

**Land
And
National
Oppression
by
Dr. G.H. Gool**

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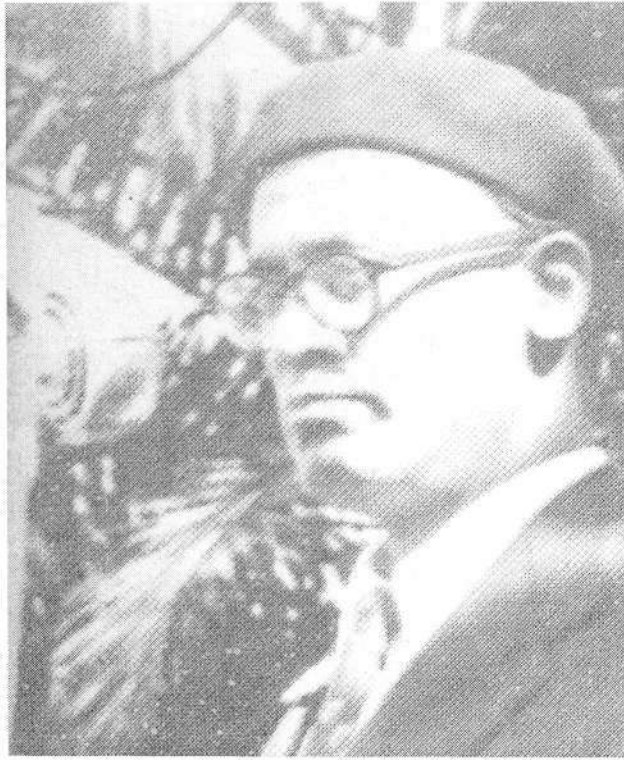
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Dr Gool addressing a mass meeting in the Grand Parade in Cape Town in 1952 when the Unity Movement called for a rejection and boycott of the Tercentenary Celebrations of the arrival of Jan Van Riebeeck on to the shores of South Africa. The boycott was almost 100% successful.

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON Dr GOOLAM GOOL

About ten years ago, the idea was mooted that we publish political writings by Dr Gool, in particular his brilliant paper “Land and National Oppression.” We discussed funding for the project and asked Comrade Minnie Gool, his sister, to make a contribution. Comrade Minnie would in such circumstances generate funds by selling the vegetables she grew and the savouries she baked. She gave us her contribution which we placed in our general funds. As it turned out we got caught up with other activity and did not proceed with the publication of his writings.

Comrade Minnie never did tax us about our unfulfilled undertaking.

Undertakings are meant to be carried out. We produce his paper in part fulfillment of our undertaking to Comrade Minnie. More importantly, the publication pulls out from underneath the dusty piles of forgotten manuscripts Dr Gool’s “Land and National Oppression”. It is common knowledge that often gems and masterpieces are rescued from such piles.

Dr. Gool’s “Land and National Oppression” is one such gem. It is a reflection of the high standard of analysis and theoretical understanding by the leadership of the Unity Movement of the fundamental problems confronting the oppressed people of this country.

The land question in South Africa is very far from being resolved. It remains very much at the heart of the deep and passionate desires of a large section of our country. And for as long as that remains analyses like “Land and National Oppression” will retain its vitality and relevance.

ABOUT DR GOOLAM GOOL

His full name was Goolam Hoosen Gool. He studied medicine in England. While there, he relates how excited he and friends were about the activities of the Industrial and Commercial Workers’ Union (ICU) in 1927.

On returning to South Africa as a qualified medical doctor in the early 1930s, Dr Gool plunged into political activity. He was one of the founders of the National Liberation League (NLL) and occupied the highest leadership position with his sister-in-law Mrs Cissy Gool and La Guma.

Together with his sister, Jane Gool and her partner, I.B. Tabata , Dr. Gool joined the Workers’ Party of South Africa and the Spartacus Club. The members of these organisations engaged in a lengthy programme of intensive study of politics in all its ramifications. They emerged from this programme of study as

South Africa's leading political thinkers and analysts. They were the new breed of highly talented Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries committed to liberation, socialism and proletarian internationalism. They in turn trained and politicised an entire generation of intellectuals. They like their proteges were renowned for being able to give an instant knowledgeable exposition of a wide range of topics – philosophy, political science, economics, history, anthropology, education, jurisprudence and the like..

It was this group of highly trained and dedicated revolutionaries which made a strong appeal to the young intellectuals from amongst the so-called Coloured population. Of this group, the most charismatic of them all was Dr. Gool. Because of his warm and friendly attitude to people, especially to the youth, Dr. Gool attracted large numbers of people to the new and radical organisations which were born in the late thirties and early forties.. One such person was the late Alie Fataar. On an occasion of a memorial lecture following the death of Dr. Gool, Comrade Fataar related how on passing his matric examination in the early 1940s he was presented a book on some aspect of the Chinese Revolution. It was a book he had greatly treasured. On hearing of the death of Dr. Gool, he brought it out from hiding to look at it and at the written inscription by Dr. Gool.

- Dr. Gool was the first president of the National Anti-Cad in 1943 and remained so until its last public conference in 1954.
- He was elected the Vice President of the Non European Unity Movement and remained so until its seventh conference in 1951.
- He was one of the founders of the All African Convention in 1935 and remained in close association with it until 1953. It was the writer's good fortune to be present at Queenstown where a conference of the All African Convention was held in 1953. Dr. Gool took an active role in that conference, including delivering a paper. The young activists at that conference were deeply impressed by his contribution and have regarded it as an unforgettable experience.

Dr. Gool executed his functions in these organisations with great skill, finesse and dignity. The minutes of the conferences of the Non European Unity Movement and the National Anti-Cad, though not verbatim, still give a good indication of the deliberations and how the conferences were skillfully navigated by Dr Gool to a proper conclusion.

Dr Gool was widely known in South Africa. He found the time to leave his busy practice and travel to various parts of the country doing political work. He toured Natal in 1943 at the invitation of the Anti Segregation Council. Meetings were held in large and small centres. The oppressed people in Dundee attended their first political meeting in 1943 which was addressed by Dr Gool.

He toured Natal again after the second bout of racial pogroms against the Indian people in 1951-2.

He was a well known public figure and "The Leader" one of the oldest weekly newspapers in Natal wrote about him and his wife, Halima, from time to time.

In 1960, when the Indian community was divided on whether or not to celebrate the 100 years of the arrival of the first Indians in South Africa, Dr. Gool handed over to us in Durban a valuable file of cuttings mostly from the "Hindustan Times" which dealt with the split and break between Gandhi and Subhas Chandra Bose. He believed that an understanding of the basis of the split would strengthen the position of those who called for a boycott of the celebrations. Those cuttings were of greater value because they were sent to him by Bose. The two had been in communication with one another. Sadly, that file was lost, having been too well hidden from the Security Police!

Dr. Gool died leaving very little by way of material assets. He shared generously the income he derived from his busy practice. The Movement always found him a generous donor. He had given it large sums of money. He considered this as no more than part of his contribution to the struggle.

As talented and dynamic he was as a leader, a thinker, an organiser, an orator and a writer, he was sadly marked for an early rendezvous with death. Today there is a great debate whether depression causes heart attacks and whether it should be treated in the same way as other high risk factors like smoking, lack of exercise, stress, bad eating habits etc. In Dr. Gool's case, there was no debate. He was killed by a heart attack in 1962 when he was just 56 years old!

In twenty years of his active involvement in the struggle he accomplished more than would have taken others a life time to accomplish.

It is with great honour and pride that we present to you the lecture "Land and National Oppression."

LAND AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION

by

Dr. G.H. Gool

I hope that the purpose of these lectures to SOYA is not merely an academic exercise; on the contrary they should provide our youth with a healthy approach to the problem of National Oppression. The struggle for Freedom, both of the individuals and of society is a painful process. Many promising movements in South Africa collapsed, despite the heroism, the sacrifice and the devotion of the masses to their leaders. I believe that this aspect of our past leadership will be dealt with in a subsequent lecture, so I shall not dwell upon it.

Before dealing with the subject of my lecture, we must in the first place be clear in our minds as to how human society has developed. The history of this development has been a history of the succession of various systems of economies, *each operating in accordance with its own laws*. From the economic bases arise the laws, the religions, the arts, the moralities, etc., and not the other way around. The law does not create the economic base, neither does the religion, the morality nor the arts. In the slow but constantly ascending scale, the decisive factor has been *Economic Science*. In other words, it is *what man does and how he acts*, and not what he himself may *think* about his actions. At the base of Society is not Religion, Morality and Law, but *Nature and Labour*. The relentless and bitter struggle of man with nature over millions of years forced him to learn from nature, and from nature to fashion better and better tools as he rises higher and higher to a greater conquest of Nature. The yield from nature becomes progressively greater. I feel that scientific terms should become familiar to our young people. The greater yield from nature is called Increased Labour Productivity. The products of nature become less and less dependent on a chance act, but are the direct result of man's active intervention on nature. The products are the *conscious* act of Man on Nature, and less the blind unconsciousness of nature.

At this stage I feel it is important to point out that the evolution of human society did not take place in a straight line, i.e. that the various stages of Savagery, Barbarism, City States, Feudalism, Capitalism and Socialism did not follow hard on each other's heels. On the contrary, the natural law, the norm, has been that it was characterised by unevenness and accompanied by violent explosions. The highest form of capitalist development in Northern America followed the American tribal economy. Again, the Russian Soviet economy displaced through revolution an early form of capitalist production

with a heavy agrarian backwardness; and the same holds good for Communist China. This is how history moves, unevenly and violently.

Now let us discuss briefly the contemporary capitalist economy. It produced profound changes in the relationship of human beings. Not only did it uproot and destroy the old primitive tribal economies, with its old inherited modes of labour, but it also shattered the pastoral-agricultural economies such as those of the old Trek Boer Republics. Revolutionary changes took place in the economic field. Cities, villages, provinces and nations were solidly linked together. The new division of labour went even further; it encompassed the world. The old traditions and routines of the past economic system were swept into the dustbin of history, never to rise again. As we said in the opening part of our address, *the particular economic needs* shattered the old tradition and the old routine. The new economic needs developed human consciousness and human forethought. It was not human consciousness and human forethought that determined the economic needs of a particular society. As an illustration let us move to the South African scene. When the British took possession of the Cape Colony, the area was 60,000 square miles. The Dutch population was 26,000. There were 1/4 million Abatwa and Khoi-Khoi slaves, as well as an extra 30,000 slaves forced into service from Malaya, Java and elsewhere. The particular economic system prevailing was chattel slavery. It denied the ownership of land, the hire and the purchase of land by the Abatwa, Khoi-Khoi and others. The laws were the proclamations which regulated the employment of these slaves by the Dutch. Chattel slavery determined the law in the proclamations. Now you are all aware that the economic system from which the British invaders came was of a higher order. To introduce this new economy and to make it work it was first of all indispensable that the slave labour force which operated within chattel slavery be forcibly wrested. Now the British introduced an Ordinance called 50, 1828, which superficially sounds very liberal and humanitarian. This Ordinance was enacted not for liberal and humanitarian motives but for the particular labour requirements of the new economy. Let me quote you a section of the preamble of this Ordinance:

'Whereas certain laws relating to and affecting the Hottentots and other free persons of colour residing in this colony require to be consolidated, amended and repealed, and certain obnoxious usages and customs which are injurious to these persons require to be declared illegal and discontinued.

Again, Section 2 of the Ordinance

'That by usage and custom, Hottentots and other persons of Colour have been subjected to certain restrictions as to their residence, mode of life and employment, and to certain compulsory services which others of His Majesty's subjects are not liable, demands the removal of

this compulsory service, and any hinderance, molestation, fine and imprisonment and punishment of any kind inflicted under the pretence that such persons have been guilty of vagrancy or any other offence, unless after trial in due course. '

Section 2 removes all doubt as to the competency of "Hottentots" and other free persons of colour to purchase or possess land in the Colony.

Section 4:

'Provides for the protection of ignorant or unwary Hottentots, etc. from the effects of improvident contracts of service.'

This Ordinance was confirmed on 15th January 1829, declaring:

'That all Hottentots and other free persons of colour lawfully residing in the Colony, are and shall be in most full and ample manner entitled to all and every, the rights, privileges and benefits of the LAW to which any other of His Majesty's subjects are or can be entitled.'

The important thing is to see the economic reason for this law, and to strip it of all its liberal, humanitarian and hypocritical trimmings. We must train our youth early to see the basic economic needs of the law and not to be misled and deceived by the sanctimonious phraseology. It is precisely here that our past leaders floundered, mistaking the language of the hypocrites and not realising the economic needs of the latter. They were side-tracked by this show of altruism without entering into a consideration of the basic needs of the society and the class that dominated that society. Let me repeat again: it is not Herrenvolk human consciousness and ingenuity that determines the economics, but it is economics that determines herrenvolk human consciousness and ingenuity.

One of the primary functions of the Liberals, most of whom have a legal training, and who are drawn from the most articulate and .most conscious section of the Herrenvolk, is to hide the *real aims* of the Herrenvolk and to clothe the law in such language for the purpose of deceiving the oppressed leadership. It is not accidental that South African history books are written by so-called Liberals: Macmillan, de Kiewiet, Eric Walker and others. They would like us to believe that the great Trek of the Boers to the North was because they were hostile to the so-called liberal policy of the British. Actually it was the illiberal use of gunpowder of the new economy that forced the Boers North. Again we must understand that no new economic system comes into being quietly and unostentatiously, while the older retires graciously. The old economy is displaced violently. The change-over from the chattel slavery practised by the Trek-Boer republics to the modern capitalist economy was a murderous process.

The Cape - 1836

Municipal boards were created in the Cape in towns and villages in 1836 and due to the flight of the Boers, the British enlisted the more educated members of the Non European people. Persons of colour participated from the outset (Ordinance 9, 1836) in the elections of Commissioners and ward-masters, and a few years after the promulgation of the Cape Town Ordinance, a person of colour was elected as a ward-master, a highly responsible administrative position.

We must understand that the Cape was a mere half-way house to the riches in India and the Far East. The Cape ports supplied the ships with fresh meat, vegetables, fruit and water. The developing exports at the Cape Colony were mainly wine in the Western area and wool in the Eastern Province. Wheat was coming from the O.F.S. The wars of land dispossession against the Africans were sporadic; the labour requirements were limited, and mainly centred around these activities. And therefore the law was liberal.

The constitutional position in the Cape in 1871 was not based on colour but on class: (a) qualification for membership of the Upper House would be property valued at £1000 free from encumbrances; (b) qualification for franchise of both upper and lower houses was occupation for 12 months of a house valued at £25, without distinction of class or colour.

The Trek Boer Republics of Transvaal and O.F.S., of course, adhered to their old policy of **"No equality between Black and White in Church or State"** precisely because they were still carrying an economy of chattel slavery. Now in Natal, the British colony, the fact that the sub-tropical belts could hold sugar-cane, which became a very flourishing industry, operated through the technique of capitalist economy and demanding a large labour force, introduced the first statutory political colour-bar by a colonial legislature in South Africa through the Law II, 1865. Africans by Royal instructions (1848) were subjected to SPECIAL LAWS, and were excluded from the operation of GENERAL LAWS. This was the Constitutional position before the discovery of diamonds and gold. As we said, the Wars of Dispossession against the African people were of a desultory nature. Large tracts of land were still in the possession of the African people, and even if they destroyed the whole basis of tribalism, what on earth would they do with all the available labour from the shattered tribal economy?

Another very striking example of herrenvolk consciousness and forethought with regard to their economic needs happened in Natal before the discovery of gold and diamonds; the subtropical coast-belt of Natal was found suitable for the growing of cane-sugar. In Mauritius already it was a flourishing industry. Cane-sugar was to become king in the Natal Legislative Council. The real labour, the cheap African labour, was not yet available as the

African still managed to earn a livelihood from the land. Cheap labour was their urgent requirement. They were prepared to look for it anywhere under the sun. In 1864 was started the Indian indentured labour system which supplied their needs. Here is a letter written from the office of Sir George Grey, 1860, to the Indian government:

I am directed by His Excellency, Sir George Grey, who has lately returned from Natal, to request that you submit to the Governor-General-In Council, his views with regard to the importance of permission being granted by the government of India to the immigration of labourers from that country to Natal. . .

'There are some further features of the country to which His Excellency would call the attention of the Council in India, not only because they present peculiar advantages to the immigrant coolie, but because a reference to them will anticipate a question that may occur to the Council as to the need for the imported coolie labour, when there is so large a body of Native labourers in and on the borders of the Colony.

'There are a large number of Natives grouped today and called Zulus, who have been driven by the tyranny of their chiefs to take refuge in Natal, under the benevolent protection of organised government established there. A considerable proportion of these are by no means disinclined to labour or unwilling to render it to the planters, but *upon their own terms and at their own times*. These men *possess land for which they pay no rent* and they are settled with their families among their countrymen, in locations where they cultivate for their own maintenance, for the supply of markets, and from which they are unwilling to remove *permanently* in order to take *regular employment*. They are ready to work for 2 to 3 months at a time, but insist upon returning to their locations and the planters can never count upon them again at any definite time. *Such irregular and unskilled labour* does not suit the planter and jeopardises the success of all his undertakings. *He requires the continuous labour of the same individual, or at least, as a very imperfect substitute, the means of replacing with certainty and without delay the labour of which he is deprived from month to month*. Hence the demand for imported labour of a description and under an arrangement which will enable proprietors to count upon a regular and continuous service. . .'

This was the immediate policy, we shall call it the short-term policy, to satisfy the immediate requirements through cheap indentured Indian labour.

The long-term policy was directed towards cheap African labour which could not yet be obtained. The first step was that the Law II, 1865, was introduced, which laid down the first statutory political colour-bar enacted by a colonial legislature in a British Colony in Sotuh Africa. Already the Africans by Royal instructions, 1848, were, however, subjected to special laws and had not yet

been brought under the operations of the general laws. The vicious Law II, 1865, was specially directed to exclude the Africans, who although they had the necessary qualifications, were still governed by the special laws of 1848. The Africans were put outside the pale of society as the first step towards enacting land acts that would eventually force them through starvation from the land. The Indians did-not fall under these special laws. The 1856 Natal Charter made it a qualification which entitled a person to vote for a member or become a member of the legislative council, that he should be above 21 years of age and possess immovable property to the value of £50 or rent any such property to the value of £10 per annum. This Charter excluded the Africans but included the Coloureds and Indians of Natal.

Besides the land acts that were driving the Africans off the land, punitive military expeditions were also used when there were signs of resistance. Soon a steady stream of cheap African labour from the land flowed into the Natal sugar estates. Immediately they were certain that the stream of African labour would be continuous, they introduced Law II, 1896, which reads:

'By which persons shall not be entitled to become registered voters, who, not being of European origin, are Natives or descendents in the male line of countries which have not hitherto possessed the electoral franchise.'

It was directed especially against the Indians who before had been registered voters. As we have said, this is a very striking example of laws flowing from labour requirements. Very soon, in 1924, the Indians lost the municipal vote in Natal.

Another illuminating illustration comes from Nosipho Majeke's "The Role of the Missionaries in Conquest", from which we now quote at some length: (pages 2 to 5)

"Wilberforce - Oppressor and Liberator"

'Let us take a look at Wilberforce with a view to learning something more about this group, whom he represents. The curious thing is that the would-be liberator of the colonial slaves and the sponsor of missionary activity throughout the British Empire, was a thorough reactionary and supported the Government in its repressive legislation against the British workers. He was an enemy of the workers. He supported the Corn Laws, by which the landowners taxed the bread of the poor, and the Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800, which made trade unions illegal. At this time the English rulers were greatly afraid that the liberatory ideas of the Great French Revolution would stir the English workers to revolt. 'Scratch a trade unionist and you will find a Jacobin,' they said, and those workers who combined to resist exploitation were condemned as agitators. Wilberforce denounced these trade unions as 'a general disease in our society. 'When

the people demanded the franchise and the repeal of these oppressive laws, he supported the notorious Six Acts which denied them political rights, freedom of speech or criticism of any kind; under the Seditious Meetings Bill, all assemblies aiming at 'changes in the Church or State', were declared illegal, and the penalty under any of these Acts was imprisonment without trial, or transportation or death. It is noteworthy that in the same year the British Parliament voted a million pounds for the building of churches. How, then, could a man be both liberator and oppressor?

“In one of his humanitarian speeches about the West Indian slave, Wilberforce referred by contrast to the ‘free British labourer.’ It was an unfortunate phrase, for the condition of the working class in England during this period has been well documented. England was becoming a great industrial power and was building up her empire and her trade. The classes who possessed power in the state were the rising industrialists and the landowners, who understood by government the protection of their power and their property. They abhorred any demands on the part of the workers that stood in the way of the unlimited development of their industries and the accumulation of their wealth. In other words, their attitude to the workers at home was similar to the attitude of the slave owner to the slaves abroad. Could they then be both liberators and oppressors? Under the juggernaut of expanding capitalism men, women and children worked under appalling conditions in the factories, in the mines and in the crowded, insanitary city slums, so that they seemed to be a race of degraded, brutalised human beings.

"Now those industrialists who supported the missionary movement and the emancipation of the slaves at the same time expressed great concern about the morals of the 'lower orders', as they called the workers. The Evangelical Movement became fashionable. When some ungodly employers objected to their encouragement of Sunday observance among the poor because it meant loss of labour one day out of every week, the Evangelicals pointed out that it was to their own advantage to have a religious and obedient body of workers. In the moral and religious control over the masses they saw the best guarantee for law and order. Wilberforce, in his pamphlet, '**A Practical View of the System of Christianity**', made this point quite clear. Christianity, he indicated, teaches the poor to be diligent, humble, patient and obedient, and to accept their lowly position in life. It

makes the inequalities between themselves and the rich less galling because, under the influence of religious instruction, they endure the injustices of this world in the hope of a rich reward in the next. It is significant that Wilberforce remarked to the Prime Minister, Pitt, whose government had passed the Six Acts and other oppressive legislation, that this particular section of his pamphlet was 'the basis of all politics'.

"This, then, was the outlook of the sponsor of the missionary activity throughout the British Empire. He was the spokesman of the English middle class. The picture serves to illuminate the social system, the civilisation, which these industrialists upheld with all their might and from which their so-called humanitarian movements sprang. When we see them describe as an expression of the new spirit of LIBERALISM, we must be clear as to what this liberalism was. Briefly stated, liberalism, with its ideas of liberty and equality, supplied the ideological weapons with which the English middle-class in the 17th century and the French middle class in the late 18th century threw off the shackles of feudalism and established capitalism. This freedom and equality, while they had been useful slogans for rallying the workers to assist the middle class to achieve victory, turned out to be valid only for the man of property, the industrialists and merchants, not for the workers. Likewise, the 'emancipation' of the colonial slave, together with christianising him, had nothing to do with his liberation, but on the contrary, his enslavement. It was part of a world-wide historical moment, the expansion of capitalism. New methods of production demanded a new relationship between those who laboured and those who profited by that labour. The worker was now 'free' to sell his labour to one master or another, in order to exist. In other words he became a wage-slave. This served the interests of the industrialists better than the serf or slave who was tied to the land. Witness the situation in England where Wilberforce and his fellow '**Saints**' (as they were ironically called) were making speeches for the emancipation of the slaves. Steam and machinery had revolutionised industrial production; workers were streaming into the towns; the wheels of the industrial machine were turning faster and faster. Britain, well on the way to defeating her French and Dutch rivals in the colonies, was rapidly expanding her trade. She was searching for new markets, new raw materials, and a mass of new workers. The time for the old slave system was past. It had yielded great riches, but the new system and the new slave would yield even grosser riches. It was a search that made Britain - and her rivals - send their agents all over the world.

"This in the womb of the so-called humanitarian movements of the early 19th century. It is against this background of vast economic forces that the influx of missionaries to the colonies acquires meaning. The missionaries came from a capitalist christian civilisation that unblushingly found religious sanctions for inequality, as it does to this day, and whose ministers solemnly blessed its wars of aggression. Men like Wilberforce had visions of extending this civilisation to the ends of the earth. They saw themselves as the chosen race.

"Britain had many agents of conquest, great and small, official and unofficial, conscious and unconscious: the military, the explorer, and the farmer-colonist; the missionary and the petty trader as well as the adventurer, the impoverished artisan or the vagabond - there was room for

all of them. Some acted blindly in self-interest, while others, like Dr Philip, Superintendent of the London Missionary Society, were fully conscious of what they stood for.

"Yet the humblest and most well-meaning saver of souls, though he may never have seen the inside of an English factory where children died to enrich the English industrialist, nevertheless obeyed, like all the others, the laws of expanding capitalism. The middle classes knew when and how to make use of all their agents in their time and place."¹

Diamonds and Gold

The discovery of gold and diamonds revolutionized the whole scene. The hunger for labour to feed the mines was insatiable, and every inch of land still held by the Africans had to be taken from them, if not by force, then by cunning and stealth. We see an intensification of the Wars of Dispossession, and men of the calibre of Grey had to be enlisted, specially sent for by Cecil Rhodes. We are familiar with the words of Cecil Rhodes, the King of the mine magnates, who, while riding through the reserves and territories and beholding the great number of Africans there, was profoundly moved: "What a source of labour!" And again, during the introduction in the Cape Parliament of the Glen Grey Bill, 1896, he made his notorious remarks:

"It must be brought home to every black man that in the future nine-tenths of them will have to spend their lives in daily labour, in physical work, in manual labour."

The Glen Grey Act of 1894, fathered by Rhodes, introduced a system of INDIVIDUAL LAND TENURE and, also important, initiated a system of DUMMY NATIVE REPRESENTATION. Pay particular notice to the fact that the emphasis was on land tenure and not on Land Ownership, because Land Ownership would create a permanent rural African peasantry, which would defeat the main purpose of the Glen Grey Act, which was introduced to supply the gold and diamond mines with African labour.

The Over-all plan of the Herrenvolk - for Cheap African Labour.

Then followed the notorious Land Act of 1913, which was to prohibit Africans from buying land except in overcrowded reserves, and which made it illegal for them to occupy land on white farms on a rental or squatter system. The expansion of the mines and the auxiliary industries that it brought into being, demanded a still greater labour supply. Again note, that it is the economic needs that dictate the law. We have now the Native Development Act, better known to us as the Poll Tax. The latter did not at all satisfy the labour requirements and we had in 1936-37 the so-called native Representation Act and the so-called Native Land and Trust Act. There was neither "Development", "Representation"

¹ The end of the lengthy quotation from "The Role of the Missionaries."

nor "Land". You see the continuation of the hypocritical language in the Acts. Even this did not satisfy the need for cheap labour. The 1945 **Rehabilitation Scheme**, the operation of which finds you here in the Cape, without land and without cattle, was to force the last remaining able-bodied African males from the land and then into the mines, the farms and the factories.

The situation on the land

The net result of these Land Acts has been that we have 700,000 RURAL WHITE FAMILIES having the right of ownership, purchase, lease and hire of 124,186,000 MORGEN, and 7,000,000 (7 million) AFRICAN FAMILIES having NO right of ownership, purchase, lease or hire, and who are contained on LAND TENURE BASIS on 16,750,000 MORGEN.

It is the difference between the CITIZEN FAMILY and the NON CITIZEN FAMILY ON THE LAND.

Let us now follow the landless Peasantry at the key points in productive activity. I quote from the NEUM conference minutes 1951 (page 31: Trade Unions and the National Struggle for Liberation - Dr G H G001):

Land-less Non-Citizen

"As we have said, the flywheel of the national economy is the mines, in particular the gold and diamond mines. The non-citizens in the mines bear the main weight of the slave state on their shoulders. Moreover, they are the basic sector of the non-citizen workers in South Africa. They are landless peasants. They are the whole productive 'forces on the mines.

"They are under contract and herded in male compounds. The discussion on the land showed clearly how the people were driven off the land and converted into cheap, migrant landless peasants. Once in the towns these landless peasants are forcibly herded into compounds, completely divorced from a healthy family existence, and completely shut off from the amenities of urban life.

"This same landless, peasant, compounded, contracted, migrant labour runs the heavy sector of secondary industry (power, engineering, and chemical which is 33% of secondary industry.)

"67% of mining, industrial, commercial and transport workers are landless peasants; and these peasants operate the basic sectors of the national economy.

The 'Settled' Non-Citizen Workers

"The remaining 33% are settled in the towns, in locations, with no freedom of movement, cut off from the cultural life of the town (libraries, universities, theatres, etc)

"Even with the so-called workers there is, in the mass of the Africans, a section which is in continual movement between urban location and rural labour-reserve, i.e. there is even amongst the 'settled' Non-European workers a section which is a floating population, having ties with the land. And it is from this section that the unregistered African unions have been formed. The membership of these unions is not a stable one. In addition the formation of an African trade union is virtually illegal. Despite non-recognition by the government, those workers have forced limited concessions from the employers."

Wage-Ratios of Citizen-Worker and Non-Citizen Worker

In the Mines the ratio of citizen worker to non-citizen worker is
20 - 1

On the Land is 10--1

In Heavy Industry, Electricity and Transport is
. 7-1

In Secondary Industry is 4-1

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In political language, it is the difference between having the franchise and being *within society* and not having the franchise and being *outside the pale of society*. Clearly, the whole economic structure of South Africa rests on the broad and bent shoulders of the Landless Peasantry. National Oppression - the denial of political rights - is, in plain language, *intensified exploitation*; the colour bar being merely a smokescreen to hide the *real aims* of the ruling class.

After Gold and Diamonds

The recent developments in South Africa - the discovery of gold in the O.F.S. - calls for a still more urgent need for cheap labour. Inevitably there must follow an intensification of the Land Acts in order to obtain this labour. Let us now deal with the areas from which the labour of the mines are drawn. The Union of South Africa supplies less than 50% of the labour force, the rest being drawn from the Protectorates, the Rhodesias and Portuguese East Africa. A striking common factor exists in all these areas, i.e. that the African people have no political representation, and it is precisely this lack of citizenship rights that has denied them the right of ownership, purchase and the hiring of land, and that has rendered them defenceless to the constantly increasing demands of labour. Let us take the recent legislation, the purpose of which is to still further augment the labour requirements. The Native Trust and Land Amendment Act 1954 will

revolutionize the lives of 3 million Africans. The significant and dramatic changes aim at eliminating the African rural squatters and restricting the number of African farm-labour tenants, and so turning as many farm Africans as possible into full-term labourers. In the words of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd:

"We aim at stopping the practice of kaffir farming."

Again, in the words of Dr Verwoerd:

"The purpose of the Western Areas Removal Scheme in Johannesburg was to refuse free-hold rights to the Africans."

According to Dr Verwoerd, there were 2 million Africans surrounding the cities of the Union, and therefore in the interests of a White South Africa, he would not hesitate one minute to intervene in the affairs of the city councils. Note again: the economic needs and the policy involved.

Let us give you the latest figures, the results of recent legislation and the recruitment of labour for the mines:

"The native labour force on the goldmines continued to grow last month, rising by 3,427 to 312, 332. At this level it was the highest for four years, and 26,769 (more than 9%) above the figures last April. Last April there was a decline of 724, and in April 1952 an increase of 142.

"Reflecting the improved trend in the Native Labour figures and the maiden production by President Steyn, the total gold production dropped by only 15,289 oz to 1, 058,873 oz last month, in spite of the shorter working month for many mines. The drop in value was £180, 569 from the record March level of £13,306,182."

("Cape Argus" 11/5/54)

The Native Trust and Land Amendment Act 1954 will affect the lives of 3 million African people. It is called the new Squatters Act. 2 million Africans, according to Dr Verwoerd, are in the urban and peri-urban areas of the various cities in the Union. These figures are very important to him. In the same way, how moved Cecil Rhodes was when he saw millions of Africans in the reserves in the Transkei 80 years ago. But the minister of Native Affairs is not in the happy position of Cecil Rhodes, because then the reservoir of cheap African labour was inexhaustible. Minister Verwoerd has to juggle with 5 million when actually he should have had 20 million in view of the expansion in the O .F. S. gold mines, and, more unfortunately from his point of view, since the investment of capital by Britain in the Rhodesias, and the Protectorates will hold down African labour there. Portuguese East Africa, realising the urgent needs of the mines in South Africa, are holding out for a better price for their cheap African labour.

It is in this light that we can understand why Verwoerd has to resort to Witzieshoek tactics in the country, and even in the "liberal" Cape, there have been constant raids in order to count how many able-bodied Africans will be available to flow into the urban and the rural bottlenecks and there be sorted out, first for the mines, then for the towns and secondary industry.

The ferocity with which these raids are being carried out, both in town and country, can only be understood in relation to the needs of the developing times. However, the militant mood of the people is even having an effect on the Quislings in the dummy councils of the Bunga. This is clearly brought out in a motion of the Umtata Bunga when even the Quislings asked that an alteration be made from the TENURE OF QUIT RENT ALLOTMENTS TO FREE HOLD IN THE SURVEYED AREAS OF THE TRANSKEI (Cape Argus: 7/5/54). Events are moving fast, even for the Quislings. The motion was lost by 45 votes to '25. But it is a political barometer that has very deep meaning.

The Ten Point Programme - Point Seven

I think we have arrived now at a stage in our discussion when we must deal with the very basis of the National Movement, the basis on which we will be able to draw the major section of the people, those who come from the land. You will remember that when Mr W.M. Tsotsi, President of the All-African Convention, delivered his address on the national situation at the Anti-CAD Conference 1954, I asked him from the chair what the percentage of African people owning land was. His reply was: PROBABLY LESS THAN 1 PER CENT. Verwoerd, in denying the African in the Western Areas in Johannesburg free-hold rights, is merely doing what he had learned from Rhodes when the Glen Grey Act 1894 carved up tribal communally held land and fragmented it into individual land tenureship. And that is why we have always maintained that the Land Question, and a proper understanding of the Land Question, is the very core and the very heart of the National Movement.

Point 7 of the Ten Point Programme reads:

“The relationship of serfdom at present existing on the land must go, together with the LAND ACTS, together with the restrictions upon acquiring land. A new division of the land in conformity with the existing rural population, living on the land and working the land, is the first task of a democratic state and parliament.”

When we drafted this point of the Ten Point Programme, we took it for granted that it could only mean one thing and one thing only: THE RIGHT TO OWN LAND, TO BUY LAND AND TO HIRE LAND.

At this point I feel I must bring out what I raised at a SOYA meeting a few months ago, when I dealt with the National Movement. You remember I said that a National Movement, since it affects oppressed society as a whole, is a heterogeneous one, i.e. that there are many layers and gradations within these layers. It was in consideration of the heterogeneous character of the movement that we brought out the Ten Point Programme, the minimum basis that could make all these groups not only join together but fight together on principles.

Point 7 of the Ten Point Programme can in no sense of the word be deliberately misconstrued to mean usufruct i.e. to work and to till without the right of ownership. Such an interpretation immediately lands them logically in the arms of Verwoerd and his Native Affairs Department. And, more important from the point of view of the masses who have been denied ownership, this is the ONLY interpretation that they will give to the idea of usufruct and they will equate these interpretations with the NAD. I hope that I have made myself clear on this point and also that the founders of the NEUM will fight tooth and nail for the correct interpretation.

The Ideas of Society are the Ideas of the Dominant Group

How was it possible that our people were reduced to this state, landless, without cattle, voteless, illiterate? I feel that at this stage we should attempt to diagnose the disease of social poverty. It is a known fact that the ideas prevailing in any given society are the ideas of the dominant group. The control by this group of *all channels* for the dissemination of their ideas, is a necessary and indispensable prerequisite for their very existence. The particular ideas that must flow through the social system must be of such a nature that their impact on the minds of the members of society must produce results that will ensure the position of the dominant group and its continued rule.

In South African society, according to its most dynamic apostle, the late General Smuts, its life-span must be another 300 years, a pronouncement made before the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Celebration in 1952. It was a conviction of his youth and a conviction that he consistently believed in and acted upon, even in his old age, and one that was buried with him. Whether history will dispute his prophetic claim is another question. What is of interest is the intransigent nature of his claim and the fact that his whole life was purposefully devoted to that end.

But as humble students of South African history we know that the real builders of the present South African nation were Milner and his colleagues. To Milner, the representative of the new social order at the turn of the century, both the Trek-Boer Republics of Transvaal and the O.F.S., as well as the tribal economy of the Africans, were anachronisms and therefore South African society presented itself to him as one of chaos. Among the Milner Papers there is a letter