawing attention to the existence of what the Federation believes constitutes forced labour in Kenya and also pointing out steps that are necessary to bring an end to the Emergency and establish permanent political stability and good race relations.

These suggestions were repeated by me in London on 9th January, 1955, and included: the need to provide effective African representation in the legislature; to extend adult suffrage to Africans as is already the case with Europeans and Asians; to introduce compulsory free education beginning with towns; to ban colour discrimination by law and to ban further immigration of European farmers and Asians. The Federation also demanded that the British Government should declare that it was its intention to establish a democratic government in Kenya.

The Government has, however, succumbed to settler pressure and so has introduced an Emergency law, making it illegal for the Federation or any other African body to make political statements on a national basis, thus restricting all activities to a regional level.

The Federation, however, believes this is a contravention of the democratic rights of freedom of association and freedom of expression.

This general survey of the development of trade unions in Kenya would show that trade unions have an important function to perform in the development of African society. Trade unions can be the

training ground for democratic practice and leadership. Our trade unions will not be satisfied until they can freely contribute to the social and economic development of the worker as a class. As such they constitute the greatest threat to the privileged position of the white settler. It is not surprising, therefore, that the settler is determined to undermine and, if possible, suppress the young movement. The foundation of a socialist political movement is bound to come out of this development and especially now that the Federation is not even allowed to make statements on such issues as representation in the legislative council, the franchise, and education. In the period of the Emergency there is ample room for the use of repressive or prohibitive measures under the pretext of security. The end of the Emergency will, however, necessitate a new thinking and a new attitude, for I believe that in Kenya permanent European domination is impossible. Kenya could never become another Southern Rhodesia or South Africa, and any attempt to try to suppress the growth of *bona fide* trade unions is bound to lead to serious troubles in industry and elsewhere.

The Kenya trade union movement maintains contact with trade unions in the free world through the affiliation of the Kenya Federation of Labour to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. At the request of the Federation, the I.C.F.T.U. opened an East Africa office in Nairobi in 1954. Prior to this, the I.C.F.T.U. has sent two delegations to Kenya. The I.C.F.T.U. office, in a joint effort with the Federation, organises trade union weekend courses and publishes a newsletter every fortnight. The courses are held in different centres, the aim being to train trade union leadership in office administration and collective bargaining procedure. The I.C.F.T.U. has also agreed to run a trade union paper in Kenya, starting with a monthly issue to be developed later to a weekly issue. Through the I.C.F.T.U. the Federation has been presented with a jeep by the American Automobile Workers' Union, to further trade union educational activities in Kenya.

The Federation further maintains good friendly relations with the British Trades Union Congress. The T.U.C. has given both moral and material support to the Federation and its affiliates. It donated a library set of trade union books and office equipment. During the Emergency, it has more than once intervened on behalf of the Federation by making representation to the Colonial Office, culminating in the visit to Kenya this year by Sir Vincent Tewson to discuss the threatened deregistration of the Federation.

The individual unions are affiliated to International Trade Secretariats who help by giving expert advice on problems concerning specific industries.

The road before us is rough and uncertain.

Poverty, ignorance and disease exist in our country and among our people. So long as this situation prevails, we cannot afford to fail. Despite the many odds that we have against us, I have faith and confidence in the future.

## EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK IN FRENCH WEST AFRICA

ELLIOT BERG

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FRENCH WEST AFRICA is one of the continent's "grey" areas; among its 17-18 million African inhabitants live some 63,000 Europeans—not only officials and traders, but businessmen, wage-earners, shopkeepers, planters. While few of them are settlers in the same sense as Europeans in Southern and Eastern Africa, there is a growing feeling of permanence among large sections of the European community, a permanence symbolized by the increasing number of small shopkeepers who have come to Dakar, Abidjan and other urban centres in recent years to serve the expanding European population. Even among the approximately 14,000 European wage-earners there are many who plan to spend their working lives in Africa (interrupted by long vacations in France). French West Africa thus has many of the characteristics of a plural or multiracial society, and the French Administration is faced with the general problem common to all such societies: working out the terms of a peaceful coexistence of the races.

In principle, the French have committed themselves to a policy of full equality of treatment for Europeans and Africans; the ideology of equality forms the doctrinal cornerstone of post-war French colonial policy. This post-war brand of colonialism is a peculiar arrangement. It is a colonialism on the defensive, sensitive to hostile world opinion, anxious to "maintain social peace", and aimed at keeping an equal and ultimately autonomous West Africa within the French Union. Under its reforms, the cruder features of the old colonialism have been planed away. Colour bar and other



forms of racial discrimination have been legally banished; civil and political rights have been extended to all Africans; African representation in the French Parliament has been increased<sup>1</sup> and local assemblies of limited but growing authority installed; African political parties have been formed, and a free, aggressive trade union movement, which directs its considerable energies into a continuing fight against racial discrimination in wage-employment, has taken solid root. The new colonial relationship is one in which the existence of racial discrimination of any sort has become intolerable to Africans on the grounds that it is a vestige of the outlawed colonial situation. And such discriminations have become, under the new system, morally inadmissible and politically embarrassing to a French Administration committed to their abolition.

French West Africa is therefore the scene of an unusual experiment in race relations, one taking place under a combination of conditions unique in tropical Africa. It is a country in which Africans have much the same civil rights and freedom of organization as in the Gold Coast, a country in which there is a larger European population than is found in Kenya, and a country whose colonial administration is pledged to ensuring full equality of treatment to both races. The extent to which this pledge is being met, and the difficulties inherent in meeting it can be most clearly seen in the field of wage-employment and especially in the civil service, for in no other group is the sensitivity to discrimination more acute and the passion for equality more deep-rooted than among these urban wage-earners.

As we will show below, this passion for equality is expressed in French West Africa in the form of African demands (for such things as paid vacations in France) which may seem bizarre or even amusing. Yet the fact that such demands are earnestly put forward by Africans in French areas is not without lessons for other areas in Africa where there is talk of "partnership". The future of white settler Africa may necessarily rest in some form of partnership. But the French difficulties in West Africa suggest that no real partnership, no stable plural society can be constructed in Africa on any basis other than ultimately full equality. The heritage of political domination, social humiliation and occupational restriction to which the African is heir can be expected to leave him for a long

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<sup>1</sup> French West Africa elects 20 of the 626 deputies in the French National Assembly. It should be noted that if the people of the overseas territories were represented in proportion to their numbers they would elect 390 deputies.

time with an exaggerated sensitivity to discrimination; and his taste for equal treatment, once liberated, is unlikely to remain satisfied with political or economic half-measures.

Before World War II the problem of equal pay for equal work between European and African did not really exist in French West Africa (hereafter denoted AOF, after its French name, *Afrique Occidentale Française*). Skilled and educated Africans were few; unskilled Europeans were exceptional; and the *mystique* of equality was undeveloped (since there was no pretence at real equality). There were thus few places where Europeans and Africans held comparable jobs, and where they did the African either accepted the prevailing racial differentials as a matter of course or resented them silently.

Since the war all this has changed. With the economic expansion of the last decade the wage-earning labour force has more than doubled, from about 180,000 in the mid-thirties to about 370,000 in 1954. Though the great majority of African wage-earners are still unskilled, the number of trained workers is growing both absolutely and relatively: 72% of the 231,000 African wage-earners in 1947 were unskilled (mostly migrant) labourers; by 1952 the African work force had grown to 356,000, and the proportion of unskilled labourers had fallen to 65%. More significantly, the number of Africans with technical training and higher education is increasing steadily: in 1948 there were less than 5,000 Africans in secondary schools and teacher training establishments; in 1954 the number had grown to 12,000. Some 1,600 Africans were in technical training institutes in 1948; in 1954 there were 3,100 in AOF and over 550 in metropolitan France. And by 1954 there were over 800 Africans studying in universities, about half of them in France.<sup>2</sup>

The growth in the number of skilled and educated Africans is but one side of the problem. Coupled with it is the growing size and changing skill composition of the European work force. In 1952 there were some 14,000 European wage-earners in AOF. According to the official classifications none of these are unskilled: 6,000 are managers and supervisory employees; 4,000 are clerks and office workers; the remaining 4,000 are listed as technicians and

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<sup>2</sup> The French have traditionally lagged behind most other colonial powers in the provision of elementary education facilities. Though the proportion of school-age children attending classes is still very low (about 10%), the number of pupils in elementary schools has grown seven-fold since 1948—from 60,000 to 262,000 in 1954. (The figures are those given in the official report of France to the United Nations under Article 73c of the Charter, *Afrique Occidentale Française*, 1954.)

specialized workers. While most of these Europeans are no doubt skilled and experienced workers, a not negligible and probably growing fraction is made up of slightly-skilled and inexperienced Frenchmen—those who form part of that amorphous and much-discussed group in French Africa called *petits blancs*. Since the end of the war there has been a considerable inflow of these so-called *petits blancs*: on the French West African labour market there can now be found European waiters and truck-drivers, semi-skilled labourers and machine operators, inexperienced clerks and book-keepers. A number of these lesser-skilled workers come from France under contracts with employers. But many are ex-service men who have served in Africa and decided to stay on, or men whose contracts have been dropped and who are looking for other jobs, or men who have come without a contract, knowing little more, as a Dakar newspaper editor once put it, than that one African franc is worth two metropolitan francs.<sup>3</sup>

The rising skill and educational level of the African work force, in conjunction with the falling skill level of the European wage-earners has opened the way for conflict over the problem of equal pay for equal work. In the civil service, and less frequently in private industry, Europeans and Africans of comparable training and ability are now found working in similar jobs. And with the planting of the ideology of equality and sensitivity of Africans to any wage differentials which are, or seem to be racially-determined, all inequalities in treatment are bitterly, actively and noisily protested.

To meet the demands of Africans that all wage differentials based on race be abolished, and to make concrete the affirmations regarding equality found in the 1947 Constitution and elsewhere, the principle of equal pay for equal work was inscribed by French legislators into the two basic labour laws of AOF—the Lamine Guye Law of 30 June 1950, concerning the conditions of employment in the civil service, and the omnibus labour law (covering all other workers), the Overseas Territories' Labour Code of 15 December 1952.

Despite these laws, Europeans continue to receive higher incomes than Africans doing essentially similar jobs. In private industry the lowest-graded European receives a higher basic salary than the

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<sup>3</sup> France and French West Africa form part of a single currency zone, but the African franc (the franc CFA) exchanges for the French franc at a rate of one franc CFA for two "francs metro". Savings on income earned in AOF can thus be doubled by conversion in France, and this is one factor inducing immigrants to come to AOF.

highest-graded African. This is not so in the civil service, where basic salaries are the same for Europeans and Africans in similarly-rated posts, but in the civil service as in private industry Africans are disadvantaged with respect to that substantial component of wages—income consisting of bonuses and accessory benefits. The European wage-earner generally receives a six-month-paid vacation in France after each tour of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  years; he receives a special bonus for the hardships of overseas service (called the *complement special* in the civil service, and *indemnité de risque climatique* in private industry) most often amounting to 20 or 40% of his basic salary if he is a civil servant, depending on his grade, and 40% of his basic salary if he works in private industry. Finally, he receives the benefits of the French law of family allowances.

With respect to all these accessory benefits and in other ways, the African wage-earner is less favoured, especially in private industry. He gets a shorter vacation, substantially lower family allowances, and in the civil service, a smaller percentage (generally 10 or 20%) of his basic salary as *complement special*.<sup>4</sup>

We will not consider further the differentials in private industry, but will rather, for several reasons, focus on the problem of equal pay for equal work as it arises in the civil service. First, it is more difficult to define "equal work" in private industry than in the civil service (though it is nowhere easy). The argument used by employers in private industry—that the higher basic rates and bonuses they offer to European workers are justified by their greater productivity—is not ordinarily used in the civil service, where there exist relatively objective criteria of productivity or at least of capacity, such as amount of education, score on civil service examination, etc. The nature of the equal pay problem can

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<sup>4</sup> In 1954 the basic salaries of European clerks in commercial enterprises in Dakar ranged from 29,300 francs CFA (\$170 at the official exchange rate of 175 francs CFA to one U.S. dollar) to 52,595 francs CFA (\$300) per month, depending upon the number of tours the worker has had in Africa. African office workers' basic salaries in the same city were between 6,150 francs (\$35) and 25,810 francs (\$150) per month.

Under the new (January 1956) family allowance system for Africans in private industry, the African wage-earner receives about 350 francs per child (of his first wife) per month, and certain other advantages: payments at time of marriage pregnancy of wife, etc.). To give some idea of the extent of the differential involved, one trade union source estimated that the annual benefits awarded under the French family allowance law (which covers almost all Frenchmen in Africa) amount to 92,000 francs CFA for a man with two children. A similarly-placed African civil servant, covered by the law prevailing in AOF, receives about 42,000 francs a year. (*L'Afrique—Force Ouvrière*, No. 24, Nov. 15, 1953.)

Finally, Africans receive paid vacations of generally a day or a day and a half per month of work, whereas the European ordinarily gets five days; and with respect to accident compensation, the European is almost always considered as covered by the comprehensive French law on accident compensation, whereas the African enjoys the much more limited protection of an archaic law of 1932.

therefore be more clearly seen in the civil service.

Furthermore, because of the greater difficulty of defining "equal work" in private industry, because of the relative paucity of Africans in private industry who hold jobs comparable to those of Europeans, and for other reasons, the issue of equality has stimulated much less agitation among privately-employed Africans than among those in the civil service. It is only beginning to be an issue in private industry whereas it has been the main item of contention in the civil service since the end of World War II.

Finally, the civil servants are a large and strategic group in AOF, and their grievances have widespread social and political implications. The 30,000-odd African *fonctionnaires* (civil servants) form the best-educated and most articulate group in AOF; among them can be found significant numbers of Africans who hold responsible positions and who work side-by-side with Europeans. They are the Africans most aware of and sensitive to racial differentials, for they are most closely in contact with Europeans on the job and most often in conflict with them.

The Administration's position on the question of equality in the civil service is that the requirements of the Lamine-Geuye Law have been honestly met: all posts are impersonally indexed, the rate for the job is paid, and entrance into all posts is open on the same terms to Europeans and Africans. The African civil servants, on the other hand, point to the persistence of differentials in income which in practice fall along racial lines. They denounce the differentials in bonuses and allowances as discriminatory, as a deformation of the spirit of the Lamine-Geuye Law. Specifically, they want the "special bonus" (*complément spécial*) fixed at 40% of the basic salary for all grades of civil servants, not, as is presently the case, only for civil servants of the highest grade (the *cadres généraux*, who are in the main Europeans, since few Africans hold the university degree required for entrance into this grade). They demand also the extension to Africans of the provisions and rates of the French law on family allowances, and they put forward the claim for a six month paid vacation in France for African civil servants on the grounds that African service is as arduous for them as it is for Europeans, and that in any case since Europeans get the French vacation so should they.

Because the Administration has refused to accede to these demands, spokesmen of the African civil servants' unions accuse it of double-dealing, of withdrawing by subterfuge and legal trickery a policy of equality which was presented at home and

trumpeted abroad as a great step forward. There is weight in these accusations if by double-dealing is meant the unwillingness of the Administration to grant equality not only with respect to basic salaries, but in bonuses and allowances as well. It is true that a definite desire to hedge manifested itself in some quarters, notably the Ministry of Finance, where many officials were concerned about the impact on the budget of an all-out policy of equal pay for all in the civil service. It is also true that in the interpretation of the law there has been a tendency to favour Europeans.<sup>5</sup> But it is hard to see in this an exercise in pure deception. The Administration has, after all, some strong arguments in defence of its policy. Granting of the African civil servants' demands would have a number of harmful economic and social consequences—retrenchments in personnel, cut-backs in plans for economic development, redistribution of income from the relatively poor peasant taxpayers to the relatively rich *fonctionnaires*. Moreover, the granting of the African civil servants' demands would further distort an already lopsided wage structure. Before the recent introduction of family allowances to workers in private industry, the African *fonctionnaires* enjoyed incomes which were often as much as two to four times as high as the incomes of equally-skilled Africans in private industry, and the differentials are still considerable to-day. To raise African civil servants' incomes to parity with equally-placed Europeans would widen the gap between Africans in private industry and Africans in the civil service and create widespread dissatisfaction among the former.

These arguments are substantial. They are quite convincing on objective grounds. The only trouble with them is that from the African civil servants' point of view they are irrelevant. The civil servants' demand is for absolute equality of payment with the European in the same job; comparison of his income with that of

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<sup>5</sup>With regard to family allowances, for example, the Lamine-Geuye Law states that an identical system of family allowances should apply to all civil servants, whatever their race. But it goes on to state (and this kind of rule is the legal basis of all the bonus and accessory benefit differentials) that when the worker comes from any area in the French Union where he benefited from a more favourable system of allowances (e.g. metropolitan France) he should receive the advantages of the more favourable system. This principle of "vested rights" (*droits acquis*) has been interpreted, over the objections of Africans, in such a way that in practice all who are metropolitan Frenchmen receive the larger benefits of the French law on family allowances, while the more limited system of benefits adopted in AOF is restricted to Africans.

The Administration has also made some questionable and awkward "mistakes" in interpreting the law, mistakes which reflect its own uncertainty as to the meaning of "equality". A ministerial circular of May 21, 1951 gave certain Africans the right to a six months paid vacation in France; a year later, however, this was withdrawn, the Administration arguing that the earlier circular had been a mistake.

Africans in private industry or that of peasant farmers is to him completely beside the point. Equality is the issue; it is a question of ethics not economics.<sup>6</sup> Europeans who take jobs in AOF do not have a wide range of choice. The only case in which they admit bonus differentials to be justifiable is that of metropolitan civil servants actually detached for service in AOF.

The mainsprings of this demand for equality with the Europeans must be clearly understood, for it operates on two quite different levels. On a superficial level it serves as a tactical weapon of considerable force: the working conditions of Europeans form concrete goals around which the civil servants, through their trade unions, can frame their demands; and the existence of "unjustified" differentials in accessory benefits invests the demands of the Africans for higher benefits with a certain high moral tone. "Justice" unsullied by group self-interest becomes the rationale for the African *fonctionnaires* as they bargain to better their position. And also, by continual agitation the African civil servants aim to push the Administration towards further Africanisation of the civil service: in answer to the argument that the straining budget could not support the charges involved in the African demands, the *fonctionnaires* ask for the firing of lower-graded Europeans "who have no skill and who thus have nothing to teach Africans . . ."<sup>7</sup>

On a deeper level, the demand for equality has its roots in the colonial situation, and it is here that its real significance lies. Lifted from their social and historical context the demands of the African civil servants—for hardship bonuses, vacations in France, etc., seem divorced from reality and without foundation in objective grievances or material needs. If they were put forward by people innocent of the colonial experience and therefore without its peculiar psychological inheritance, they could be dismissed out of hand. But they cannot be so dismissed in AOF where all differences in treatment between European and African—anything that can be construed as discriminatory—is regarded by Africans as a remnant of the colonial situation and is therefore objectionable. The quest for full equality thus reflects the sensitivity of a people which has known a colonial past to all reminders of that past which persist

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<sup>6</sup> Africans tend to avoid the problem of whether the bonuses are in principle necessary inducements for European skilled workers who would be irreplaceable from domestic sources. They argue that the bonuses are in fact often unnecessary, that many Europeans who take jobs in AOF do not have a wide range of choice. The only case in which they admit bonus differentials is that of metropolitan civil servants actually detached for service in AOF.

<sup>7</sup> *Le Proletaire*, organ of the Confédération Générale du Travail du Senegal, Oct. 1, 1951.

in the uncertain present. Since "colonialism" is usually identified with unequal treatment for Africans, to suffer such inequalities is for them to continue the colonial experience. As the numerous strikes and protest demonstrations of the past several years show, the African *fonctionnaire* settles for nothing less than absolute equality of salary, working conditions and bonuses and allowances (with some "justifiable" exceptions), and he will continue to agitate until he gets it.

The granting of freedom of expression and organization to Africans, the official policy of equality, and the European presence have thus created for the French Administration in AOF a difficult situation, one full of internal contradictions. The demands of the African civil servants cannot be met without the effects noted above on the budget, on income distribution and on the wage structure. A policy of dropping European benefits to the African level would perhaps put at rest the problem of equal pay, but it is not certain at this stage that even African *fonctionnaires* would accept this, and it is clear that European *fonctionnaires* would not.

A fundamental attack on the source of the problem is what is required. This means increasing Africanisation of the civil service. It means also the institution of a more selective immigration policy, the stopping of the flow of *petits blancs*. The government has begun to act on the former problem: early in 1956 it prepared the way for more Africans to enter the training school for overseas administrators (the Ecole Nationale de la France d'Outre-Mer); whereas up to now only a handful of Africans (three or four), were students at the school, the new rule will make as many as half the places available to them. Also, under an enabling law (*loi-cadre*) passed by the French Parliament in March 1956, the overseas civil service is to be separated from the French civil service, a move intended to free local authorities in Africa from French civil service regulations and allow them to extend Africanisation. Action on the problem of the *petits blancs* has been less forthright. Though the *petit blanc* is the universally-denounced whipping boy in French Africa, at whose feet is laid the blame for many of the racial tensions that exist, the Administration has so far refused to screen immigrants more carefully. It remains possible for any Frenchman to come to AOF simply by depositing with the authorities the price of a return trip to France.

It is in any event clear that the present situation is unstable and cannot long continue, at least not without considerable political danger for the French. The persistence of a situation in which the



African wage-earners generally and civil servants particularly feel themselves the subjects of discrimination risks the political alienation of this dynamic and "mobilisable" group. From the point of view of a French Administration anxious to avoid repetitions of the Indo-Chinese, North African, and even Cameroon experiences, the alienation of this group would be disastrous. As suggested earlier, the African civil servants are perhaps the most strategic element in French West African society. They are part of a new social group which is now in process of formation, one which combines the qualities of a rising middle class with those of an intelligentsia. They are more aware politically and more captured ideologically than any other Africans in the country. And the civil servant is the dominant force in the African trade union movement, which groups between 70,000 and 115,000 wage earners and which has in recent years engineered many impressive demonstrations of strength. The trade unions are in fact the most potent organized social movement in the country. To frustrate the desire for full equality that moves its civil servant leaders is to hurry the crystallization of a nationalist sentiment thus far diffuse. It will invite the quick replacement of the current vague political demands (for autonomy with equality within a federal French Union) with a more radical nationalist program. With only slight exaggeration it is possible to say that the political future of France in West Africa rests in large measure on the satisfactory solution of the equal pay for equal work issue—in the civil service now and later in private industry, where it is sure to arise with equal intensity. How it is dealt with will suggest to Africans the direction toward which they must push the French-African partnership.

# THE NEGRO LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

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IN their protracted struggle for freedom, for equality and for a rightful place in the sun, the coloured peoples of the world have utilized multiple tactics ranging from violent revolution to orderly democratic procedures. Likewise their liberation movements have stemmed from various ideological roots — communism, nationalism, racism and democracy, and sometimes a combination of two or more of these.

Determining the goals and the nature of the struggle have been such factors as the social, political and economic conditions prevailing in the territory, the outlook and quality of the leadership, and the ideological motivation of the movement. Indonesia achieved independence through revolution and the forcible expulsion of the Dutch imperialists. Long years of non-violent passive resistance brought freedom to India. The Sudan was able peaceably to negotiate its independence. The Gold Coast and Nigeria look forward to nationhood by agreement with Great Britain. In Algeria, fighting continues for independence from France. In Kenya, the dispossessed Africans were forced to resort to terrorism in their bitter and presently thwarted struggle to regain their stolen land. The voteless Bantu and other non-Whites of the Union of South Africa desperately seek a way to freedom.

In all of these lands, the situation is distinctly different from that in the United States of America. Also, with the possible exception of the Union, the goal is dissimilar. In America, the Negro is a minority, one-tenth of the total population. Moreover, the basic law of the land recognizes him as a citizen entitled to all the rights and privileges of any other citizen. What the American Negro seeks is the full implementation of his constitutionally guaranteed rights, which in many areas of the country have been denied or curtailed. Separate nationhood has never been the goal of the American Negro.

It is within this context that the struggle for elimination of the colour bar and full freedom for Negro citizens in the United States

must be viewed. The situation is unlike that in any other country plagued with a colour problem. Accordingly, the Negro American's pursuit of liberty requires a different strategy and tactics suited to the peculiarities of the American scene. It would be misleading to draw conclusions from seeming parallels with Asian and African territories. There is in America neither the need for violent revolution nor the disposition among the Negro masses to resort to widespread terrorism. Although non-violent passive resistance has recently been spectacularly successful in Montgomery, Alabama, its feasibility on a broad national scale remains questionable.

To give co-ordinated leadership to the fight for freedom in the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People was organized as the result of a call issued on 12 February 1909, the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator. The purpose was to establish a "large and powerful body of citizens" to combat the rising tide of racism. Fifty-three Negro and White educators, clergymen, philanthropists, publicists and social workers signed the historic document calling "upon all believers in democracy to join in a national conference for the discussion of present evils, the voicing of protests, and the renewal of the struggle for civil and political liberty".

For nearly half a century the NAACP, as the Association is popularly known, has been the nation's most effective instrument in the efforts to secure for Negro Americans those rights inherent in citizenship in a democracy. Working always within the framework of the American constitutional system, the NAACP has succeeded in levelling one racial barrier after another, in holding at bay the nation's extreme racists, and in extending the frontiers of human freedom throughout the country.

To a large extent the history of the Negro's progress in America since 1910 has been the story of the NAACP struggle. Other forces, of course, contributed measurably to this advance. Economic factors, migrations, the work of White liberals in voluntary organizations, the pronouncements of leaders, domestic politics and international developments, all influenced the course of events. It was, however, the NAACP which set the objectives, charted the course, and directed the organized efforts to accelerate the march of progress.

From the beginning the NAACP realized that its objective was not attainable within the framework of segregation. However, the attack upon Jim Crow, by which is meant the whole body of laws and customs which assign to the Negro a lesser place in American

society, has been intensified only in recent years largely because the earlier years were devoted to defensive tactics to ward off the blows of the aggressive racists.

The various activities of the Association—public relations, legislative, legal and organizational—are under the direction of Roy Wilkins, the Executive Secretary. As chief administrative



SOUTHERN ROAD TO NOWHERE

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officer, he is charged with the responsibility of co-ordination and directing the NAACP programme in accordance with policies developed at the Association's annual conventions and ratified by the Board of Directors. He maintains contact with co-operating organizations and serves as chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights composed of 50 national civic, church, trade union, fraternal and professional organizations. The purpose of the Conference is to mobilize widespread support for civil rights legislation. On behalf of the NAACP and the Conference, Mr. Wilkins presented to the Resolutions Committees of both the Democratic and Republican parties civil rights proposals for inclusion in the respective party platforms.

National headquarters are maintained in New York City with local branches throughout the nation. Regional offices have been established on the West Coast and in the South west and the Southeast. Local branches join together to form statewide units in their respective states. Except in a few large cities all of the branch work is carried on by unpaid volunteers. Supervising the organizational activities nationally is Gloster B. Current, Director of Branches.

When the NAACP was organized, Negroes were being lynched at the rate of two a week. The first and pressing task was to devise some means to curb the lynch mobs and to gain for the Negro a measure of security of his person. A two-pronged attack was developed consisting of an educational, or propaganda, programme to expose the horrors of this barbarous crime, and a legislative campaign to secure enactment of a federal anti-lynching law. Due to the filibuster in the Senate no such law has yet been enacted. Meanwhile, however, lynching had become obsolete until 1955. when it claimed three victims in the state of Mississippi. Others joined in this fight, including many White southerners, but it was the NAACP which spearheaded the drive year after year, with the late Walter White, the Association's assistant secretary and later Executive Secretary, carrying the brunt of the attack and risking his life investigating and exposing mob violence.

The anti-lynching campaign illustrates two of the three major channels through which the NAACP seeks its goal, the other being the courts. Through its educational, legislative and legal programmes, all in accord with traditional American procedures, the NAACP seeks not only liberation of the Negro but also the strengthening of democracy at home and the enhancement of American prestige abroad.

The effectiveness of the Association's propaganda programme is

not always measurable in tangibles. However, it is evident that the climate of opinion on the race issue is far healthier to-day in America, including the South, than it was in 1910, or even a quarter of a century ago. Throughout its history the NAACP has sought to educate the American public about the evils of racial prejudice, sharply pointing out the grievous social, economic and political consequences of discrimination and segregation. All media of mass communications have been utilized in this continuing campaign—books, pamphlets, posters, magazines, newspapers, public meetings, films, radio and television. The churches and synagogues, the trade union movement, educational institutions and many voluntary associations have aided in the programme to enlighten the nation. The Association's legislative and legal work also contribute to this process.

Although the NAACP has from the outset maintained a publicity or public relations department, the primary burden of the propaganda programme is that of the organization's chief administrative officer, the Executive Secretary. Notable among those who have performed this function in that office have been the late James Weldon Johnson, Mr. White, and the incumbent, Mr. Wilkins. All have recognized that an enlightened public is essential to the attainment of the Association's objectives. Accordingly, this has been a major field of activity, involving not only the Executive Secretary and the Director of Public Relations but also the entire structure of the organization at the national as well as at state and local levels.

There is still a vast area of racial hate in America that has remained untouched by the NAACP educational programme. Ancient superstitions survive and ignorance of simple scientific truths about race is widespread. Capitalizing upon this ignorance and upon nameless fears, peddlers of race hate have in some areas established a lucrative business for themselves by creating organizations for the purpose of perpetuating the myth of "White supremacy". Closing their eyes to reality, the supporters of these movements refuse to recognize any change in conditions since the end of the nineteenth century.

Unable to reach such elements through an educational programme, the NAACP has sought to surmount this obstacle through political action and the judicial process. The Association is not a partisan organization in that it endorses no political party nor any candidate for public office. However, it is political in that it constantly seeks to enlarge the Negro vote and sponsors a legislative programme designed to remove existing racial limitations. Moreover, it makes

known to its members and friends the records of the major parties and of candidates for national office on civil rights and other issues vital to the progress of the Negro in American life. Largely through the efforts of the NAACP, the number of Negro voters in the South, the only region in which there is active resistance to their participation in the electoral process, has been doubled in the past ten years. The expanded Negro vote in the South has served to strengthen the limited forces of the liberal minority in that region.

In Washington, the Association maintains an office, headed by Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP legislative representative. This office is the headquarters of the civil rights lobby in the nation's capital. Other organizations, such as the trade unions, maintaining representatives in Washington, usually consult and co-operate with the NAACP on all civil rights issues before the Congress. The primary objective of the Association's legislative programme is enactment of laws designed to assure equal rights to all citizens by banning racial discrimination and segregation in such areas as employment, housing, education, transportation, health services and recreation. Other important goals are the protection of the right to vote and of security of person. Also the Association actively supports certain welfare and labour legislation.

Rightfully regarded as the civil rights watchdog on the Potomac, the NAACP Washington Bureau is constantly on the alert to head off any proposed legislation inimical to the rights of racial minorities. Thus, when southern members of Congress introduced measures to perpetuate Jim Crow in the armed forces, the Association was able to rally enough support among other congressmen to defeat the proposals. Activity on the part of the NAACP has also been instrumental in forestalling a congressional attempt to curb the voting power of organized labour, the Negro and other minorities in the large northern urban centres.

The Association's legislative programme has been handicapped by the filibuster. Under pretext of upholding the right to "unlimited debate" a handful of racist Senators are able to defeat the will of the majority and veto any legislation by the simple device of endless talking. Repeatedly, civil rights bills have been passed by the lower house of Congress only to be turned back on the Senate floor. Not in eighty years has the Congress passed any significant civil rights measure. The present rule requires the vote of sixty-four of the ninety-six Senators in order to close debate on any measure opposed by a determined minority.

In addition to its legislative activity, the NAACP Washington Bureau maintains contact with the various departments of the Executive Branch of the Government. Complaints of discrimination and other civil rights issues involving Government agencies are taken up by the bureau representative.

The most spectacularly successful activity of the NAACP has been its legal work now under the direction of Thurgood Marshall. Of forty-six cases carried to the United States Supreme Court by NAACP attorneys, forty-two have resulted in favorable decisions. These court rulings, involving constitutional principles, provide unmistakable guideposts to the progress of the Negro in the United States. They have sustained the right of Negroes to jury duty and the right of an accused to a fair trial in an atmosphere not dominated by mob psychology. They have banned various devices to restrict Negro voting and have curtailed residential segregation enforced by legislative action or private agreement. They have outlawed Jim Crow in interstate travel. And finally, they have affirmed that segregation in public education is unconstitutional.

The present frontal attack upon Jim Crow education did not just happen. It was carefully planned back in the 1930's when the late Charles H. Houston was the Association's chief counsel. The objective was and remains the elimination of the economically extravagant separate school system with its inferior education for Negro youth. It marked the beginning of the shift of emphasis in the NAACP legal programme from the defence of victims of injustice to an offensive designed to undermine the legal props to the Jim Crow structure. The public school system was recognized as the keystone to that structure.

The plan called for the initial test at the professional school level. The first case was the abortive attempt to secure the admission of a Negro applicant to the School of Pharmacy of the University of North Carolina in 1933. The case was lost on a technicality.

Two years later the first victory came when a Maryland court ruled that the University of Maryland must admit a Negro student to its law school. A succession of cases followed culminating in the 1950 decision of the United States Supreme Court ordering the University of Texas to admit a Negro student to its law school despite the existence of a hurriedly created tax-supported Negro law school.

Meanwhile, the Association continued its campaign against discrimination in education on two other fronts—legal action to secure for Negro teachers salaries equal to those paid to White



teachers of the same qualifications, and preparation for court action to determine the constitutionality of racially separate elementary and secondary public schools. Although there is still a salary differential in some southern states there are now, as the result of NAACP suits, many areas in the South where Negro and White teachers are paid the same scale.



THE HIGH ROAD AND THE LOW ROAD

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Easily the most significant and far-reaching victory won by the Association lawyers was the decision banning segregation in public schools handed down by the United States Supreme Court on 17 May 1954. For the first time the Court ruled explicitly that segregation in public education is in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Unanimously the nine Justices of the Court concluded "that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal". This decision clearly presaged the early doom of the Court's 1896 ruling which held that segregation was constitutional as long as "equal" facilities were provided for both races.

The 1954 decision was hailed, not only in the United States but also by democratic forces throughout the world, as the beginning of the end of compulsory racial segregation in the United States and as a towering beacon illuminating the highway to full freedom. Among elements which fear freedom for others, especially for Coloured peoples, there was anguish and dismay. There was, moreover, the resurgence of regional fanaticism determined to resist the federal authority by every means possible, illegal and extra-legal as well as legal.

Also, the decision focused national and international attention upon the NAACP as never before. Although the Association was by no means unknown before 1954, its pivotal rôle in the struggle to erase the Colour line was not fully realized until the court handed down its historic ruling in cases argued by Mr. Marshall and his NAACP associates. Persons who had formerly merely recognized the five letters as the initials of a Negro protest organization wanted to know more about it. What is its purpose? How is it financed? Who are its officers and members? What is its political orientation?

The Association's rôle in the public school segregation cases eloquently bespeaks its purpose, namely, the eradication from American life of all legal distinctions among citizens based upon such irrelevant considerations as race, colour, religion or national origin. The NAACP seeks for Negro Americans no preferential treatment. It asks for them only those citizenship rights and privileges enjoyed without question by White Americans. It maintains that these rights are unattainable under any system of compulsory segregation.

Originally conceived by White liberals, spiritual heirs to the inspiring Abolition tradition of the nineteenth century, the NAACP has been consistently bi-racial in its membership, officers and

staff. In 1955, the Association had a membership of 310,000 of whom an estimated 8 to 12 per cent were White persons. Its forty-eight-member Board of Directors is about three fourths Negro. President of the organization since 1939 is Arthur B. Spingarn, a distinguished New York lawyer who is White. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, the elder statesman of the Negro race in America, is chairman of the Board of Directors. Among other internationally known board members are Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, United States Senator Herbert Lehman, labour leader Walter Reuther and Federal Judge William H. Hastie.

Numerically the membership represents a small minority of the nation's 16,000,000 Negro Americans. However, its influence and leadership extends far beyond the membership. The NAACP is recognized as the authentic spokesman for Negro aspirations. Certainly there is nowhere in the nation any considerable body of Negro citizens nor, indeed, very, very few individual coloured persons who disagree with the basic programme and objectives of the NAACP. Individuals may occasionally differ with the Association on tactics in particular instances, but practically never with the NAACP goal. No recognized Negro leadership calls for continued acceptance of segregation.

Throughout its history, the Association has enlisted the support of practically all of the outstanding Negro leaders in the United States. They have served as officers of the national organization or as leaders of its local branches now numbering 1,300 in forty-three states, the District of Columbia and the Territory of Alaska. Voluntarily they have contributed their services to the Association's national legal and health committees, to fund-raising projects or to other activities. Among the early Negro leaders who helped establish the NAACP were Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the first editor of *The Crisis*, the NAACP monthly magazine, Bishop Alexander Walters and the Rev. Francis J. Grimke. Dr. DuBois, now an octogenarian scholar, is no longer connected with the NAACP.

The Association has also enjoyed the friendship and counsel of outstanding White citizens. Its three presidents have all been White persons—Moorfield Storey, J. E. Spingarn and his brother, Arthur B. Spingarn, the incumbent. Leading clergymen, senators, Cabinet members, jurists and educators have served as members of the national Board of Directors or officers of local NAACP branches. Both President Eisenhower and former President Truman have addressed NAACP national meetings as has, also, Vice-President Nixon.

For the year 1955 the Association had a total income of \$672,422. Expenditures amounted to \$522,666. The bulk of this income was derived from the basic annual membership fee of \$2.00. Other membership fees range from \$3.50 up to \$500 for life memberships. Additional sources of income include small contributions of \$100 or less and special fund-raising activities. Rarely does the Association receive a contribution amounting to as much as \$1,000.

Politically, the NAACP is rooted in the American democratic tradition. It has firmly and consistently turned back efforts of the Communist Party to infiltrate the organization. It has never hesitated to criticize Soviet policy whenever that policy endangered the security of the United States or impaired the Negro struggle for freedom. It has denounced the totalitarianism of the left as well as of the right. It has refused to collaborate with the Communist Party, U.S.A.

The successes achieved by the NAACP have spurred new efforts on the part of organized bigotry to destroy the organization. The southern states of Alabama, Texas and Louisiana have already initiated efforts to ban the Association permanently. Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina have passed legislation denying teaching positions and other public employment to NAACP members or to anyone who advocates desegregation of the schools and other civil rights for Negroes. Virginia also has passed legislation to hamper the NAACP programme. Private individuals and hate organizations have exerted economic pressures—denial of jobs and credit—in a ruthless campaign to stop the forward surge of Negro Americans. Terror has been revived as an instrument of repression.

In the face of all this hostility, the prestige and strength of the NAACP has continued to grow. Its membership and income have shown a steady and substantial increase. The determination of Negroes to achieve desegregation is evidenced by the courage with which they have faced economic hazards and physical risks. Their morale is high. They are concerned, but not terrified, by the frenzied hate of the bigots and their acts of violence.

At the Forty-seventh Annual Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People in San Francisco in June 1956 the delegates reaffirmed their "determination to gain for the 16,000,000 Negroes all the rights and privileges constitutionally guaranteed to them as an integral part of our democratic society". Three years previously they had set 1963, the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation, as the target date for the elimi-

nation of all vestiges of second-class citizenship under which Negro Americans suffer.

The increased tension of the last three years has brought no diminution in their will to achieve the goal of a single standard of citizenship for all Americans.

## THE BAAS COMES HOME

OLIVER WALKER

EVEN the speckled guineafowl strutting near the wagon-track seemed to know that Cornelius de la Roux was coming home. From the height of his horse as he rode a little ahead of the wagon laden with seed, implements and food collected at the depot attached to the Middelburg concentration camp, he watched them ducking their beaks as if curtsying to the long-lost owner of Rhinoster-spruit Farm. But he knew them too well to imagine that if he lifted the rifle pouched beside his saddle they would remain within range.

He wished to kill nothing on this day of days, certainly nothing that could remind him of his farm and home after two years' bitter exile in Ceylon where the British had shipped him and two hundred more Boers after the surrender at Eland's Kop. The great empty cavern of his heart had been lit by the fires of a consuming hatred during those dreary days when the only news trickling through had been news of defeats and deaths that had carried off his wife and two fighting sons and numerous relatives.

The God of his forebears had turned His countenance away from the Boers in those black days. Messages had come at last speaking of a peace signed at Vereeniging. Cornelius was one of those who had refused to believe this was anything but another trick of the "Khaki" British until men of his own district had come over the ocean to tell him that the war was finished, that their beloved leader "Oom Paul" was dead, and that the British were indeed masters over all South Africa.

Some of the Dutch Volk said that the British had been magnanimous at the treaty and after. Cornelius was not one of these. Like others he had been given supplies free to rehabilitate his farm. That did not mean he should feel gratitude. He had been given money and a chequebook with the right to draw upon the bank

for several hundred pounds. Did that mean he had to kiss the hands of these accursed "Uitlanders" who, in their haughty might, had destroyed the Eden which he and his fellow trekkers had hewn out of the Transvaal wilderness?

Cornelius accepted these crumbs from the conqueror's table in implacable silence. He waited only for the day when he could escape the pestilential shadow the British had cast over the land, and stand unchallenged again as master of Rhinosterspruit's 6,000 acres in the Western Transvaal.

Only on that day would he cut his hair that now hung like a grey mane down to his shoulders as matted and almost as long as his beard. Only then would the red blood of health flow back into his veins, and the stoop go out of shoulders that were bowed with the pain of a bullet-torn muscle in his back.

Already the sight of landmarks was beginning to heal him. At first, on the ride from Blyfontein village, he had suffered, for he had seen only the roofless and windowless shells of farmhouses he had once known, and choked water-courses, devastated orchards and broken dams amid the lion-tawny vistas of winter veld. Even now, as he rode ahead to the last low eminence that should bring his own homestead into view, he could see like whip-wounds in the veld the deep ruts made by the gun-carriages of the British troops.

Painful though it was, he urged his horse into a gallop that took him as far as a clump of mimosa thorn already scenting the faultless blue air with the promise of spring though no rains had fallen. At the trees he reined in, and held his breath to survey what lay below. They had not cut down his bluegums! Two miles away at the bottom of a long downward reach of parched grasslands their foliage blew green blobs above the shining silver trunks. Sunlight glittered on water cupped like a jewel in the converging fold beyond. He had water in his dam! Then Cornelius knew that God was back in his heaven, and sat bemused while his dark, contracted eyes opened wide to study every line and contour in the total landscape of his private domain.

Smoke spiralled straight up near the homestead. It did not come from the chimney for he could see that the thatch was gone and the house was only four walls. But at least the walls were standing. Cornelius rubbed his eyes unbelievably when he saw the brown hides of several Afrikaner cattle drifting leisurely away from the water to the lower pasture. He could only conclude from these evidences of continuing life that Mhlapo, his boss-boy, had returned to the farm and was getting it into some sort of order.

Cornelius stirred his bony old Army horse into the semblance of a gallop and so great was his exultation that he forgot the agony of his wounded back as he thundered down over the stone-studded veld ahead of the lumbering wagon and the tiny whip-cracking piccanin who drove it.

Fifty yards short of the house he slowed down to walking pace so as to take in more detail. Outside the roofless rondavels to the left where his farm labour had lived a Native woman was cooking over an open fire with a cluster of children playing with clay oxen in the dust and half-shade. He could see the cattle better now. They were skinny with hip-bones projecting and heads hung low, but they were alive. He did not recognise any of them. But it was Mhlapo who was in charge and who saw and recognised the figure of the horseman and came running in great, thankful strides towards him.

"Master!" he cried, his square black face split by the widest of smiles. Then, reverting to the more homely Afrikaans: "My Baas!" he hailed, and for a moment looked as if he would drop on his knees like a man seeing a miracle.

"How goes it, Mhlapo?" said Cornelius, moved to awkwardness by Mhlapo's emotion. "I see the red-necks burnt my farm, but they left us some cattle, eh?"

"Ja, my Baas." Mhlapo's face clouded.

"Are those my beasts, or whose are they?"

"They are mine, Baas," said Mhlapo, keeping his grey, woolly head down.

"Yours? How did you get hold of six oxen like that? Where did you steal them?" Cornelius's voice had recovered its familiar note of authority.

Mhlapo did not reply. Cornelius repeated his question, and came down off his horse to stand closer. Only at the third repetition did Mhlapo speak. Then he looked no higher than Cornelius's thick-soled brown boots. "They are a loan, Master, from my cousin Reuben."

Cornelius's voice had iron in it. "You mean you got them from the Khakis, eh? Did you work for the Khakis?"

"No, Baas."

"What were you doing when I was away?"

"I went home, Baas."

Cornelius read a different meaning in the hangdog look of his old servant. "I don't believe you, Mhlapo. I think you worked for the Khakis. Did you think I was dead? Did you think I wouldn't

come back? Did they also promise you my farm, perhaps?"

"No, no, Master. I knew you would come back. I heard in the village. That was why I returned—to make things nice for the Master."

The re-iterated use of "Master"—the English word, instead of the traditional Afrikaans "Baas" confirmed Cornelius's suspicion. Mhlapo had done what many more Kaffirs had done when the British came and their Boer masters had had to ride off on commando. They had deserted to them, worked for them, like traitors. Cornelius had heard many stories of their treachery—how they had mocked at Boer women herded off to the concentration camps, and made obscene gestures at them and been encouraged to do so by their new overlords. Some of them had even been given rifles to shoot at Boers. General Hertzog had issued orders that any found thus armed were to be shot out of hand. Some had waxed rich out of the war, it was said, and owned fine spans of oxen and Army Service Corps wagons bought cheap from the conquerors when they quit.

Cornelius tightened his grip on the rhinoceros-hide whip in his hand. He was master here and he knew how to act like a master when it came to cheeky Kaffirs on his domain.

"Come here, Mhlapo," he ordered.

Mhlapo did not move. Was there a hint of rebellion in his face? Cornelius reached forward and gripped Mhlapo's arm in one sweep. With the other he raised his whip and brought it flailing down on the servant's back. Mhlapo cried out, and tried to wrench himself away. But the strength of righteousness was in Cornelius's hands, and he did not release Mhlapo until he had laid a dozen searing cracks across the torn shirt on his back, and brought him kneeling and whimpering to the ground.

The Native woman at the fire stared at a spectacle she had seen before and did not raise her voice. Later, when Cornelius had stalked away and disappeared inside the doorless entrance of his home, Mhlapo, her husband, walked unsteadily towards her and said: "You saw him strike me. What have I done? It is not right for him to strike me, even though I am his servant. You shall tell what you saw."

Next day Mhlapo was not about the farm, and Cornelius could not find out much about him until he received a summons to appear in Blyfontein before the magistrate, Hercules van der Merwe, on a charge of assault.

Grimly Cornelius mounted the spavined old horse the British



had provided him with, and rode to the village where he was confronted by Mhlapo, still unable to look him in the face, in the temporary tin shed that served as a school-room and a magistrate's court. He did not trouble to deny Mhlapo's mumbled statement about what the Baas had done to him, or the evidence of the thick weals on Mhlapo's back. His contempt was equally divided between the Kaffir who dared to speak against him, and Hercules van der Merwe who was notorious through the district as a "hands-upper" who had gone over to the British and worked for them like any traitor when the cause was lost.

"You don't dispute that you flogged Mhlapo, Commandant?" Hercules, shifting uneasily in his thonged chair, could not prevent himself from using Cornelius's combat title.

"Why should I? The Kaffir deserved a thrashing, and I gave it to him. He has been spoilt—as some of our own people have been—by the Khakis."

Hercules pretended to study a paper on which he had laboriously copied down such evidence as had been proffered. "You had no motive, no provocation, from this Kaffir," he said, trying to sound virtuous. "I shall have to fine you, or send you to jail."

Cornelius had his whip in his hand and for one misty red moment he was tempted to use it on the sly, downward-bending head of the man sitting in judgment on him.

Hercules went on hurriedly: "Times are different now, Commandant. We must observe proper laws. You cannot make your own. I am the representative of the law, duly appointed."

"Do you take sides with this creature against me?"

"There is the law, and it is a good one. I must fine you or put you in the jail."

Cornelius sneered: "And how much, under your British law, does it cost a burgher who chastises a son of Ham?"

Hercules made a show of consulting the loose Proclamation papers littering the table he used as a desk. "You admit you are guilty? There is a fine of five pounds for this offence."

"Five pounds! For flogging a Kaffir! Very well." Cornelius banged his whip down on the table, and pulled out his new cheque-book. He leant over the table and took the pen out of Hercules' hand and scrawled the required amount on the topmost cheque and then his signature. He tore the cheque off, flung it onto the table, and then picked up his whip and pointed it at Mhlapo's uncomprehending face. "Go back to the farm, Mhlapo," he said coldly, "and see that the coffee is ready by the time I return."

Mhlapo looked up at Hercules, received a nod of dismissal, and went out of the door followed by the heavy-sounding tread of his master's army boots.

Coffee was ready, served in a tin mug on a bench outside the ruined homestead when Cornelius rode back to Rhinosterspruit an hour or two later. Mhlapo was not visible, but his woman was and harshly Cornelius shouted to her, asking her where the Kaffir was. He had gone down to the spruit, she said, to fetch water in a bucket for the master.

Cornelius sipped the hot, unsweetened drink, and then at leisure filled his home-made pipe—the pipe he had carved out of some dark Indian wood in the Ceylon camp, and went to sit in the shade of the bluegums to think. Mhlapo, for all his new-found insolence was a good Kaffir. He had had him as a servant now for more than 30 years. He could remember in exact detail the raid on a Kaffir location near the Bechuanaland border when, after killing the men and firing the huts, he had claimed the child Mhlapo and 20 cattle as his share of the loot.

He had made a good choice. He had taught the boy well, seen him grow to manhood with his own two lost sons, and learnt to trust him with every part of the farm management and stock. He had tended him when he was sick, given him clothes and food, and once a calf when Mhlapo had taken a wife and needed cattle for the bride-price. His absolute faithfulness and loyalty had never been in doubt before the coming of the British. That visitation Cornelius looked upon as the eighth plague of Egypt, worse than the locusts, worse than the killing of the first-born. The thought of all the desolation spread about him came back like a black cloud over his mind, and unshed tears were in his eyes when a movement to his rear informed him that Mhlapo had returned.

He looked round and watched the Kaffir heavy-laden with two buckets go inside the walls of the house. When he emerged again Cornelius called to him, and spoke softly but sternly in rebuke for his perfidy in going to the village and reporting him to the verdomde hands-upper Hercules van der Merwe.

Mhlapo listened with downcast eyes. He seemed to be in a proper mood of contrition, and to make sure Cornelius stood and took him firmly by the elbow.

"It is no place for Kaffirs to speak evil against their masters, Mhlapo," he said. "You are not among the Lord's anointed, or how is it that your skin is black? The Bible is the Word of the

Lord, and in it is written: 'Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren'."

Mhlapo had heard these words before. But he had also heard many other words in the two years and more of his master's absence while he had worked for the white lords from over the sea.

His eyes down he ventured an answer. "But, Baas, it does not say in the Book that I am cursed because my skin is not white. The preacher with the red-coats said there is no curse upon us because we are black . . ."

"He lies!" shouted Cornelius. "It is in the Book and I have read it there a hundred times and heard it a hundred more times from my father and my father's father." He brought his whip down across Mhlapo's back with a power that doubled the black man up, and still holding him he thrashed him till his arm was tired.

Exhausted but restored in morale he let Mhlapo go and turned to march into the ruined farmhouse and wash his hands free of the taint of blackness that contaminated them.

Mhlapo was not about next morning, and only under the threat of violence did his woman tell Cornelius that he had trekked off towards the village again. The following day Cornelius received a new summons to appear before Hercules van der Merwe. This time he put his rifle into his saddle-pouch, and took a handful of bullets with him. It was just like old commando days, he thought as he jerked the reins of his horse, and turned its head towards the horizon beyond which the village lay.

When he strode into the tin shed of Hercules van der Merwe's office he found the magistrate at his table smoking a pipe of the molasses-sweetened Magaliesberg tobacco and deep in papers while Mhlapo squatted in a further corner patiently waiting to substantiate his charge.

The proceedings were informal and took little time. Cornelius did not deny that he had again flogged the Kaffir. The Kaffir was his servant and he had been insolent. His fierce eyes remained fixed on Mhlapo while Hercules van der Merwe repeated his warning of their previous meeting and the penalties for such an assault.

"What is it this time?" Cornelius interrupted sharply, tired of hearing the same words.

"I'm telling you. I could make it ten pounds, Commandant, but I'm letting you off with seven. Next time it will be ten."

"The next time I will shoot you, Hercules van der Merwe.

That is the next time between us."

"Are you going to pay?"

Cornelius wrenched out his cheque-book and wrote out the amount. He turned then to Mhlapo and spat out two words: "Hamba! Voertsek!" and without another look at Hercules van der Merwe walked outside to his horse, and straddled it to set off in pursuit of the trotting Mhlapo.

He soon passed him on the dirt track, but gave no sign that the Kaffir existed for him. When he reached the farmstead he sat down in the shade of the bluegums, lit his pipe, and waited sombrely for his servant to appear. After an hour and more a solitary figure moved over the brow of the hill and ten minutes later Mhlapo was within hailing distance. Cornelius let him come on, and when he saw the Kaffir swerving off in the direction of the cattle kraal to the west he called to him.

"Twice I have chastised you, Mhlapo," he said heavily, as he levered his body upright, and towered over his servant's drooping form. "And twice you have run away to that man who calls himself a magistrate in the village. It is time we understood each other, Mhlapo. It is time you learnt after thirty years who is your master—I, Cornelius de la Roux, or that renegade hands-upper down there who thinks he can preach the law to me. I am going to whip you, Mhlapo, because I am your master, and it is my right, and what are you going to do then?"

Mhlapo raised his eyes as far as the broad brass buckle of his master's belt and then dropped on his knees with arms half-raised in salute and also to protect his head against the downward blow that might fall any moment. "Baas, you are my only Baas. The Baas is killing me, but he is my Baas. That man, Baas Hercules, is nothing. When I go to him and complain the Baas comes and writes on a piece of paper and goes free. The Baas has many pieces of paper in his pocket. I have seen how big the Book is. I will not speak to Baas Hercules again."

# IN THE GOLD MINES

DR. B. W. VILAKAZI

*translated from the Zulu by*

A. C. JORDAN

*Acknowledgements to Amal'ezulu, Bantu Treasury Series No. VIII  
where the original 'Ezinkomponi' first appeared.*

Thunder away, machines of the mines,  
Thunder away from dawn till sunset;  
I will get up soon: do not pester me;  
Thunder away, machines. Heed not  
The groans of the black labourers  
Writhing with the pains of their bodily wounds,  
The air close and suffocating  
With the dirt and sweat of their bodies  
As they drain their hips till nothing is left.

Call aloud, old boy. It is far,  
It is far away where you were moulded,  
Where you roasted in the fire till you were strong;  
The coal remained; you were sent away,  
And we saw you cross the waters of the sea;  
You were borne overland by the engines of fire  
That puffed and glided to Goli here;  
You screamed one day, and all at once there appeared,  
There came rock-rabbits from all sides.

Those black rock-rabbits without tails  
You caught and stowed away in holes  
To own and milk as yielding cows.  
Whirl round and round, you wheels of iron;  
It was for us they brought you here;  
You were tied together against your will;  
To-day you thunder and strain unceasingly;  
See how some of your kind, now rusty and old,  
Have been cast away on the rubbish dumps.

As I pass along the road  
I turn around and watch,  
Wondering if you will ever give birth,  
Perchance increase. But no!  
Your brothers too go rusty  
Within the mine compounds;  
Their lungs go rusty and rusty,  
And they cough and they lie down and they die.  
But you irons, you never cough. I note and wonder why.

I have heard it said that in the hole  
There are tribes and tribes of the Black One;  
It is they who raise the great white mounds  
That astonish their black forebears.  
I have heard it said that on a certain day  
A siren shrieked, and a black field-mouse  
With mind all wrapped in darkness came;  
He was caught and changed into a mole,  
And he burrowed the earth and I saw the gold.

O yes, they burrowed, those burrowing moles,  
And the great white mounds appeared.  
Swelling from the ground and climbing and climbing  
Till to-day they top iSandlwana Mountain.  
I labour to the top, I wipe off the sweat,  
And from on high I see the piles  
Of fine white dust, fine dust arising  
From below my feet. I look around  
And I note that the piles block the earth around.

Thunder away, machines of the mines,  
Thunder loud and loud,  
Deafen with noise that we may not be heard  
Though we cry out aloud and groan  
As you eat away the joints of our bodies;  
Giggle and snigger, you old machines;  
It is well that you laugh and scorn our rage,  
For great is your power and fearful;  
You may do as you please: we succumb.

We agreed to leave our round-shaped huts,  
To be herded here like castrated males;  
We gave up our corn, *amasi* and milk,  
To live here on pap and porridge;  
All gone is our manhood: we are mere boys;  
We see that the world is upside down;  
We are woken at dawn, and we stand in a row;  
Where was it ever done to bury a man  
While he walks and sees with both his eyes?

Thunder away, machines of the mines,  
I am getting up, not chameleon-like,  
I will go beneath the earth,  
I will strike the rock with the boring rod;  
Even you above, though you hear not a sound,  
Will know that I strike with the white man's rod  
When you see the trucks coming laden high  
With the stones that are white and blue.

My brother too will come with me,  
The pick and the shovel on his shoulder,  
His heavy boots on his feet;  
He too will enter and follow me,  
Swallowed by the earth, we will burrow away;  
And if I should die right there beneath  
What matters it? Who am I at all?  
From dawn to dawn, O son of man;  
I see them stumble and tumble and die.

When I went beneath the earth,  
There were none of the giant mounds  
Whereat now I gaze and wonder;  
I carried my bundle to seek my home,  
But was hit in the face by cropless stalks,  
By empty huts and abandoned homes;  
I paused and scratched my head, puzzled;  
Where was my wife? My mothers-in-law?  
I was told they had gone to the white man,  
To the white man for whom I work.  
I shut my mouth and spoke not a word.

Thunder away, machines of the mines,  
 Though reaching me from far-away Dukathole<sup>1</sup>  
 (The—place—where—the—calf—goes—astray),  
 Your voices stab deep into my soul,  
 Tinkling and tinkling in my ears  
 Like the startling sound of a bell far away.  
 They bring to my mind the lofty homes,  
 The riches, and the rich ones whom I raised  
 To the beautiful house on high, while I stay here  
 Dripping, sweating, a lean dying ox.

Rumble softly, O machines;  
 Because the white man feels not for others,  
 Must you treat me as heartlessly too?  
 Thunder not so loud in the mines;  
 Be pleased to hear what we have to say  
 Lest we have nought to say for you  
 On that far-off day, that unknown day,  
 When it shall be said of you irons  
 That you are the slaves of us, black men.

Wait just a while, for feeble as I seem,  
 From these same little arms one day  
 There flew some fierce long-bladed spears  
 Which I hurled till the sun was darkened,  
 And the great Cow-elephant's<sup>2</sup> kingdom stirred  
 And Phewula's<sup>3</sup> children dwindled. I was robbed.  
 But still do I go on dreaming, son of Iron,  
 Dreaming that the land of my fathers' fathers  
 Comes back to the hands of the homeless Blacks.

To-day in the shadow of riches  
 I have nowhere to rest my body;  
 My fathers' fathers' land lies bare,  
 With no one to till it while I sit and stare;  
 What though I have the means to buy  
 And own once more my fathers' land,  
 I have no right to buy or own.  
 Look there, O Fathers above and below!  
 Can you not save me from such suffering?

<sup>1</sup> Germiston<sup>2</sup> Queen Victoria<sup>3</sup> Paul Kruger



They say deep down in the land of my fathers,  
In the land of spirits and spirits,  
You have powers that are not surpassed,  
That when you speak to the Great-Great-One,  
He does not regard the colour of the skin.  
My blood keeps falling on the ground,  
And cakes and clots in the burning sun.  
I toil and toil and pray to you,  
But no, you answer not a word.

Your land to-day and yesterday  
Is plundered by bands of robbers;  
It has fattened nations and nations,  
But I and the Black House of my fathers  
We have nothing, nothing.  
We come out of the hole and see the grass  
Fresh as the blue skies of heaven;  
We look around and call out aloud,  
Alas! You do not reply.

Thunder away, machines of the mines,  
My hands are throbbing with pain,  
My swollen feet are aching,  
But I cannot relieve the pain  
For the white man's cures call for money.  
Thunder away, but wake me not,  
Great things I have done for the whiteman chiefs,  
And now my soul weighs heavy on me.  
Rumble softly that I may sleep,  
Close my eyes and sleep on and on,  
Thinking no more of tomorrow and after,  
Sleep and wake up far away,  
Far away in the land of spirits and dreaming,  
Sleep and never wake again,  
But rest in the arms of my fathers' fathers  
Down in the fresh-green pastures of heaven.

# THE WEDDING PARTY

D. A. LEONARD

MINNIE NCGOBO and Pritchard were married in church on her afternoon off. Their fourth child was then almost two years old. Pritchard had at last given in to her nagging. He made a fuss at losing a day's pay, though.

After the ceremony Minnie went to her mother's house in the location to see her children and to tell everyone the good news. Pritchard had not come with her and she had not seen him since. She supposed he was spending a few days with friends, or with some new woman. He would turn up again, as usual. He kept his clothes in her room.

On the Monday morning following the ceremony, when Minnie was on her knees polishing the red stoep, she decided to give a wedding party. She became so excited that she called to her friend Sanna whom she could see moving about in the kitchen next door.

"Sanna, Sanna."

There was no response, only a clatter of crockery. Minnie sat up on her haunches. Her thin dress was tucked up, exposing her fat thighs.

"Hey you, Sanna," she shrilled. The clatter ceased. A thin anxious black face surmounted by a white maid's cap appeared at the kitchen window.

"Eh? What do you want. I'm busy. The old white cow is lying in bed calling for her breakfast. Oh, hurry Minnie, hurry. What do you want? What's happened?"

They both spoke in Zulu.

Minnie took her time to reply. She loved to tease Sanna who was most inquisitive and spent much of her time nosing out the gossip among the African servants in the suburban street.

Sanna leaned out of the window.

"Minnie," she begged. "Come, tell me. I can't wait. The eggs are almost ready ... Oh dear, the toast is burning." She vanished.

Her friend chuckled softly down inside her comfortable belly. She rubbed hard at a patch of polish, humming tunefully. She loved to sing hymns as she worked. Her voice was deep, like a man's. Life was good this morning. She was married ... married

now in church as the priest had told her. She was a step nearer heaven ...

"Hey, Minnie, You! Tell me ... ple-ase." Sanna was in the garden, leaning over the wire fence.

"It's nothing, really."—smearing another square of the stoep with polish. "I'll tell you later. Can't you see I'm busy?"

Sanna banged the bucket she was carrying against the fence. She bit her lower lip in vexation, turned and walked slowly down the path towards her room at the bottom of the garden.

Minnie watched her out of the corner of her eye. Sanna dawdled along but she did not turn round.

When the little maid reached her door, she put down the bucket and fumbled in her apron pocket for her key.

"Sanna, Sanna." No response. That key was hard to find, though. "Don't tell anyone. I'm having a party on Saturday night. It's my wedding party. It's a secret now. Will you come?" She paused. "Bring Phineas along also."

Her friend did not reply at once. Phineas was her lover. Minnie had been ogling him over the fence when he came from work in the evenings. And now, this invitation! She never troubled to hide her desire for men. Wedding party indeed!

"Thank you, my sweet, I'd love to come." She spoke in English. "I don't know about Phineas, though. I'll ask him tonight. You and he are strangers, so to speak." She banged her door behind her before Minnie could reply.

As Sanna made her bed she forgot her anger and danced with excitement.

"A party," she whispered. "A party. Oh, how lovely." She had to talk to someone. She leaned out of the window and called to Alfred sweeping the drive next door. "Alfred, Hey, you."

Alfred, immersed in the rhythm of his broom did not hear. He was not thinking, just sweeping ... sweeping. All the leaves and stones and loose sand had to move in a straight line down the drive.

"Alfred, do you hear me! Stop sweeping and listen to me." Her insistent voice eventually penetrated. He grunted and spat into a rose bush. He went on sweeping until the line of rubbish was straight again.

Sanna watched him in silence. He had heard her. She had swept too. She understood that she must wait. She became immersed in his sweeping ... sweeping the leaves and stones and the loose sand down the drive. She knew the importance of keeping the rubbish in a straight line.

Alfred straightened his tired back and wiped the sweat from his forehead as he leaned on the broom. He smiled at Sanna. "Ja, sweetie," he said cheerfully in English. "What you want? You change ya mind? I come t' ya room jus' now."

Sanna simpered.

"No ... the missus is here, anyway. No. Alfred, have you heard the news? Have you heard about Minnie?" She paused for effect.

"What ... she find 'nother man for husban'?" asked Alfred without any real interest. He lit a stompie behind his shielding hands.

"She ... she's going to have a party. Do you hear, a pa-arty for her wedding. Will you come? Don't tell anyone. She asked me not to. On Saturday night. I need a new dress."

A long pause.

"Would you like ... to take me to the party? I don't want ... think Phineas can come."

"I come jus' now. We can speak." Alfred exhaled a vast cloud of cigarette smoke. "I finish this sweep jus' now." He pinched off the burning end of the inch-long stompie, carefully put the remains in his shirt pocket, and began sweeping willingly.

As he swept he whistled the same six notes over and over, monotonously. Sanna watched him for a while. Soon she could see that he had forgotten her and the party. He was immersed once more in his sweeping, sweeping ... He would come to her room, though.

Sanna sighed as she turned from her window. She could hear her mistress calling from the house.

Within a few minutes of Minnie's confidential shout to Sanna, the news of the party had spread to the servants on both sides of the street. For the rest of the week, the street hummed with their gossip.

Everyone was sure of an invitation.... The burning question was, whom else would Minnie ask to come?

Of course, Samuel Phiri will be invited. Haven't you heard? He spends his nights in Minnie's room, so they say. Samuel's cousin is always with him. You know the tall delivery man at the grocer's, the one who wears the smart blazer with purple and green stripes ... and then there's that awful woman he goes about with, what's-her-name, who spends hours standing on the corner near the post office talking to him, smoking his cigarettes. Go on, you must have seen her. The one who looks so dirty in blue overalls ... They say she wears nothing underneath!

You men always notice such things. You'll probably want that slut from the corner house at the party, too. The way she leans over the gate with her breasts bulging, talking to every man who goes past.

Now, what about Sarah Nokwe? Minnie must invite her. She'll give class to the affair with her smart evening gown, and the handsome men with whom she goes to night clubs and all.

And food? What will we get to eat at the party? Mmm-m. Minnie's such a bad cook. You should hear her mistress screaming at her night after night. What dinners she must cook! If there's one thing a party needs, it's good food and drink. That Minnie never touches a drop. She's a good church woman, you see. She likes her men ... but there's never liquor in her room.

Minnie, unaware of the excitement she was causing, continued to plan her party in secret, for she had to leave out many friends, and she did not want to hurt anybody's feelings. Of course she did not want her mistress to know.

She wanted her party to be really grand, rather like those she read about in the illustrated papers. Money was her real problem. After paying her mother for the children, and giving her mistress her monthly instalment on the cast off clothes she had bought, only fifteen shillings remained of her wage of six pounds, and that was after she had told Sanna she would have to wait for the ten shillings she owed her. She hoped Pritchard would turn up. She was even prepared to ask him to the party if he had any money.

Pritchard turned up alright, exhausted, with a tremendous hangover and ... broke. He had not been to work for some days and had come home to recuperate. He had probably lost his job. When Minnie asked him for money he flew into a rage and retired to bed where he lay grumbling and smoking, and sometimes snoring, for the whole of Thursday and Friday.

The great day dawned. Minnie left Pritchard asleep and went into the kitchen early to bake a cake before her mistress got up. At noon, Pritchard, who had not been invited to the party, disappeared without a word. He left the room fetid with smoke, the floor littered with cigarette ends. The mistress still lay, stretching lazily in her pink bedroom, with the telephone almost continuously at her ear.

Minnie slipped out of the house with a basket on her arm. She was a comic figure as she hurried along with her heavy breasts dancing slowly and sensuously to the rhythm of her waddling walk and the two parts of her big bottom moving separately.

Alfred halted his whirring lawnmower, stared after her with his straw hat tilted over his eyes and spat contemplatively. Dorothy from across the road leaned too far out of the window she was cleaning and almost overbalanced.

Pieter Dhlamini, perched on a step ladder as he trimmed a hedge, was in the right position to look into her basket as Minnie returned, bustling past him without stopping for her usual chat. He called a quick inventory to Gwendoline dusting in the lounge ... a loaf of white bread, about a dozen minerals, packets of tea and biscuits, and several paper bags.

Dorothy awaited Minnie further along, standing across the path.

"Hullo, you Minnie. What's the hurry? Been shopping, I see. What can the white woman want with all those cheap drinks, eh? Is she giving a party ... er, to some Africans, perhaps?"

As she spoke Dorothy put her hand into the basket. Minnie edged away with a smile.

"Yes," she said, "these things are for the white woman. She sent me to buy them. How should I know what she wants them for? Perhaps you should ring the front door bell and ask her yourself."

Minnie tried to push past but Dorothy did not give way. The basket spilled. There was a crash and several broken bottles lay in the stone gutter with their contents trickling into a patch of thirsty sand. A packet of sweets lay strewn over the pavement, multicoloured on the brown soil. "Oh Minnie, I am sorry," said Dorothy, immediately contrite, going down on her knees. She helped pick up the sweets and threw the broken glass into the grass.

"My, I hope the white woman isn't cross," she mocked, in high spirits once again, as Minnie closed the gate behind her.

The guests began to arrive while Minnie was still washing the dinner dishes.

As each person came softly down the lane outside the kitchen window, they greeted her in hushed tones and went on to sit in her room. Minnie waited until her employers drove out of the gates on their way to the cinema, then she went eagerly down the dark garden towards the slit of light which shone between the warped boards of her door.

Sitting amid the cheerful chattering of her friends, she looked about her with a satisfied smile. Everything looked so nice. She had polished the stone floor and it glowed redly in the dull light of a candle standing in a cracked blue saucer. Her white bedspread, newly-washed, and with her big pillows propped at one end

served as a table on which she had set out the party food.

There were the sweets, multicoloured on a dish from which one of the two ornamental scrolls was broken. She had rescued the dish from the dustbin. There were sandwiches and biscuits set out on plates. In the centre was a large cake with green icing and pink roses.

Everyone settled down on the floor and on the several wooden boxes used as chairs. Conversation was lively but hushed for the white people must not be disturbed. They ate large slices of cake washed down with minerals swigged from the bottles. The room was filled with the hoarse songs of scratched gramophone records which Minnie played. She snuggled down on the floor as close as she could to Phineas who sat sensuously warm between her and Sanna. The two women pressed him so that he was barely able to lift his bottle to drink.

Emma, Minnie's sister, young and plump and smiling in her yellow dress, sat sedately beside her boy friend on a box, as befitted a couple who lived together in marriage.

Willie, the chemist's delivery man, held the stage with a fund of stories of the customers to whom he made deliveries. He was showing off to Elizabeth from the flats in town. She was a smart young lady, with a long white cigarette holder held elegantly between her fingers. She was amused by Willie's clumsy attentions and flirted with him to relieve her boredom. These people were not her type. She sighed for one, only one, of the smart young men of her social set who moved in the servants quarters of the luxury flats. How her friend Minnie had changed since she left town for a suburban house.

Old aunt Magdalena, in an ankle-length grey dress and a black doek, sat huddled in a broken grass chair which had been brought in from the garden, with a black shawl over her shoulders. She was bored too but she made no sign save for a barely concealed grimace as she swallowed a few mouthfuls of mineral water.

The music from the gramophone and the hum of happy people wafted across the garden to where Alfred stood disconsolate at the dark door of Sanna's room. The sounds from Minnie's room reminded him. Of course, Sanna was at the party.

He slipped quietly through a hole in the fence and found himself in the midst of a group of dark figures who had entered the garden from the neighbouring plots over the fences. They were moving silently save for a faint clanking towards Minnie's door.

Someone knocked and Minnie opened the door cautiously to investigate.

Samuel Phiri stood before her with a gallon of homemade beer in a tin. Dorothy from across the road had her arms around his neck. She too carried a share of liquor—most of it inside her. She wore a low-cut emerald green dress and a white turban.

“Good evening, Minnie,” shouted Samuel shaking off the encircling arms. He had a soft spot for Minnie but had never had the chance he desired. “Look, we’ve come to your wedding party.”

“Oh, Minnie,” the others shouted gaily. “Look, we’ve come to your party.” They crowded round her with their tins of liquor and some plates of food.

Within a few minutes everyone had a drink, some in cups, others in jamtins. There was no more formality. People lounged upon the crumpled bedspread. The pillows made comfortable seats upon the red floor, now littered with ash and stompies. The party overflowed into the garden and a group formed on the grass beside the room.

Minnie was frightened by this mass invasion. She begged them to keep quiet. No one listened.

“What can the white people do to us—send us to jail, if they catch us. We won’t worry. Smile, Minnie ... laugh. Here, have a cup of beer. Not drink? Nonsense, you drink it up. It’s good medicine against the white people. Come on, now ... drink!”

They stood around her in a teasing crowd which cheered loudly as she downed the first beer. It soon had an effect, and she accepted a second cup ... and then another....

Soon she was the leading spirit of the party, urging more and yet more beer on her guests.

Minnie began the first jive in the dark garden, singing in her deep voice, still dressed in her white overall and maid’s cap. She stumbled over the dust bin and clapped her hands when Pieter Dhlamini threw it over the fence into the next garden. The others joined in until the garden was filled with a dark jumble of grotesque dancers who sang and danced, and clapped and capered and whirled.

The gramophone was drowned in the frenzy.

“Pieter Dhlamini. We want Pieter Dhlamini and his guitar,” they cried. Pieter vaulted the fence and returned with his guitar. With him and dressed in a startling blue suit and a red bow tie was his friend Joe Mohale with his saxophone.

After a couple of introductory cups of beer, the little band set out to provide music for the dancers, who had not stopped at all.



Sanna stood on one side, her thin face tight with jealousy as she watched Phineas who had danced with Elizabeth throughout. They had taken to one another immediately. She had discarded her cigarette holder and danced intently with a cigarette end, from which the lighted end had been brushed, glued to her lower lip. The moving pair quite hypnotised Sanna as she strained her eyes in the dark to follow them, with the haunting fear that they would vanish into the garden. As she stood there Alfred, who had been busy quenching his great thirst, staggered up and put his arms around her.

He said, smiling at her. "Le's go t' ya room jus' now, sweetie."

They danced off into the crowd and soon stumbled across the flower beds towards the hole in the fence.

There was a sudden fanfare on the saxophone, accompanied by a furious strumming on the guitar. Aunt Magdalena stood up on her chair in the doorway, waving her arms.

"Friends," she shrieked. "Come here. Stop dancing and come over here."

A few of the dancers realised that the music had stopped and gathered round the old woman. She stood swaying slightly, bending forward from the waist, with her head on one side, as she spoke.

"Friends! I want to wish our Minnie luck. My dear niece Minnie who is now married. I remember her as a little girl sent to me by her mother who went to work.... We lived on a farm ... and then I married William.... and then...." By this time the crowd had lost interest and dwindled to nothing. The band began to play once more. The old woman looked in a bewildered way at the gaily whirling throng. She sat down and some one gave her a beer. She drank slowly, gratefully, tapping her right foot to the music and rocking gently back and forth, a smile on her wrinkled face.

As the party continued, Minnie grew wilder. She lost Samuel Phiri with whom she was dancing. He had decided to make this his night and would not let Minnie out of his sight. It was some time before she realised she was dancing alone. She weaved clumsily through the moving throng seeking Samuel, swinging her great body in erratic lunges and plunges which caused confusion among the dancers, calling him in a series of deep-voiced wails. She found him at last, whooped with joy and almost smothered him in her embrace.

As they stood together, the lights of a motor car swept the garden from the gate.

Someone shouted. "Look out! The police."

The music trailed into silence punctuated by the beat of the motor as the car moved slowly up the drive.

Dark figures hurried in all directions, avoiding the searching beams. Within a few seconds Minnie stood alone. She was confused by the glare of the headlights, puzzled at being alone.

"Samuel ... Samuel," she wailed in her deep voice.

There was no reply. The car had driven behind the house. Silence and the blackness of night enveloped ... Crunch..crunch. crunch. Someone was trudging up the drive, still near the gate.

A dark figure came towards her ... then another ...

"Is that you, Minnie?" asked the master.

"Yes, master."

"Is anything the matter?"

"No, master."

"Alright—but I thought I heard a noise as we came in the gate."

"What noise did the master hear?"

"Never mind now, Minnie. It's late. Breakfast at eight ... The master is playing golf. Do you hear me, Minnie?" The mistress sounded irritable. What was the matter with the girl! "Good night, Minnie."

"Good night, madam ... master."

Minnie walked carefully across the grass towards her room. She stumbled against a tin on the path. It overturned filling her one shoe with beer.

"Hey you, Minnie. Is that you?" Pritchard's voice sounded thick, as though he had been drinking again. He had come up the drive. "What's the matter here—a fight?"

"No ... oh nothing. Never mind". She yawned and opened her door. Someone breathed stertorously from the bed.

A match flared as Pritchard lit the candle. Aunt Magdalena lay asleep in the bed.

Pritchard stumbled towards Minnie. As he caught her, she fell with him on to the pillows on the floor.

The candle flickered and smoked in the blue saucer.

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