

# The Good Fight

*SELECTED SPEECHES*

*OF*

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## INTRODUCTION

Throughout South African history, Christian principles have been invoked as the standards by which South Africans and the complex South African situation must be judged. Nowhere has this been done more persistently and cogently than in the speeches of the Rev. Zaccheus R. Mahabane. These speeches reflect the anguished efforts of a dedicated African clergyman to use Christian standards as the measure of South African affairs, and, in particular, of the plight of the majority non-whites in South Africa who have steadily been deprived of even the small number of rights they formerly possessed. Whether speaking to political organizations, notably the African National Congress, the All-African Convention and the Non-European Unity Movement, or religious organizations, in particular the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation of South Africa, the Rev. Mr. Mahabane has consistently argued for the universal application of Christian and humanitarian principles to all South Africans, regardless of race.

Those who only knew Z.R. Mahabane in his later years were still struck by the intensity of his feelings, the directness of his speech and the fearlessness of his actions. Capable in his early eighties of delivering instruction to the laity that lasted for several hours and immediately thereafter conducting with fire and clarity a conversation remarkable for its grasp of detail and precise recollections, Z.R., as he is affectionately called, was always a man of stature and distinction. Mary Benson in The African Patriots describes him as "thoughtful and slow-speaking, sparely built", a powerful preacher whose "usually cheerful face" could be "tense with the depth of his feeling."<sup>1</sup> His daughter once said laughingly that he was "a firebrand". Certainly his spirit is indomitable and his energy inexhaustible. Wherever he saw an opportunity to work with others, fellow Africans or fellow non-whites, to fight injustice or to organize for better opportunities, he took it. Few men, particularly in southern Africa, have played a significant role in so many organizations. Few have kept so constant the ideals of African and non-white unity. His words are potent but they can never wholly transmit the emotional drive that made them-- and him--unforgettable.

Born on August 15, 1881 in Thaba Nchu, an important Wesleyan mission center in the eastern Orange Free State, and one of its few remaining African-owned areas, Z.R. Mahabane was first educated in the mission

<sup>1</sup> Mary Benson, The African Patriots (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), p. 55, 65.

schools near his home. He then went to Morija, the Paris Evangelical Mission Center in nearby Basutoland, where he received teacher training. He decided, however, that he could best serve his people through the Wesleyan ministry, and in 1908 he went to the Cape Colony to be prepared for this profession. In 1914, he was formally ordained in Port Elizabeth as a minister.

In accordance with the practice of his church, the young Rev. Mahabane was available for assignment anywhere in South Africa. In 1916 he went to Cape Town. He arrived there amidst quickening African political activity, spurred in particular by the Natives Land Act of 1913, which denied Africans right of tenure outside the reserve areas that include no more than thirteen percent of the land in South Africa. Deeply concerned over the disabilities of his people, Mahabane soon identified himself with the leading, though weak, African political organization, the Cape Province Native Congress. This was a regional branch of the South African Native National Congress which was founded in 1912 as the African response to the white-controlled government of the newly created Union of South Africa. In 1919, Rev. Mahabane was chosen President of the Cape Congress. His work there brought him recognition from other African leaders throughout South Africa and in 1924 he was elected President of the national body which had changed its name in 1923 to the African National Congress.

Mahabane was soon to have new experiences and acquire still wider horizons. In 1926, he went abroad, visiting London and subsequently attending an international missionary conference in Belgium. Later in the year he relinquished the presidency of the African National Congress though he continued to be active in its affairs. He was already turning, however, to the broader field of non-white unity. Here he joined his efforts to those of Dr. A. Abdurahman, the most important Coloured leader of the time, in attempts to achieve an effective association of non-whites through the Non-European Unity Conference, a loose organization of Africans, Coloureds (i.e., mixed blood) and Indians which met in 1927, 1930, 1931, and 1934 to discuss their common problems.

In the mid-1930's, Mahabane again concentrated his activities more specifically upon African affairs as the Representation of Natives Bill threatened to eliminate the few political rights possessed by Africans in South Africa, i.e., the right of those Africans in Cape Province who could meet literacy and economic qualifications to vote for the same candidates in national elections as did whites. (Under the Act of Union, only whites could be elected to Parliament.) Mahabane associated himself closely with the All-African Convention, a new movement encompassing Africans of all political persuasions, which was formed to fight the proposed legislation. The All-African Convention was unsuccessful in blocking the Representation of Natives Bill although some Africans may have had a share in formulating the compromise under which those Africans who had possessed the vote were placed on a separate communal role to elect three whites to Parliament as Native Representatives (raising the total number of seats in the Assembly to 153) while four other whites were elected as Senators by indirect African voting throughout the Union (raising the total number in the Senate to 44). The

result of this restrictive electoral measure, the most disturbing outcome of the otherwise promising political union in the United Party of the two major white parties of General Barry Hertzog and of General Jan Christiaan Smuts, was effectively to exclude from political influence in South Africa the Africans of the country who then, as now, numbered over seventy percent of the population.

Although failing in its major objective, the All-African Convention decided to remain in existence as a federal body that aimed to coordinate all African organizations and represent all African opinion. In 1937, Rev. Mahabane became acting Vice-President of the new organization, at the same time that Dr. A. B. Xuma, subsequently President of the African National Congress, was a Vice-President.

Mahabane saw no conflict between the efforts of the long-established African National Congress (ANC) and those of the newly-created All-African Convention (AAC). While many began to emphasize the ideological and tactical differences of the two organizations, some supporting the ANC as the standard-bearer of African nationalism and others arguing that the AAC had superseded the ANC, Mahabane deliberately tried to blur, or at least minimize these differences, and to work within both bodies. At the same time that he became acting Vice-President of the AAC, he once more became President of the ANC. His three years in this latter office, from 1937 to 1940, saw a certain revival of that organization which helped to prepare the way for Dr. A. B. Xuma's vigorous reorganization thereafter.

When Xuma was elected President of the African National Congress in 1940, Rev. Mahabane became its official chaplain. Within the All-African Convention, Rev. Mahabane retained his post as Vice-President. Despite periodic tensions between the two organizations, efforts were also made, particularly in 1943, to bring them together again. In the latter year, however, the All-African Convention, at the urging of a group of young intellectuals, led in the creation of a new non-white organization, the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM), which was still less disposed to cooperate with the ANC. Soon afterwards, however, Rev. Mahabane was elected as the President of the NEUM, a post which he held until 1956.

Though he held office in both groups, Mahabane was unable to prevent the rift between the All-African Convention and the Non-European Unity Movement on the one hand, and the African National Congress on the other, from widening over the crucial question of which group was the supreme African political organization. His voice was not prominent in the councils of the ANC, whose leadership passed increasingly to the vigorous Congress Youth League (formed in 1944). Similarly, Mahabane appears to have become relatively powerless in the AAC and the NEUM, whose machinery became effectively controlled by African and Coloured teachers devoted to a dogma of non-participation in government and bodies. He was never as opposed as the NEUM was off the quasi-representative Council of the 1936 legislation.

itself became disillusioned in 1946 when the government failed to consult it at the time of the Johannesburg mine strike.) Yet Mahabane only resigned as President of NEUM in 1956 when pressed by other leaders of that organization to give up his participation in the school boards set up under the unpopular Bantu Education Act of 1953, a participation which violated the NEUM principle of non-collaboration with government-appointed bodies.

After 1948, when the Afrikaner Nationalist Government came into office with the avowed purpose of making racial separation (apartheid) in every aspect of life more stringent and obvious, Africans sought new means of publicizing their disabilities and discontent. In 1952, the passive resistance campaign against "unjust laws" provided their most striking demonstration but Mahabane was not involved in its actions. Well before this, he had begun to channel his efforts on behalf of his people through specifically religious organizations. In particular, he concentrated upon the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation (subsequently -- in 1963 -- renamed the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Association of Southern Africa), an organization in which he had been active from its founding in 1945. In 1956, the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane became the President of the Federation. At least with his approval, African ministers under the auspices of the Federation made representation to governmental authorities to ease the implementation of apartheid measures.

With the publication in 1955 of the Tomlinson Report, which outlined plans in exhaustive detail for developing tribal Bantustans, the Federation assumed a new role. The Tomlinson Report proposed developing consolidated African reserve areas, through diversified economic growth to be stimulated by large government grants, so as to form a counter-attraction to the South African urban areas into which, along with the European farms, some sixty percent of the country's Africans had been drawn to serve as unskilled or semi-skilled labor. Under Mahabane's leadership, a National Conference of African Leaders of Thought was called in Bloemfontein in October 1956, which proved one of the most broadly representative gatherings of Africans since the meetings of the All-African Convention in the mid-1930's. The proposals of the Tomlinson Commission were strongly attacked as an inadequate approach to the South African racial situation. Even more significantly, the African leaders urged the calling of a multi-racial conference to study the resolutions of South Africa's racial problem.

Under the leadership of the Rev. Mahabane, and the Federation, negotiations were conducted which finally resulted in a multi-racial conference, held at the University of the Witwatersrand, in Johannesburg, in December 1957 on the theme, "Human Relations in a Multi-Racial Society". Under Mahabane's chairmanship, the delegates to the conference, which included representatives of all races and nearly all shades of political opinion except those of the pro-government groups, endorsed resolutions that urged an end to white supremacy and an extension of the franchise to all South Africans

regardless of race. Following the conference, the Rev. Mahabane attended a church conference in Ghana. Upon his return his house was raided and searched by the police, as it had been on earlier occasions.

The efforts of the National Conference of African Leaders of Thought and of the multi-racial conference of South Africa had no impact on governmental policy. Yet the Rev. Mahabane remained undeterred in his labors on behalf of his people and his country. Turning more intently to the problems of Christianity and its place in Africa, he participated in a number of conferences within his country and elsewhere in Africa in which he formulated his ideas on how to implement Christian ideals in human relations in Africa. Vigorously expounding many of the same ideas which he had advanced in the early 1920's, the Rev. Mahabane has continued to demand that South Africa conform to the Christian principles which it claims to defend.

In all his speeches, the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane speaks as a Christian, as a patriotic South African, and as an African. His overriding concern is for Christian fellowship and racial peace in South Africa, goals which he sees as attainable if the standards of Christianity are universally applied by and to all individuals and to the situation in South Africa. His speeches reflect his familiarity with the details of the South African situation and his awareness of political developments throughout the world. Since these speeches span over four decades of the twentieth century, and embody the thinking of a major African figure throughout that period, they are of particular interest for the student of South African affairs. The Program of African Studies at Northwestern University takes pleasure in publishing, with his approval, this collection of the speeches of the Rev. Zaccheus R. Mahabane.

Gwendolen M. Carter, Director  
Sheridan Waite Johns III



## THE COLOUR BAR

### PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province  
Native Congress, Queenstown, C.P., May, 1920

Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen,---

It is with much trembling and diffidence that I venture to stand before you to address you as President of the Cape Province Native Congress on matters of national concern. I am conscious of the fact that I do not possess the necessary qualifications for the supremely responsible position I occupy. I am a novice in these matters, besides being an unknown entity in the national life of the great Bantu peoples of the "mother" Province. No one regrets more deeply and sincerely than I the fact that it has not been possible to call upon one of the tried Leaders of our people in this part of the country, such as the Rev. Dr. W. B. Rubusana, the Rev. J. S. Mazwi, Messrs. M. Pelem, J. T. Jabavu, and others to assume this position. However, when the time comes I shall only be too glad to abdicate in favour of any of these Leaders.

Before proceeding allow me to express my deep sorrow at the untimely (speaking humanly) and most lamented deaths of Chief Dalindyebo, late Paramount Chief of the great Tembu tribe, which occurred on the 21st April, and that of Chief Mankuruane. The demise of these heads of sections of our people is all the more to be deplored because of the interest their Royal Highnesses have manifested in this a national movement that promises to be of untold blessing to our people. The belief in hereditary Chieftainship among the Bantu Tribes is so deep-rooted that at this time, when an attempt is being made for the restoration of our National solidarity and identity as a distinct people in the political economy of Southern Africa we can ill-afford to lose those of our Chiefs who appear to appreciate the efforts that are being made. We extend our sincere sympathies to those tribes that are thus directly bereaved.

Then I desire to extend to you all a cordial welcome to this our first Convention since our inception and inauguration as a Provincial Branch of the S.A. Native National Congress in October, 1919.

I have deliberately elected to deal in this my humble Address with the subject of

The Colour Bar in the Constitutional Machinery of this the land of our birth and permanent domicilium. I have done so because I consider that this is the issue, of all issues, the issue before, behind, beneath, beside, betwixt and above all other issues.

The question of the Colour Bar is of far more transcendent importance and significance than any other, because all the others hang on this one, and I firmly believe that the key to the solution of what is commonly known as "the Native Question" or the "Native Problem" lies in a clear appreciation of the significance of the Colour Bar. I believe that its removal would instantly herald the inauguration of a period of social, industrial, economic and political millennium in this country.

Then I believe that the present is the most opportune time, the psychological moment, for urging its removal. The present era has been variously described as "the New Age," the "New Order" of things, the "Era of Universal Reconstruction," and more correctly by the Honourable C. Joel Krige, Speaker of the House of Assembly in the Union Parliament, as a "precedent-making epoch." More especially now that the Government are considering the question of some form of Native representation in the affairs of the country. Let us therefore strike when the iron is hot.

### The History

of the introduction of the Colour Bar in the national life of this our common country is traceable to race hatred or colour prejudice inherent in the innermost recesses of the hearts of a certain section of the European community of the land. Certain circumstances appear to have obtained which have given birth or contributed to this racial prejudice. Members of the aboriginal races of this country--Hottentots Bushmen and Bantu--were barbarous, savage and warlike when the first white man came to the country. Their nomadic and apparently wild habits and propensities, and the possession of a dark or coloured skin (for which they are absolutely not responsible) also seem to have played a determining part in shaping the attitude of the new comers to the old inhabitants. The former began to look upon the latter with disdain, which developed to contempt and loathing, and eventually evolved a spirit of hatred. Then they resolved to shun their society from Black. The famous great Trek of 1834, although it was directly caused by the Emancipation of Slaves by the Government of Great Britain, was an expression of the resentment felt against the treatment of the Native by Great Britain on a footing of political equality with the white man.

The Colour Bar first found a place in the political literature of the country by being embodied in the Grondwet (the Constitution) of the new Republics set up in South Africa after the Great Trek referred to above. Herein it was enacted that only Burghers could enjoy Franchise rights, and Black men were thus excluded. This spirit of exclusion of the Non-European was dragged on to the Vereeniging Treaty of 1902. In the course of the negotiations for peace between the representatives of the British Government and those of the two Republics, the question of granting franchise rights to the Bantu peoples domiciled in the Republics was raised, and Lord Kitchener replied as follows:--

"As regards the extension of the Franchise to Kafirs in the Transvaal

and Orange River Colony, it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government to give such Franchise before representative government is granted those Colonies, and, if then given, it will be so limited as to secure the just predominance of the white race." I would draw your attention to the phrase, "to secure the just predominance of the white race." It is all the more to be regretted that these sentiments were given expression to by a representative of the British people a people famous for their principles of "equal justice to all, irrespective of race or colour." Thus artificial means were to be used to secure this predominance. Nature could not be trusted. And yet Nature is a very exacting ruler. He who violates her sacred laws will certainly receive at her hands just retribution for his sinful act. Nature says in the language of the Book of Books: "The soul that sins it shall die." In this matter the representative of Great Britain allowed himself to be used in the commission of a grievous sin, a sin as contagious and deadly in its results as that committed by the first man. This sentiment was subsequently embodied in the famous Peace Treaty of 1902, and it reads as follows:

"The question of granting the Franchise to the Natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-Government." This form of Government was granted six or seven years after the Peace of Vereeniging. Instead of the question being decided favourably, an entirely adverse decision was made, for the principle of the Colour Bar or exclusion of the Non-European from political rights and from enjoying the rights and privileges, and sharing the duties, and shouldering the responsibilities of citizenship, was finally confirmed and firmly established by the so-called or quasi-National Convention of 1909, which brought about the so-called Union of South Africa, or, to be more accurate, the Union of the white races of the Sub-Continent, and the final exclusion of all persons of "Non European descent." A section in the South Africa Act of 1909 defining the qualifications of a member of Parliament of the new Dominion thus created by the provisions of the Act reads: "He must be a British subject of European descent." And thus, by a mere stroke of the pen, a mere phrase of a couple of words-- "Of European descent"--all the Coloured peoples of the country were formally and finally excluded from membership in the citizenship of the new State, and ipso facto from the larger citizenship of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In this an essentially un-Christian business the duly accredited representatives and spokesmen of the great British Nation are consenting parties. Lord Kitchener led the way by suggesting as early as 1909 that the "predominance of the white race" must be secured by withholding the franchise from "Kafirs." Again according to the Cape Times of 8th May, 1920, Lord Milner, the present Colonial Secretary in the British Cabinet, did not favour the granting of Responsible Government to Rhodesia because of the preponderance of the Native population over the European. Then the Imperial Government as well as the Imperial Parliament endorsed the principle of colour discrimination by passing the South Africa Act, in spite of the strongest protests put forward by the Non-European races of the land, who sent to England one



of the strongest deputations they have ever sent headed by that illustrious son of South Africa, the late Right Honourable W. P. Schreiner, P.C., and the personnel of which consisted of such of the ablest of Africa's sons as Dr. A. Abdurahman, M.P.C., the Rev. Dr. W. B. Rubusana, and ex-M.P.C., and Mr. J Tengo Jabavu, the first and oldest of our Native journalists.

#### The Motives

underlying this obnoxious and pernicious principle of "Exclusion" on colour lines were given vent to by well-known leaders of the older section of the white population at the National Convention referred to previously, when the question of the franchise was under discussion. "In the near future," observed General Hertzog, "the Native voter would swamp the European." The late Right Hon. Abraham Fischer, first and late Premier of the O.F.S., put the case more candidly and unequivocally in the words: "To me, as a white man, the situation appeals to the principle of self-preservation." The late General Botha first Prime Minister of United South Africa, emphatically declared: "They could only have Europeans in Parliament." During the electoral campaign early this year (1920) the Present Prime Minister, General the Right Hon. J. C. Smuts, P.C., declared that "he could not allow Black men to sit in the white man's Parliament." Rather than do this he proposed the formation of Advisory Boards of Natives to advise the Government on questions affecting the Native community. A white man's Parliament! does the Parliament of any country belong exclusively to a section of the population thereof? if that be so then the other section is not recognised as a human element in that population, but only as constituting a class of slaves or mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water," who have no lot or share in the civil rights of the land. They are viewed in the same light in which the Children of Israel were regarded in the Egyptian "house of bondage." Such a position the Black man, in South Africa can never accept, being the rightful owner of the land. His white compatriot is really a foreigner in the land, or, as General Hertzog has put it, "fortune-seeker." But unlike our white friends, we fully recognize that the white man is here to stay, and he must be received with open arms as a countryman of much value. But if the Parliament of this, our common country, exists only for the white man for his sole benefit, then it ceases to be a democratic Parliament, a Parliament of the people for the people. Then it becomes a plutocracy, a government by the wealthy and for the wealthy classes of the country, or an aristocracy, Government by the nobility or upper classes, the white race being the wealthier class in the country, or, as they regard themselves, the superior or upper class.

Native to be rigorously excluded from Political Power.

But the case for the introduction, perpetration and perpetuation of

this unsound principle of exclusion found an abler exponent in the person of one Roderick Jones, who, in discussing what he had the impudence to describe as the "Black Peril" in the Nineteenth Century, of May, 1904, wrote: "The Englishman and the Dutchman, sinking their differences, will have to unite in order to preserve the domination of the white man over the Black man." Continuing his dangerous effusion, the writer asks: "What is the white man doing to protect himself, or certainly, his children from calamity?" And then he proceeds to make the following observations: "On the one hand there is the numerically insignificant white community.....on the other is an enormous Black population, in which the leaven of Ethiopianism and kindred elements inimical to the white man is steadily working. No argument is necessary to demonstrate that the white man must in the end succumb before sheer numbers. Such a catastrophe," Mr. Jones proceeds, "can only be averted by the white man rigorously excluding the Native from political power, and strenuously discountenancing anything like social equality between the two races." And the man who pens these pernicious doctrines bears the name of an Englishman. Must the framers of the Constitution of the Union have partly drawn their inspiration from these extremely selfish sentiments of Mr. Jones? These, his earnest exhortations, were written in 1904, and in 1909 the National Convention was held, and the exclusion of the non-Europeans from the body politic was formally sealed. This marked the beginning of a period of systematic suppression of the weaker races by legislative, and administrative processes.

#### The Dutch Church has a Colour Bar.

The Act of Union has now placed supreme political power in the hands of the white man, and this he has used to great advantage. They even went so far as to carry this principle of colour discrimination into the Church of Christ, which tolerates no discriminations as between Jew and Gentile, or Greek and Barbarian, but treats believers of all climates and colours on a footing of absolute equality. The Colour Bar was introduced two years after the passing of the Act of Union, into the great Dutch Reformed Church. Clause 9 of Act No. 23 of 1911 (Dutch Reformed Church Act) reads:--

"No Coloured person, being a member of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Colony or Province of the Cape of Good Hope shall be entitled by reason of such membership....to claim membership of the United Church on his removing his domicilium to any of the adjacent Provinces other than the Cape Province." Ever since its inauguration in 1909 the principle of the Colour Bar now permeates the entire life of the population of the country. One is frequently confronted with inscription such as these: "For Europeans only," "Reserved," i.e., for the sole use of the non-Europeans, and although it does not always manifest itself in Black and white, the Colour Bar has now waded its way into the industrial, economic, educational, commercial, as well as the religious life of the people. Thus in giving evidence before the Low Grade Mines Commission, in November last, the general manager of De Beers stated that the Company's employees were classed only as Europeans and Natives.

Proceeding, he says: "There is no Colour Bar in the Cape Province, but the relative spheres of employment of whites and Natives in De Beers do not differ from those obtaining in the mines on the Rand. Though there is no legal Colour Bar, there has grown up a practical Colour Bar, and there is no likelihood of there being any attempt to infringe on the white man's sphere."

#### White Man inherently Prejudiced.

Colour prejudice is so firmly imbedded in the hearts of the European population and inherited by their children that no Coloured child, however so cleanly and fitted he may be, can be admitted in an educational establishment for European children.

The perpetrators of colour discriminations must be absolute infidels in the great Christian doctrine of the "Common Fatherhood of God" and "The Brotherhood of the White Man," or in other words, "God our Father, the White Man our Brother, the Blackman an Outcast." The whole thing is ethically wrong and repugnant to the doctrine of "Right is Might." It is an application of the savage doctrine of "Might is Right" and of "Money is power." It is a revival of the antiquated doctrine of "The Divine Right of Kings," only in South African garb, "The divine right of the white man." It is belief in the Darwinian principle of the "survival, in the struggle for existence, of the fittest," only mistakenly applied. The Colour Bar bases the test of citizenship on a wrong principle--the possession of material power or a white skin. Thus the white man's qualification for citizenship is a white skin plus material possession; the Black man is disqualified because he happens to be of a darker complexion and is moneyless.

#### Its Significance.

In the civilized countries of the earth supreme power is vested in the Legislature of the country. The Legislature, or Parliament, exists for the purpose of "making laws for the peace, order, welfare and good government of the country and for the regulation of the civil conduct of its inhabitants. Parliament also controls the public conduct of the Cabinet, shapes the national policy of the country, guides its destiny and determines its ultimate fate. It is the highest, legislative administrative and judicial power in the land. It constitutes the highest tribunal and the supreme court of appeal. The intervention of Parliament is sought and invoked in cases where either the Cabinet or the Judiciary fails to give a satisfactory interpretation of any disputed point of law. The Legislature possesses the power and authority on behalf and in the name of the nation to make, alter, amend or repeal the laws of the land, to effect a change of Government, to decide upon the Flag under which the country is to be governed, and to determine as to whether the form of Government shall be Monarchic, Republican, Socialistic, Communistic or otherwise; it votes moneys derived from all sources of revenue for public services of all kinds;

and, finally, sanctions any declaration of a state of war against another country.

Over and above all this, cases of dispute between employers and employees or of any other trouble likely to affect or disturb the public peace are brought to Parliament for review. It is from a national and public court of this important description that the overwhelming majority of the population of Southern Africa has been rigorously excluded and cut out and shut out. If he has any sense of self-respect and is conscious of his manhood can the Black man remain contented with such a state of affairs? I say, No.

#### The Voice of the People Ignored.

According to the Census Returns of June 1919, the estimated population of the Union is as follows:--

|                      |     |     |     |           |                 |
|----------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----------|-----------------|
| European             | ... | ... | ... | ...       | 1,479,068       |
| Bantu                | ... | ... | ... | 4,823,526 |                 |
| Coloured, etc.       | ... | ... | ... | 841,103   |                 |
| Total, non-European. |     |     |     | <hr/>     | 5,664,629       |
| Total                | ... | ... | ... | ...       | <hr/> 7,143,697 |

That is to say, about 29 per cent. of the population is European or White, and 71 per cent. non-European or Black. The former, or the minority, possesses full franchise rights, while the latter enjoys none, or only a modicum, of those rights, and that in only one of the four Provinces of the Dominion, namely, the Province of the Cape of Good Hope, the Mother Province and the "model State" from which the new Provinces should draw their inspiration. In other words, another great doctrine of modern times has been subverted, and that is "Government by majority," or "The voice of the majority constitutes the collective voice of the people," and "The voice of the people is the voice of God." In South Africa the position is reversed. "The voice of the white man is the voice of God." Thus we are faced with the anomalous position of the "minority ruling the majority."

#### South Africa a Non-European Country.

Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen: To deny the original, aboriginal and permanent inhabitants of a country their natural and inalienable right to a voice in the direction, management and administration of the affairs of his country, if not Pharaoh-like oppression, is it not political oppression and slavery, and persecution of the worst type? Does it not constitute the gravest grievance that the people we have the honour to represent, as well as their Coloured and Asiatic brethren, can ever harbour in their hearts? Does it not constitute injustice of the grossest and basest kind? Does not this unlawful, unwarranted and unnatural exclusion of a people from civil and political right in the

country of their fathers' birth, their own birth, adoption and permanent abode constitute the gravest menace to the peace and order of the country? From this consideration of the case it must be patent to all right-thinking men, even those of the most jaundiced minds, that the grievances of the non-European races of this, a "non-European country," resulting from the natural effects of this cursed Bar are neither manufactured bogeys nor exaggerated wrongs. This exclusion of the largest section of the population from civil rights, privileges and advantages on racial, colour or class lines, is

#### A Public Wrong

of the meanest and basest, and it has sown broadcast in this fair country seeds of racial animosities and antipathies of the most undesirable sort.

As a consequence of this exclusion the non-European is not represented in the Legislature of the country as well as all the councils of the land. He has no voice, vote or say in the affairs of the country, even those which concern and affect his welfare. Consequently, by reason of his absence from the Parliament of the country, members of Parliament deliberately pass legislation that is designed to curtail the rights and privileges of the non-European, deprive him of his rights, duties and responsibilities as a citizen, and lower his civil and political status in the political economy of the country. I have already referred to the Dutch Reformed Church Act of 1911, which debarred the Coloured man from claiming membership in that church in other Provinces than that of the Cape of Good Hope. This sectional Parliament also passed the Native Labour Regulation Act of 1911, which purports to regulate the recruitment, employment and control of Natives for purposes of labour in the mines. Later they passed the Defence Act, by which the Black man was deliberately excluded from the right, privilege and duty of defending his country by limiting membership in the Defence Forces and Citizen Forces of the country only to persons of "European descent" or parentage. Consequently a very large section of the manhood of the country has been deprived of the opportunity of receiving training in the weapons of defence and in the man-like art of warfare.

#### Segregation, Separation, and Exclusion.

In 1913 the famous Natives Land Act found a place in the Statutes of the land, the main principle thereof being the "territorial separation" of the races--the Native from the non-Native. The Native Affairs Administration Bill of 1917, which sought to introduce a new system of administering Native Affairs on a diametrically different basis from the general administration of the affairs of the country, passed the second reading stage in Parliament, despite the protests of the Unionist members of the House of Assembly, backed up by very strong Native opinion in the country. Its guiding idea was "the segregation of the Bantu Tribes," and it sought to carry out the recommendations of the Beaumont Natives' Land Commission by allocating 87 per cent. of the land for European occupation or for the use of 30 per cent. of the population of the land, and 13 per cent. of the land for the occupation and use of the Native population or 70 per cent. of the whole population. Then there came the Natives' (Urban Areas) Bill, 1918, which was also intended for carrying out the principles of "Segregation," "Separation,"



"Exclusion," embodied in the South Africa Act of 1909, to their logical conclusion. Instance also the Asiatic Land and Trading Act of 1919, which aims not only at the suppression of the legitimate aspirations and commercial enterprise of members of the Indian community, but also at their ultimate exclusion from the country.

### Its Effects.

The Colour Bar has had effects on the corporate life of the community of an undesirable character. It has seriously and adversely affected the relations subsisting between Black and White in the country.

It is calculated to create in the minds of the non-European grave suspicion as to the real motives underlying the whole attitude of the European towards the weaker race as aiming at the suppression of the latter or at "keeping him down" or "keeping them in their place," or as an attempt to make "this a white man's country," or as aiming at ultimate extermination of the weaker races. Why, the doctrine of making this a white man's country has been freely preached in the O.F.S. Province, and we were astounded to find a member of the City Council of the "Mother City" of South Africa--the City of Cape Town--expounding as late as November, 1918, this misleading teaching. Mr. Hare, in discussing the question of granting trading licences to Indians, declared, amid cheers: "We want to keep this as much as possible a white man's country." This, then, would appear to be one of the motives for the insertion of the Colour Bar provisions in the Constitution of the Union. That was the idea in the case of the Grondwet of the Republics to oust the original inhabitants of the country and make room for the incoming population. It is the case of the stronger pushing the weaker against the wall.

### Civil Service a White Preserve.

(b) Since its introduction into the Constitutional machinery of the country, the Colour Bar has found its way into our civil, economic, industrial, educational and even religious institutions. No Coloured man, no matter what his qualifications, both of mind and heart, can now aspire to any position of responsibility in the Civil Service. Mr. I. Bud-'Mbelle, for many years Interpreter in Native Languages in the High Court of Griqualand West, had qualified for a Magisterial appointment, but instead of obtaining promotion by reason both of his long and faithful services and the legal qualifications he had attained, he was retrenched and pensioned off, though he is still a young and vigorous man. It was considered by the new regime that had taken over the reins of Government and the personnel, of which consisted of all the Statesmen referred to previously as having laid down the principles of the Colour Bar in the new Constitution, that it was a crime for a Black man to draw a salary of more than £300.

### Colour Bar on the Mines.

Regulations have been promulgated debarring any Coloured man from doing certain classes of work in the Rand mines, and preserving such

classes of labour as the "white man's preserve." We frequently come across advertisements to fill vacancies with the phrase. "No Coloured man need apply." And even in cases where a Black man is doing the class of work generally allotted to a white man, yet there is glaring disparity in the relative rate of pay of the white man as compared with that of the Black man. Looking at it all round we now have in this country the anomalous position of qualifications for appointment to any position involving responsibility, respect and enhanced emolument, being educational attainments, character, capability, plus the possession of a white skin, or the fact of being of "European descent." And, on the other hand, the possession of a dark skin or a "Black colour" constitutes a disqualification.

#### Effects of Colour Bar.

What moral effects can such a condition of things produce on the people affected? Discontentment, disaffection, moral stagnation, mental depression, intellectual degradation, spiritual despondency and the destruction of holy ambition. The young soul when it finds that a stone wall has been erected against its upward movement groans in despair, "It's no use trying a hopeless task"; "it serves no good purpose to pursue educational attainments, for there is no opening for one to use them." The young soul is thus at once locked up in the "Cage of Despair." Can greater criminal injustice be imagined? The Colour Bar is a short-sighted and blind policy of selfishness, self-protection, and self-preservation, which is sure to bring forth the bitterest fruits for the coming generations. By the law of evolution the development of seeds of suspicion, justly harboured by the non-European of this country as to the real intentions of their European neighbours, is fraught with possibilities of such undesirable character as must surely not only undermine the loyalty of the Black man to the ruling race, both here and in Europe, but also threaten the peaceful and harmonious relationships subsisting between the two races

#### The largest section ignored.

(c) The Colour Bar has so lowered the political status of our people in the eyes of the world that whenever reference is made to the people of South Africa only the European element is meant and the non-European is either ignored or forgotten. This is only natural, for we were excluded, once for all, at the time of the formation of the Union of South Africa. And yet the non-European element constitutes the largest section of the population of the Union. The opinion of this section is never consulted, by reason of this exclusion whenever decisions of vital moment are made involving the the life, the safety, the destiny, or even the fate of the country.

#### South Africa Divided into Two.

(d) Last, but not least, yea, the worst phase of this Colour Bar is that it has proved to be the gulf that has finally divided and

separated the European and non-European sections of the population of one Government and one Flag into two opposite camps, the one assuming an attitude of hostility and antagonism to the other. It has proved to be an effective means of separating the population into "two streams," a condition of affairs that is diametrically opposed to the statesmanlike "one-stream policy" of the late General Botha.

This diabolical policy of "White versus Black" has so affected and contaminated the moral life of this fair country of ours that it is sowing broadcast seeds of disaffection, discontentment, discord, disunion, disruption and disintegration in the populace, that it must inevitably end, if not checked in time, in civil strife.

Away with the Accursed Colour Bar.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I believe the time has come when we must once more raise our voices in protest against the continuance and perpetration of this iniquitous Bar in the political, economic and industrial machinery of the land, as a political blunder of an intolerable nature, and as an offence to the sense of manhood and nationhood of the non-European communities of South Africa. Let us cry as one man, "Away with this accursed thing," "Away with this accursed thing." Let us agitate, agitate, and agitate now and again, and rest not until this stigma has been entirely blotted out and finally eliminated from the national life of the land. If by so doing we bring upon ourselves the name of "Agitators" let us glory in the appellation. Dr. Furse, the late highly-esteemed Bishop of Pretoria, has recently declared that

"God was the greatest Agitator that ever lived."

With these observations I feel confident that you will not hesitate to adopt the following

Resolution

that I now beg to submit to you, viz.:--

"That whereas the Colour Bar in the South Africa Act, 1909, constituting the Union of South Africa, has had the effect of depriving members of the non-European races of the Union of South Africa of the right of citizenship, with all privileges, advantages, duties and responsibilities attaching thereto, not only in the Dominion of South Africa, but also in the British Commonwealth of free nations, of which the said races form an integral and inseparable part;

"And whereas this Bar has had the further effect of defeating the very idea of Union by creating undesirable division, disunion and disintegration among the people of the Union and by dividing the population thereof into two hostile camps--European versus non-European, or White versus Black;

"And whereas this Colour Bar provision has caused grave bitterness and dissatisfaction (and these are continually growing in intensity and gravity) among the members of the races affected thereby, and has further had the effect of aggravating race hatred among the peoples of the land;

"And whereas Parliaments have been created for the great purpose of making laws "for the peace, order, welfare and good Government of the



country," and the Union was effected in the interests of the welfare and future progress of South Africa;

"Now, therefore, the S.A. Native National Congress, representing the Bantu population of the four Provinces of the Union of South Africa, in the Annual Convention assembled at Queenstown, C.P., hereby resolves to empower and authorise the Executive Committee

To Petition

the Union Parliament, by delegation, in writing, or otherwise, and urge the advisability and expediency in the public interest of amending Articles 26 and 44 of the South Africa Act, defining the qualifications of a member of Parliament by the deletion therefrom of the phrase "of European descent."

## EXCLUSION OF THE BANTU

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape  
Province Native Conference, Aliwal North, C.P. May, 1921

Chiefs, headmen, ladies and gentlemen,

It affords me great pleasure to have to stand before you once more and speak to you on what I consider to be the subject of transcendent importance to our people. Since our last and first annual meeting since the reorganization of the Cape branch of the S.A. Native National Congress, the year under review, 1920-21, has been an eventful one, both in this country and elsewhere in the world. What is known as the League of Nations, formed under the Covenant of Peace, held its first General Assembly in Geneva towards the end of the year 1920, when forty-two of the civilized nations of the world were represented at this Congress of Congresses. But perhaps nothing has attracted the eyes of the whole world more than the grim struggle for liberty that has been going on in Ireland for the last four years or so, culminating in 1920 in an event of the greatest historic significance, the death of Mr. MacSwiney, the Lord Mayor of the City of Cork who suffered martyrdom for the great cause. In the East we note with encouragement the grant of a representative form of Government to India, whereby the Indians are to be directly represented not only on the Legislature but also on the governing councils of the country by Indian Ministers of the Crown. Steps were also taken during the year by Great Britain to give Egypt her practical independence as a State, although this has not become an accomplished fact. In the West an event of far-reaching importance and of very great interest to the African was the Negro Congress held at New York, U.S.A., in August, and which we understand, was representative of the entire Negro world. This gathering marked the inauguration of what has been described as

## "THE BACK TO AFRICA"

movement of the Black people domiciled in the New World and elsewhere. We "wait and see."

In South Africa there was held at Bloemfontein, O.F.S., what was known as the "Hereniging" Conference, which was an attempt to heal the breach between two sections of the Dutch-speaking community, who have been seriously divided since 1912 on the principles preached respectively by the late General Botha on the one hand and General Hertzog on the other, or in other words on the issue of Imperialism vs. Republicanism or Bothaism versus Hertzogism. The failure of this historical Conference was the occasion for the birth of a new Centre

Party in South African politics, formed of the S.A. Party and the late Unionist Party, under the masterly leadership of General the Right Hon. J. C. Smuts.

This gallant soldier-statesman and political strategist seized upon the golden opportunity thus offered to call upon the entire European population of this country to make a "new start." It is significant that this happened soon after the tenth anniversary of the coming into being of the Union of South Africa.

Both the English and the loyal Dutch responded in a wonderful manner to this clarion call for national Unity. They thus agreed to let the "dead past bury its dead," to let by-gones be by-gones, sink racial differences and join hands in the formation of a new party on non-racial lines; and the truth of the saying that "Unity is Strength" was amply demonstrated at the last general election when the United Party won a glorious victory and gained a clean majority of over 40 over all possible combinations. The Bantu community may profitably learn the great lessons and, sinking their petty, weakening and destructive differences purely on racial or tribal personal lines, make a new start by uniting all their labour and political forces under one great national organization embracing all the various Bantu tribes of Southern Africa. Such an amalgamation of forces would certainly help to solve what is known as the "Native Problem."

#### THE P.E. AFFAIR.

Of the events of the year must be mentioned the manly and heroic protest of the non-European labourers of Port Elizabeth against the unlawful and unwarrantable arrest of their leader, Mr. S.M. Masabalala. This ill-advised action of the Police authorities of the Bay resulted, as have all ill-advised actions, in the unscrupulous and callous murder of twenty-three Natives and coloured men and the unnecessary death of three innocent Europeans, one of whom was a young woman who was visiting the Port from Johannesburg for health reasons. For the loss of so many precious lives the employers of Port Elizabeth, by reason of their turning a deaf ear to the claims of their employees, are primarily responsible for the "contributory causes" of the tragic happenings of the black 23rd day of October, 1920.

Time would fail me to refer to the troubles of our Isrealite friends at Kamastone. I shall now pass on to deal with what I consider to be an event of more paramount importance in the history of the Bantu population of the sub-Continent, and that is the passing of the Union Parliament of

#### THE NATIVE AFFAIRS ACT, 1920.

This measure makes provision for the creation and appointment of a permanent Commission of Native Affairs, whose duties will be to study the Bantu questions on all its bearings, or, to be precise or follow the wording of the Act, "to consider any matter relating to the general conduct of Native Affairs or to legislation in so far as it may affect the Native population and recommendations to the Minister of Native

Affairs." The Act further provides for the establishment of Native Councils in Native areas and for the convening of Native conferences of Chiefs and other delegates from any Native organizations or congresses for the purposes of ascertaining the sentiments and views of the Native people in regard to any legislative measure in so far as it affects the Bantu population or any portion thereof. The Queenstown Congress of last year took exception to the measures as marking, according to some of the speakers who spoke on the question, a "final exclusion of the black man, the original inhabitant of the land, from participation in the Government of the affairs of this the country of his birth," his Divine appointment and of his permanent abode, and the final denial to him of political rights in the country and further marking the formal inauguration of the objectionable policy of the

#### SEGREGATION OR SEPARATION

of the African or black races from the European or white races of this the country of their common domicilium, a policy which, to our mind, is fraught with dire consequences for this country. Perhaps one would have no objection to separation if due provision had been made for the partition of the land into "hemispheres" of equal size and like quality for locating the respective races, each race being given the right to manage its own internal affairs, even though the assistance or advice of the more developed race might be necessary in connection with the affairs of the less developed race. It must be admitted that the Native Affairs Act, represents a serious attempt at the solution of what has been described as the

#### NATIVE PROBLEM

or "Native question" and to allay the state of unrest alleged to exist among the black people of the land, by providing channels for the ventilation of any grievances the Natives may have and by creating a medium of communication between the Government and the people. Now, looking at the history of the movement for the solution of the problem, one is struck by the fact that the whites seem to have decided to start on three propositions, namely, assimilation, extermination, segregation. The tendency seems to be in favour of the last-named. To General Hertzog falls the honour or discredit of being the first Minister since Union who had the courage to put forward the first proposals for a scheme for the segregation of Natives. He was, however, not permitted to put this scheme before Parliament, for no sooner had he propounded his policy than fundamental differences arose between him and General Botha on the question of the connection with Great Britain, and he was consequently excluded from General Botha's reconstituted Cabinet. Then the late Mr. J. W. Sauer became Minister of Native Affairs, and he was the first to place before the House of Assembly legislative proposals in the direction of

#### "TERRITORIAL SEPARATION"

which is a milder form of segregation. He succeeded in placing on the Statute Book the famous Natives' Land Act of 1913, the operations of which inflicted untold hardships on thousands of landless Natives, many of whom became homeless. It must be said, however, that to such as possessed landed property the Sauer measure gave some security of tenure. A Commission was appointed under the provisions of the Act with Judge Beaumont as Chairman, to investigate conditions in regard to land and make recommendations. Of this Commission the late General Botha, who was then Minister of Native Affairs, introduced to Parliament what was known as the Native Affairs Administration Bill of 1917 and succeeded in carrying through the House of Assembly the second reading of the measure. This Bill aimed at carrying out the policy of the Separation of the Natives, territorial as well as political, initiated by the Act of 1913. This measure met with strenuous opposition from the English-speaking section of the House, led by the Rt. Hon. John X. Merriman and the Hon. Sir Thomas Smartt, then leader of the Opposition. The matter rested there. At the death of General Botha in 1919, General the Rt. Hon. Jan C. Smuts became Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs. He took up the matter and made another attempt at a solution of the apparently big problem of the relations between black and white in South Africa. His scheme embodied in the Native Affairs Act No. 23 of 1920, aims first of all at political segregation, a system of class legislation on race lines. We say this, for the right honourable gentleman had said that he could not allow black men to sit in the white men's Parliament.

These statesmen, however, appear to be only carrying out what is the general view of the white inhabitants of this country as voiced by such writers as one Roderick Jones, who wrote on the "Black Peril" about 14 years ago, and Fred W. Bell, who read a paper on the subject of "The South African Native Problem: A Suggested Solution," before the Union Club of South Africa and the Native Society of the Transvaal on October 14th, 1909. As a matter of fact Gen. Smuts declared in his reply to the debate on the second reading of the Native Affairs Bill, 1920, that segregation was the law of this country. Where these theorists make a grave mistake is in that they start from a very faulty point of view--the self-preservation and self-protection of the white race and the maintenance of white supremacy in the country. Schemes founded on such foundation of sand are

#### FOREDOOMED TO FAILURE.

The only solution that is calculated to prove a success is one that would be founded on the bedrock basis of justice and right, the whole justice and nothing but justice, or in other words on Christian equity: "Do unto others as ye would it should be done unto you."

You will recall that in his great speech on moving the second reading of the Native Affairs Bill in the Union House of Assembly last year, the Prime Minister declared that the "Natives were losing faith in the white man, in the white man's education and in the white man's religion." One would have thought therefore, that the measure would have been a



serious attempt to remove this state of the native mind, restore the confidence of the black man in his white neighbour for the black man's suspicion and scepticism. But unfortunately the enactments have come short of this glorious achievement. I make bold to say that if native opinion had been consulted in regard to this measure it would not have been accepted, in its present form at least. As it is, only half a dozen of supposed leaders of native thought were asked for their views of the Bill, but as a matter of fact the measure was forced down the throat of the Bantu people. It has been, as usual in these matters, a case of "Government without the consent of the governed."

#### A FURTHER BLUNDER.

Let it be clearly understood that no self-respecting race of people in these days of enlightenment and democracy can consent to be governed by means of local or divisional councils and commissions, possessing and discharging functions of an advisory character only. And the Government has made the further blunder of refusing to accede to the request of the native people for the appointment of at least a couple of natives on the Commission of Native Affairs. This at once makes it impossible for the Bantu to place any confidence in men like Dr. Roberts and Dr. Loram, who have proved to be friendly and sympathetically disposed towards the united races of Africa. Further, we should not lose sight of the fact that supreme power is vested in Parliament. This august body consists of representatives of all sections and classes of the European population--the commercial, the agricultural, the industrial and the professional. All schools of political thought are represented. The Bantu population, the largest population of the land, by the way is denied this right of rights, the right of direct representation in the Legislature, the supreme legislative and administrative council of the land. The Native Affairs Commission itself will have to report to this body, through the Minister of Native Affairs. This must in itself render it imperative that the Bantu point of view be directly represented on the Commission as well as in Parliament. Our patience has been exhausted in permitting the white man to continue to legislate for us. If the white man fears the possibility of being swamped, surely South African statemanship is not so bankrupt as to be unable to devise a plan for the due representation of Bantu interests by Bantu members that would, however, secure the supremacy of the European.

This brings us to the question of.

#### THE COLOUR BAR.

To be something approaching perfection the Native Affairs Bill should have endeavoured to effect at least a partial removal of the Colour Bar from the Constitutional machinery of this country. This stigma of our constitution constitutes the source of all the unrest, discontent and ill-feeling that exists, among members of the non-European races in this country, and there can be no peace and contentment and happiness as long as this condition of things is allowed to continue. Why, the position

may be put in a nutshell. The European came to Africa, robbed the African of his God-given land and then deprived the African of all rights of citizenship in a country originally intended by Providence to be his home. Why, did not the Almighty in His wisdom and prescience divide the earth into four continents--Europe, Africa, Asia and America? The man whom He created was planted on this earthly planet. He made them white, black, yellow. To the white man He gave Europe to be his abode, Africa He gave to the black man, and Asia He allocated to the yellow man. America God seems to have intended as the land of the surplus population of each of the three great divisions of mankind named above. The amazing thing to-day is that the white man claims Africa as the white man's country, and by his legislative action he has practically excluded the black man. This is injustice.

#### THAT LITTLE PHRASE.

In supporting the motion for the second reading of the "Treaty of Peace and South-West Africa Mandate Bill" in the House of Assembly on the 10th September, 1920, the Hon. Sir Thomas Smartt, then leader of the Unionist Party, declared: "The statesmen who gathered together for the purpose of formulating the Treaty of peace would have been wanting in their duty if they had not given example to the world of what the just punishments were to be of people who had so ruthlessly trampled or tried to trample upon the rights of other people as the Central Powers had tried to do." Now, does this not hold true of the action of the white man of South Africa? Has he not ruthlessly, wantonly and brutally trampled upon the rights of the Bantu people of the sub-continent by excluding them, by the insertion in the Constitution of that little phrase "of European descent" from the rights of full citizenship in their country with all that that connotes. This is by far a worse crime than the action of the Central Powers, because these Powers made no attempt to deprive the Serbians or the Belgians of their citizenship in their respective countries. General Smuts and General Hertzog, as well as Sir Thos. Smartt, know full well that an injustice of an incomparably worse form is to deprive a man of such rights, and that in the land of his birth and adoption.

#### INALIENABLE RIGHTS.

Let the European community of South Africa only deal out justice to the African and recognize the humanity and manhood of the latter, and so extend to them these inalienable rights of citizenship in their entirety, and then and not until then, can we all say with President Brandt, "Alles zullen recht komen." As a preliminary step in the direction of justice let our white rulers remove the Colour Bar of the Constitution and make provision for some modicum of direct representation of native interests and the native point of view by native members in all the most important Councils of State, such as the Native Affairs Commission, the Provincial Councils in all the four Provinces of the Union and in both Houses of Parliaments. This might be done by the creation and delimitation of native electoral constituencies in each of the four Provinces, each returning one or two members to each of the legislative bodies mentioned above. This is wise statesmanship well worth trying.

### ERA OF DEMOCRACY.

We are living in an age of democracy, when all the peoples of the earth have become conscious of their divine right to rule themselves by men chosen by themselves, and for the benefit of themselves. They will no longer submit to rule by autocrats for their own selfish aggrandisement. The native people of India are claiming this right and the Imperial Parliament has granted them a measure of self or representative government, whereby the management of the affairs of the country will now be in their hands. The Egyptians have also demanded that the great democratic principle of the self-determination of nations be extended to them, and an Imperial commission headed by Lord Milner has recommended that this request be conceded to them. The black people of British West Africa, comprising the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Gambia, and Sierra Leone, who enjoy a measure of direct representation in the legislatures of their respective colonies, are also clamouring for a fuller measure of self-government and, in pursuance of a series of resolutions passed by their National Congress in 1920, they sent a deputation to England composed of their leading lights, members and ex-members of the legislative councils of their countries, a Chief and others, to present before His Majesty King George V a series of resolutions embodied in a memorial.

### THE DEVIL OF DISUNION.

A large section of the Dutch population of South Africa also caught the fire of the new doctrine of the "self-determination" of the nationalities of the earth and they have been clamouring for the abolition of British rule in South Africa and the grant to them of the right to develop their own form of self-government, independently of any connection whatsoever with the British Commonwealth of Nations. Of course, by reason of the fact that they could not present a united front, and also that they disregarded the English, Bantu and Coloured elements of the population of the country, they have utterly and hopelessly failed to achieve their objective.

The Irish people are demanding their right of self-determination as a distinct people. Unfortunately for them, too, the devil of disunion has frustrated their efforts in this direction. They are, however, determined and have made and still are making supreme sacrifices. They have given of their best sons and sacrificed their lives on the altar for the cause of causes, the cause of freedom and liberty, notably amongst whom is one of the Lord Mayors of the City of Cork, James MacSwiney, who suffered martyrdom in the cause of the liberty of the great Irish people. Several of the people of Ireland who were imprisoned for what they believed to be their inalienable right as a nation, but what the Powers that be regarded as high treason, decided on a hunger strike and the Lord Mayor of Cork referred to above was one of the heroic souls who succumbed to self-starvation lasting nearly ninety days.



### A PRECIOUS THING.

All these things should show the Bantu people of this country what a precious thing liberty is. Individuals as well as nations have made the supreme sacrifice for this great cause. Jesus, the Christ of God, gave the lead to mankind and the liberation from the thralldom of wickedness. Over 6,000,000 of the best sons of the four Continents of the earth made the supreme sacrifice in the Great War 1914-1918 for the liberation of the people of the earth from the thralldom of autocracy, despotism and militarism. The Dutch people of South Africa fought and suffered privations and final destruction as a distinct nation for this cause in the Boer war of 1899-1902. The American colonists also fought in 1775 for liberty, and the outcome was the coming into being of one of the greatest free States of the earth.

I am not urging the Bantu races to take up arms against the Powers that be, but I want to urge them with the whole might of persuasion that I can command to launch a big Constitutional fight for this divine right of peoples, for it was God himself who gave man the right of self-determination. It was in the Garden of Eden--right in the beginning of things--that the Almighty gave man perfect freedom to choose between right and wrong, good and evil, life and death. Why should we now have to submit to a condition of things which does not give us this God-given right, the inalienable right of self-determination and self-government?

### TREATED AS CHILDREN.

For reasons of self-preservation, self-protection and self-aggrandisement, the white man has elected to treat the Bantu peoples of Africa as an "inferior race," or as Earl Buxton, in his Presidential address at the annual meeting of the Africa Society in London on the 15th of March last, described our people as the "child races" of the Empire. They have carried this to a logical conclusion by denying us the right, privileges and responsibilities of manhood. And thus-as children, we have no voice in the affairs of the country. Our self-constituted "fathers" or our "step-fathers" for that, the white men, must think for us, legislate for us and determine our destiny and decide our fate. I refuse to submit to the unreasonable humiliation of a great historic people. I emphatically refuse to submit or subscribe to this policy of treating men of maturer years as children or youths. According to the custom of the Bantu, only males who have not undergone the rights of circumcision are treated as youths or "Amakwenkwe," or "Maqai" and, no matter how old they may be or how bearded they may be, or what number of children they may have; as a matter of fact they were not even allowed to marry wives until they have undergone this rite of formal initiation into manhood. While in this stage they have no say in affairs, domestic or national.

The black man in South Africa is treated in exactly the same manner. He is a "political child," a political "Nkwenkwe" or "Maqai" or as the Sesuto saying is "Mosheman-mpshase-lanloa leboea" ("What is boy a mere dog to be cast away, hairs and all.") The poor black man is consequently

reduced to a position of utter voicelessness and votelessness, hopelessness, powerlessness, helplessness, defencelessness, homelessness, landlessness, a condition of deepest humiliation and absolute dependency. God forbid that we, as human beings, made in the image of and after the likeness of Himself, should permit other human beings, made in like manner, to abrogate to themselves a position of superiority over us.

Chiefs, councillors, ladies and gentlemen, a new thing has just happened in the political life of South Africa. A Bill is engaging the attention of the Union Parliament purporting to extend franchise and citizen rights to the women folk of the European community of this land. The omens are overwhelmingly favourable to the measure, and in all probability it will find its way to the Statute Book of the Union, and in the event of that becoming an accomplished fact (I don't begrudge the ladies the right) then all persons of "European descent," irrespective of sex, will have been included in the political economy of the land and all male persons of African or non-European descent excluded, save only to a limited extent in one of the four Provinces constituting the Dominion of S. Africa, and then the ideal of a "White South Africa" will have been fully realized. The African will then be relegated to a position of an alien or political slave in his own country. In Egypt the position under the Pharaohs was quite the reverse. Only aliens or foreigners--the Israelites--were treated as slaves, not the natives of Egypt.

Even if the position be viewed from an ethnological point the South African position is strangely anomalous as well as it is untenable. A race of people cannot be held in a sort of "political slavery" only because that race happens to be primitive, untutored or uncivilized. Yet the Bantu of South Africa can no longer be said to be in a state of barbarism or savagism.

#### CO-OPERATION OF ALL RACES.

Chiefs, ladies and gentlemen, I want to declare, in conclusions, that South Africa will never attain her noble ideal of peacefulness, happiness, prosperity, greatness and national unity, of which the Prime Minister and all lovers of Africa have been rightly dreaming, without the full and free co-operation of all the white and black races of the land and of all classes and conditions of men. Industrially, agriculturally and commercially we have been working together for the development of our common country. Let this policy of full co-operation be extended to our political system; let no race or class or creed be driven to such a condition of despair as it might be compelled to adopt the Gandhian policy of "non-co-operation"--taxation without representation leads to this.

And then when our common task in this country has been completed and the end of all things has fully come, we can look back and exclaim

"All's well that ends well."

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THE EVIL NATURE OF THE COLOUR BAR

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the Cape Province  
Native Congress, Queenstown, C.P., May 18, 1922.

Honoured Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I beg to extend to you all a very hearty WELCOME to this the third Annual Meeting of the CAPE PROVINCE NATIVE CONGRESS since its re-formation in October, 1919.

The past year has been an eventful one. Only a couple of days after our last Annual Convention held at Aliwal Nroth a most tragic event occurred at NTABELANGA in the Kamastone District in the very vicinity of the Town at which we are assembled to-day. The Government forces invaded the Israelite Camp and shot down hundreds of our people there, upwards of 200 being killed or dying from wounds received. The Leaders of this religious sect, ENOCH AND CHARLES MGIJIMA and others were arrested, prosecuted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment with hard labour ranging from 18 months to six years.

This terrible slaughter of defenceless people, who were led to take the action they did take by religious sentiment and conviction, aroused the indignation, although largely inarticulate, of a very large section of the Bantu population of South Africa, more especially in view of the fact that the Government had declined the offer of the CAPE PROVINCE NATIVE CONGRESS to send a Deputation consisting of its President to proceed Bulhoek with a view of endeavouring to bring about a peaceful and bloodless settlement of the dispute between the Government and the Israelites.

Now, however, the Supreme Court of the land has adjudicated upon the matter and declared the Israelites guilty of an offence against the public law of the land, and we are consequently debarred from discussing the merits or demerits of the whole case. All that remains to be done is to approach the highest administrative authority in the land--His Royal Highness The GOVERNOR -GENERAL with a PETITION that he might be graciously pleased to remit the sentences passed on the unfortunate Leaders and their principal followers or otherwise to order that they be treated as "Political Prisoners."

Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In my Addresses of the last two years I dealt respectively with the Colour Bar and the Exclusion of the Bantu from the Citizenship of the Union of South Africa; in the first showing what I believed to be the origin, history and the motives and effects of the establishment of the



Colour Bar in the constitutional machinery of this country. In the second I tried to indicate the content, intent and extent of the Exclusion of the Native races from the Citizenship of this the land of their fathers.

In this year's Addresses I propose following up the argument by dealing with what I would like to describe as

#### THE EVIL NATURE OF THE COLOUR BAR.

This has had a deeper impression upon my mind through the circumstances surrounding and attending the recent Industrial Strikes on the Rand. The language used by the Strikers at the series of Meetings and demonstrations held by them during the continuance of the Strike and their subsequent behaviour left no shadow of doubt as to the evil the Colour Bar is calculated to produce on the life of this country. Never before was more disgraceful and humiliating reading made and one calculated to detract from the dignity of a great race like the European race of South Africa than that which filled from day to day the columns of the Public Press of the land during this the most disastrous Strike in the industrial history of the Sub-Continent.

The whole trouble arose from the proposal of the Chamber of Mines to make modifications, with a view to reducing the costs of working the Mines, in regard to the Colour Bar regulations and to revise what is known as "the Status Quo" Agreement on the Mines. The Leaders of the Mine Workers at once raised the cry of "WHITE SOUTH AFRICA" when the Colour Bar was thus touched. They cried as loud as they could, "Wolf wolf. What! South Africa is in peril," and they succeeded in winning the sympathy and the moral as well as material support of a large section of the deluded European Community in and out of the Witwatersrand and in several parts of the country. They told a credulous country that a sinister attempt was being made by the Mine Owners to substitute Coloured or Black labour for White, and thus throw open to Black men those avenues of employment that had been reserved by statutory regulations as the "White man's preserve."

Further these Leaders contended that this replacement of White labour by Black would have the effect of reversing the fixed policy of making South Africa a "White man's country," and thus the land would revert to a Black man's country.

We then began to learn still more clearly that the great objective of the average White man in this country was to make this a White man's land; that the object of the legal Colour Bar in the Constitution of the Union was to make of South Africa a White man's country; that the industrial Colour Bar on the Mines on the Rand and other mining areas in South Africa, as well as that in all the industrial and commercial activities of the land; the exclusion of the Black man from the political economy of the land and from the permanent Civil Service of the country, even though he possessed the requisite qualifications by learning, experience or hard work; the denial to the Black worker of a bare "living wage"; in a word, the whole conduct of the White man towards his Black neighbour, all have for their supreme object, the making of South Africa a White man's land, to the rigid exclusion of the aboriginal inhabitant of the land.



Note the resolution adopted at the big demonstration of Strikers and their sympathisers held on the Union Grounds, Johannesburg, on the 15th February:

"That this mass Meeting of Workers hereby pledge ourselves to stand firm and solid to the principle for which we are fighting, namely...."a white standard of living for the workers of South Africa.....and above all, a White South Africa, which means a country fit for White men and women to live in." The phrase, "White South Africa," was such a feature of the whole proceedings during those strike days that the leading Article in the "Rand Daily Mail" of February 11th, on the subject of "The Mines and WHITE LABOUR," had not less than six references to "White South Africa."

At a mass Meeting of between 4,000 and 5,000 Strikers held on the Market Square, Boksburg, on February 9th, it was reported that numerous speeches were made in both English and Dutch, the Newspaper reports stating that the "keynote throughout was that the vital strike issue was that of "White South Africa." Further at a Demonstration held in Coronation Park, Krugersdorp, on February 17th, a Mr. George BROWN, Organiser of the South Africa Industrial Federation, addressing the Meeting, declared:

"The men of the Witwatersrand intended to remain out until they had it laid down definitely that South Africa was going to be a "White man's country." And at Benoni's Demonstration the Women's Section of the Springs Commando carried a banner with the inscription: "We will fight and starve for a "White South Africa" for our children."

Two facts emerge from all these statements and declarations, namely, that the object of the Colour Bar, civil, political, or industrial, is to put down the Black man in order to make South Africa, by nature the Black man's land a White man's country; secondly, that the idea of the Colour Bar or Colour discrimination is now so deeply rooted and embedded in the inner man of the White man and his progeny that it is bound to produce, in the near future, fruits of the most undesirable nature.

The Colour Bar was described by General the Rt. Hon. J. C. SMUTS, Prime Minister of the Union, in his reply to the Debate on the Rand Strike, as "a legal statutory Bar, a line of Colour, a line which is drawn in the mining regulations of the Transvaal." Proceeding the gallant General says: "It was the old practice in the Transvaal, and that practice became in 1910 under Union embodied in Statutory regulations, that certain skilled positions on the Mines could only be filled by Whites."

#### THE EVIL OF THE BAR.

I desire to place before the bar of the public opinion of South Africa, White and Black, the wrongfulness, unlawfulness, unfairness and injustice of this artificial separation of the races by means of this "line of Colour: drawn by man to divide one race from another. Man has done this for the purpose of gratifying his own ambitions, of enlarging his own resources, of enriching his own purse and of self-aggrandisement. Nature had herself drawn a line of Colour, separating White and Black. She did not invoke man's aid to widen this natural gap between the races. This human interference in Divine government is uncalled for, and is an offence against the law of God.



As an evil this artificial Colour Bar is having the effect of the demoralization of the White race. It is sowing in the hearts and minds and souls of the young generation of White people seeds of the greatest evil--the evil of Hatred towards the Black man, and the Bible regards Hatred as tantamount to Murder. "Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer." One could clearly see on reading the speeches of the Strike Leaders how bitter was the hatred of the White man or rather the average White man for the Black man. One can see this in all the general conduct and behaviour of the White man towards his Black neighbour. It is one of resentment, contempt and ill-will. The Dutch Farmers in the Orange Free State to avoid sitting side by side with a "Kaffirtje" when travelling on the same cart tie up the latter on the back of the vehicle, the former being compelled to take the "Kaffirtje" with him to open gates for him along the way.

The events connected with the recent Strikes in Johannesburg made a painful demonstration of the evil this hideous thing was sowing and spreading in this fair country. What should have been a peaceful strike, or a constitutional protest against what the Mine workers believed or feared was an attempt to remove the Colour Bar, developed into a bloody Revolution, the result being the loss of upwards of 200 innocent lives and the destruction of much property belonging to innocent and peaceful people. The hatred of the average White man towards the Bantu showed itself by the unwarranted and wanton attack by the indignant strikers upon law-abiding and peaceful Natives. The evil is eating like a canker in the hearts of its perpetrators.

#### EFFECT ON THE BLACK MAN.

Now, the most serious question that one must ask himself is: What effects is this hatred of the average White man for the Black man calculated to produce upon the mentality of the rising generation of the Bantu?

I leave the question to others to answer.

#### COLOUR BAR DREAM FOR SELFISH ENDS.

This line of Colour has been introduced into the affairs of South Africa by the European community for selfish ends, and to gratify "the lust of the flesh," and "the pride of life." The eye of the White man looked upon Africa, the Black man's land' he coveted it even as Ahab of sacred history coveted Naboth's vineyard. As it was then, it is even so now. The Ahab of modern history has coveted poor Naboth's vineyard, and is employing unlawful methods to take possession of it, even to make of this a Black man's land by Divine appointment a White man's land. This line of Colour is one of those evil methods the latter uses with this end in view. For the lust of the flesh, the love of money, the pride of life; to secure and maintain the supremacy of the White man; to keep down the Black man, the White man has drawn this line of colour, the effect of which has been to reduce the Bantu to a state of helplessness in this country.

Now these same evils have caused bloodshed in the past. Sacred and secular history bristles with instances where these evils have been



responsible for the shedding of innocent blood. From the same motives as these Cain killed Abel his brother, Ahab murdered Naboth. The Jews killed Jesus the Christ. David caused the death of Uriah the Hittite. The mighty Nations of Europe have killed the weaker races of Africa by destroying their nationhood. Austria tried to annihilate weaker Serbia. Germany tried to trample to death half of Europe. Although she did not succeed in achieving her object yet she succeeded in causing much bloodshed in the whole world. Millions of lives have been lost in the great World War of 1914-18. Quantities of innocent blood have been spilt. A sinister attempt has been and is being made to bring about the downfall of the Bantu as a people. To avoid open destruction by weapons of destruction invisible weapons are being used in this shameless business. A process of extermination is going on. The Colour Bar, political, civil as well as industrial, is achieving this object.

#### AN UN-CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLE.

The White races of the World as well as those of South Africa are regarded as the Christian peoples of the earth. They are, as a people, members and adherents of the Church of the Lord Jesus Christ; they have embraced and adopted Christianity as their national Religion, as the faith of their fathers, the faith once delivered to their saints. They have adopted the basic principles of Christian teaching as the guiding principles in their general conduct as individuals and as Nations; their system of legislation and government is based on these principles.

But in South Africa when it comes to the question of relations between Black and Whites, these Christian principles are thrown overboard; they are discarded as worthless, misleading and dangerous. Then the "middle wall of partition between us," broken down at the death of the Saviour of mankind to make of one all the nations of the earth, is suddenly re-erected, and a sharp line of division between Whites and Black is drawn, and immediately the law of segregation is introduced and enforced with the utmost rigour. At once the Bantu as well as his Coloured compatriot is treated as an "alien from the commonwealth of Israel." It becomes an unlawful thing for a "man that is a Jew (White man) to keep company with or come unto one of another nation." Then he who befriends the Black man, who would treat him as a brother in the Lord or as a number of the human race, is accused of unlawfully associating with the "Kaffirs." Like St. Peter of sacred history he is accused of prohibited social intercourse with the Gentiles. "Thou wentest in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them." He is strongly rebuked and remonstrated with that "the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans."

South Africanism as preached and taught, practised and enforced by the European races of the Sub-Continent is distinctly un-Christian in its conception and confession. On the contrary it is Judaism of the worst type. It is a contradiction of the Christian law of laws. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." The Colour Bar of the White man has had the effect of nullifying and defying this law of Christ, and it is an irony of circumstances that Christian communities



in South Africa or the protagonists of Christianity have given their consent to this un-Christian or anti-Christian thing. "Silence means consent."

#### WHERE IS THE HOPE OF THE BLACK MAN?

Whether or not the Colour Bar shall ever be eliminated from the national affairs of Southern Africa is a moot point. Here we have the solemn declarations of public men of no little account holding out no hope for the removal of this "line of Colour." Mr. Tielman ROOS, M.L.A., Leader of the National Party of the Transvaal, in reply to the revolutionary resolution emanating from the Rand Strikers, declared that "Parliament would never be party to the removal of the Colour Bar." What are known as the Turffontein resolutions in connection with the recent Rand strikes stated, inter alia, "The Colour Bar must remain intact," and General SMUTS, the Prime Minister of the Union in reply to a Deputation from Turffontein headed by Major W. HUNT, M.L.A., a Britisher, who presented the famous resolutions, declared that he was of opinion "that the proposals contained in the resolutions were sound," and promised to proceed with legislation along those lines as soon as Parliament met. General J.B.M. HERTZOG, M.L.A. Leader of the National Party of South Africa, moved a Resolution in the House of Assembly which was, in effect, a protest against any attempt at modification or removal of the Colour Bar on the Mines of the Rand. Perhaps it is well to quote that part of his resolution which dealt with this aspect of the case. It was as follows:

"That the House declares that it is not in the interests of the country that any change should be brought about in any law or established custom or agreement whereby the spheres of employment at present secured to European labourers on the mines shall be curtailed in favour of Native labour, and that if necessary Government be instructed immediately to take legislative action in order to prevent any such curtailment."

Mr. Justice CURLEWIS who presided over a Conference of representatives of the Chamber of Mines on the one hand and of the Mine Workers on the other, in making his own proposals for the settlement of the dispute, moved that "the statutory regulations laying down the colour Bar shall remain unalterable." General J.C. SMUTS, who is for the time being the Leader of the European Nation of South Africa, stated in Parliament in reply to the Debate on the strike Resolutions that "the Government made it perfectly clear when the negotiations started between the Federation of Trades and the Chamber of Mines last year that the Colour Bar was not to be touched." Proceeding the Premier declared that this "had been the bedrock of the whole situation," and that "the entrenchment of the White position under the law should not be touched." The House roared with "Hear, Hears."

Now experience has taught us that the Nationalist Party of South Africa moulds and shapes public opinion in the Union in regard to the Colour Bar question. The two principal Leaders of this Party have declared themselves to be entirely opposed to the removal of the Colour Bar; the Leader of the whole European community has also declared himself in the



same strain; a Member of the Judiciary, a man who ought to command the respect and confidence of every section of the population of the land also says the colour bar must remain unalterable. The Bantu population as well as their Coloured brethren may well exclaim: "From whence cometh our help?" Whom shall we look up to as a possible friend of the voiceless section of community? The old UNIONIST PARTY has now definitely and finally allied itself with the Party that is pledged to work and strive for the retention and permanent entrenchment of the Colour Bar on the industrial as well as the political life of this country, and to labour for making this a White man's country and for the maintenance of the supremacy of the White man.

#### A RAY OF LIGHT.

There is, however, a ray of the light of hope. That grand old man, the Rt. Hon. John X. MERRIMAN, is still in the House of Assembly to point out the way of justice and right, and to endeavour to lay down a policy that is calculated to make for peace and to save this country from disaster. About two years ago he moved a resolution in favour of the removal of the Colour Bar in the Mining regulations of the Rand. His voice was, unfortunately, like the voice of one crying in the wilderness. In his speech on the Rand Mines Strikes, 1922, he described the policy of retaining the Colour Bar as an "unjust, immoral and uneconomic policy." May Merriman live long to champion the cause of right, justice and humanity, to the salvation of this land.

Sir Lionel PHILLIPS, an eminent Leader of the capitalistic classes of the country has also described the Colour Bar as "irrational and immoral," and he declared himself as being in favour of its gradual removal. The late Chief Magistrate J.B. MOFFAT in his Report on the Native Strikes of 1918, recommended the Government to "relieve itself from the odium attaching to it in the matter by withdrawing the Colour Bar provisions from the Mining regulations."

In Johannesburg there exists a body of practical White men, God bless them, who have taken practical steps in the right direction of removing this artificial Bar as a disgrace to people professing the religion of Jesus Christ. With this end in view these gentlemen have approached Leaders of the Bantu community on the Rand and the result has been the formation and constitution of what are "Joint COUNCILS OF EUROPEANS and NATIVES" the object of which is to consult together and take joint action in all matters affecting the welfare of the weaker race.

The Bantu community as well as their European friends should take courage, and, adopting constitutional lines, urge and agitate with all the energy that they can command for the ultimate elimination of this EVIL from the body politic of this our common land.

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### THE LAND QUESTION.

This is perhaps the biggest of all the questions that exercise the mind of the Native population of South Africa, one that dominates all others.

Only a fraction of this population holds land in this country in individual or communal tenure. We learn that that land in proportion to that held by the European community is about 14 per cent. of all the available land in the Union. According to the Official Year Book of 1910-18 we find that land belonging to Europeans including Crown land is, in round figures, 260,000,000 Acres, but that land belonging to Natives and including Mission land and Reserves is only 27,000,000 Acres. All the above figures, however, represent land under Native occupation. The Bantu population is approximately 4,500,000, and consequently each member of the Bantu race occupies about 6 acres of ground.

The inevitable result of this condition of affairs has been the driving of the Natives from their homes into the Cities and Towns and on to Farms owned by Europeans. It has rendered a great proportion of the Native population landless and homeless. It has reduced them to a state of slavery. A great majority of the White farmers have taken advantage of the helpless and landless and homeless condition of the Bantu and have compelled the poor people to work for them with their wives and children, practically without pay, the only consideration given for their services being permission to reside on the farm, graze a limited number of stock and till a few acres of land. He is, however, allowed very little time to devote to the proper and productive working of these few acres, 8 tenths of their time being spent on the master's work.

And these Farmers appear to have a system of registration of all the Native families living on their farms, for they know every single boy or girl on the farm and these are required alternately at the master's service. This has created a state of discontentment on the farms, more especially those of the Orange Free State, where the Farmers know that in the whole Province the only land owned by Natives consists of the Reserves of Witzieshoek in the Harrismith District and Seliba in the District of Thaba 'Nchu, and no more than 30 Native farms in the District of Thaba 'Nchu, the whole vast country being owned by Europeans. There is, consequently, ceaseless groaning of the Bantu people suffering under the yoke of this modern form of slavery.

The Natives Land Act of 1913 as well as the Beaumont Commission appointed under its provisions and the subsequent Provincial Committees are doomed to failure as an attempt to solve the land question in the Union. The only solution I can see would be one which would grant at least 50 per cent of the land in the whole of the Union of South Africa to the 4,500,000 Natives and parcel out the rest to the European population.

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### RELIGION.

The question that must agitate the mind of every Black man and woman



is that of the SALVATION, spiritual and political, of the Bantu race. I am convinced that upon the spiritual salvation of my race of people depends its political salvation. The Bantu people must realize this supreme fact. No God, no hope, no life, no salvation. As with individuals it is even so with Nations and Communities. A people that recognizes no Supreme BEING as the Supreme RULER of mankind can hardly ever accomplish national unity, nor can it attain a state of race-consciousness which is so indispensable to its salvation as a people and to recognition among other races of the earth.

What is wanted perhaps more than anything else among the Bantu races of Southern Africa is Religion, the Religion of the Lord Jesus Christ, with its saving, uplifting, refining and regenerating influences.

But the biggest pity of all is the fact that this grand religious Faith has been introduced among the Bantu in a torn condition. Its human Agents have broken it into hundreds of sects, each believing that it is the only orthodox Church of Christ, preaching Christianity as it was taught by Jesus Christ and His immediate successors, and denouncing all the others as heterodox and heretic in their teaching. So that to-day Christianity presents itself as a "divided house," and in this form it could hardly expect to appeal to the religious instinct of an otherwise credulous people like the Bantu. Now the would-be religious Leaders of the Bantu have also copied this condemnable example of the European protagonists of Christianity. In their attempt to build up a Bantu Church they have begun to quarrel among themselves until today they have broken up into hundreds of separate Bantu Churches or sects to the sad detriment of all religious life among the people.

The inevitable result of this confusion of religious thought has been the hardening of the people into unbelief and scepticism of a hopeless kind.

#### A BANTU NATIONAL CHURCH DESIRED.

In these sad circumstances some of us have longed to see the formation and establishment of ONE BANTU CHURCH which could claim to be the National Church of the whole Bantu population of South Africa, and one which might tend to act as a UNIFYING force among them, a Church that could, or would, be in a better position to speak with one authoritative Voice to and for the Bantu and point them the way to life, eternal as well as temporal.

If ever there was a time when SOLIDARITY, solidarity of sentiment, of thought and action, was needed, that time is now when the race is passing through a dangerous period of transition.

Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlement, I beg to call upon you all and through you upon all the Bantu Tribes domiciled throughout the whole length and breadth of Africa South of the Zambesi River, of all languages or dialects whatsoever, to be ONE, one in sentiment, one in thought, one in action, one as a Nation. Let not language or custom or tribal distinction or country or religion or education or anything else divide us.

"Divided, we fall, United we stand."



THE DAY OF HUMILIATION AND PRAYER

Delivered on November 21, 1922

The Annual Conference of the South African Native National Congress held at Queenstown, C.P., on the 24th May last and following days, solemnly resolved on the suggestion of the Acting President, Chief S. Mini of Edendale, Natal, to fix Sunday, the 21st of November, in the year of our Lord 1920, as a day of humiliation and prayer to the Almighty, the God of our Fathers, for the liberation of the Bantu Races of South Africa from the thralldom and oppression of European domination and top-doggism (I have not got the exact terms of the great resolution).

It is therefore incumbent upon all of our chiefs, headmen, ministers of religion and peoples of all tribes throughout the whole length and breadth of the country to make preparations for the due observance of this great day as indicated in the resolution quoted above, to think, talk and pray about it.

Of course it is for the President of the National Congress to send word to all those concerned. My object in writing is only to recall certain facts, and place them before the great Bantu public.

In the first place, let it be ever remembered that Africa was created by the Almighty for the habitation and use of the black races. It is recorded in the Book of Books that "God hath of one Blood made all nations for men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation" (Acts XVII. 26) Yet the peoples of Europe have come over to Africa, the land of the divinely-appointed habitation of the black man, and not only made their abode in the land, but have also usurped the right of the governance of the land and its peoples, seized the treasures of the land, its gold, its silver, its diamonds, its copper, its coal, its agricultural produce, for their own use and enrichment, and have subjected the original inhabitants to a condition of subordination, oppression, bondage and slavery; and have wrongfully and unlawfully denied them citizen rights and privileges of every kind whatsoever in their land. Injustice of a grosser sort can never be imagined.

In the second place, in year 1909 the European races in Southern Africa decided upon a political unification of the then four self-governing British colonies into one great dominion under one supreme government and one supreme parliament under the Crown of Great Britain. Public wrong of the first magnitude was committed at this time. The aboriginal inhabitants of the land with their colored compatriots were, by the introduction and establishment of the color bar in the Constitution of the new dominion, ruthlessly excluded from this so-called Union. Yet the peoples thus excluded constitute 71% of the whole population of the country. An appeal, by means of a strong deputation headed by the late Right Hon. W. P. Schreiner, P.C. of revered memory, was made to Caesar, the King, parliament and public of the United Kingdom. The delegation consisted of such of the best of Africa's sons as Dr. A. Abdurahman, Dr. Bubusana and Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu. The appeal was dismissed with costs.



Again an iniquitous land act was passed by the Parliament of the Union, the effect of which was to finally deprive the black man of 87% of all the available land in the country of their birth and allocate that to the European inhabitants who, by the way form about 29% of the whole population of the Union.

Another appeal to Caesar was decided upon. This time the delegation of protest was under the able leadership of the Rev. John L. Dube, first president of the South African Native National Congress, and it consisted of such strong men as Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje. The appeal met with the fate of the 1909 Appeal.

At the time of the conclusion of peace at the partial close of the World War of 1914-1918, when the old world order was to be overhauled and a new order inaugurated, and when the smaller, weaker and oppressed nationalities of Europe were to be liberated from the thraldom and oppression of the bigger, stronger and more favored nations, we seized upon the rare opportunity thus created and made yet another appeal, this time not only to the British Caesar, but to a greater, even the world at large. The deputation which sailed for Europe early in 1919 was composed of Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje, now senior vice-president of the Congress, the Rev, H. R. Ngcayiya, the junior chaplain, Mssrs. L.T. Mvabaza, R. V. Selope Thema and J.T. Gumede. The first and last named are still in Europe trying to enlighten the British public on the serious and farreaching consequences of the failure of these missions.

This the third appeal of the black sons of Africa has again been dismissed with very heavy costs. England has finally washed her hands of the innocent blood of the Bantu races, divested herself of all responsibility (although like Pilate of sacred history she will never be absolved from answerability in this shameful "selling away" of a whole nation) and told us to submit our case to the Union Government, and Parliament an unheard of thing in jurisprudence for an appellant to submit his case to the respondent. Or for an appeal case to be remitted to the court against the judgement of which the appeal was noted, without the superior court making comments or recommending modifications on the judgement of the court below. The outside world has also declared its inability to interfere in what are, for convenience sake, described as "the domestic affairs" of a country, more especially when that country happens to be a member of the League of Nations, say the League of white Nations.

Yet the European peoples of the sub-continent have declared through their chief accredited spokesman, the Prime Minister of the Union, that they cannot allow the black man to sit in the White man's Parliament. Their only alternative, instead of throwing open the doors of the Parliament of our common country to the black man, has been to enact an objectionable law, the Native Affairs Act, 1920, the immediate effect of which, yea the avowed object, is to treat the Native peoples of the land as an entity quite apart from the rest of the community, and to formally inaugurate a policy of political and territorial segregation of the Bantu races, with the door of the Houses of Parliament finally and effectively closed against them. By the provisions of this act a permanent advisory council, to be known as the Native Affairs Commission, on which, by the way, no black man is to serve, is to be instituted. Let it be remembered all this has been done against the will of our people.



In these circumstances the recent Queenstown Congress felt that the black man had exhausted all constitutional methods of claiming his rights, and that the time had come when before any drastic measures could be resorted to, the Bantu peoples should appeal to the very highest tribunal of all, the "righteous Judge of all the earth," and we are persuaded He will do right. Our people must, however, not be deceived. The day of deliverance shall not come in a day, although come it must one day or another, yet it may take years to arrive. But let us rest assured that the day of reckoning will come, sooner or later, in one way or another, as it did to Russia and Germany. We may have to travel a long, thorny, or bloody road, like the Israelites in their historic march from the Egyptian oppression to the land of promise, before we attain our ideal of freedom. But this is no reason why we should not begin now to work hard towards the great objective.

Modern Egypt has fought some bitter battles, and today she has won her complete independence. Africa expects that every one of her sons and daughters, every man and woman, shall do his or her duty in the great struggle for the emancipation of the sons and daughters of the soil from this modern Egypt of oppression which boasts of a Christian civilization. Has the time not arrived when the prophecy should be fulfilled? "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God." When our united prayer has ascended into heaven as the united cry of an oppressed, down-trodden and despised people, it is then the Voice of God will be heard thundering from the burning bush of this ruthless and brutal oppression: "Behold, the cry of the children of Ham is come unto me, and I have also seen the oppression wherewith their 'taskmasters' oppress them." Exodus III.9.

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## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at Special Conference of  
African National Congress

Bloemfontein, O.F.S.  
January 1926

(As reported in The Friend, January 4, 1926)

In his presidential address which followed, the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane expressed the hope that the New Year may herald the coming liberation of the race from the thralldom of European domination. (applause). Never before had the Bantu race been called upon to decide on an issue of such transcendent importance, an issue of life and death for the race. And it was therefore incumbent on their leaders, thinkers and watchmen of the race to refrain from a display of talents of oratory or ornate speech, but to use common sense in arriving at the decisions that spell solution for the beknighted people of Africa. The Convention had been called for the purpose of coming and reasoning together in regard to the weighty proposals of the present Union Government, in an earnest endeavor to find a solution of what was known as the Native question. "We are here in an endeavor to prepare the mind of the Bantu people for the far-reaching events of the next five years or so; to determine the right attitude to be adopted by our people and finally to discover a common modus vivendi to be followed by our race in this hour of supreme need." The proposals of the Government had been expounded in a masterly and historic speech delivered by the Prime Minister at Smithfield on Friday, November 13, 1925, the keynote of which was segregation of the Black from the White races and the absorption, economically as well as politically, of the Colored people into the society of the Europeans. The scheme of segregation was to be applied to the question of the distribution and occupation of land and to the field of economics and politics.

## GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS

The broad outline of the Smithfield declaration made the following proposals: (a) Additional land for the occupation of the Bantu population in terms of the recommendations of the Beaumont Commission. (b) Political segregation of the Black races by the elimination of the Cape Native franchise and the substitution thereof of a Union Native vote, but on a different basis from the European franchise. (c) The final denial to the Bantu of the right to sit in Parliament. (Cries of "Shame") His interests to be represented by seven White men, elected by the whole male Bantu population of the Union, the seven White men possessing restricted voting powers in the House and holding the status for all practical intents and purposes of mere watchmen, not of members of Parliament in full standing. (d) The introduction of a council system of self-government on Native areas. (e) The creation by statute of a Union Native Council which, according to General Hertzog, might develop into a Native Parliament for the Union.



"Now it is the duty of this Convention to determine what should be the attitude towards these proposals; acceptance, amendment, or rejection in whole or in part of the proposals. Agreeing as they all did that the time was ripe for race adjustment in South Africa, their criticisms should be constructive rather than destructive or they should offer alternative proposals. In the first place they should notice that the Government's proposals were based on fundamentally wrong premises, upon fear and distrust of the homeless and innocent Native or upon abhorrence on the part of the White man of the idea of him being ruled by the Black man.

#### FUNDAMENTALLY UNSOUND

"It is clear," said General Hertzog at Smithfield, "that the grant of the franchise to the Native on the Cape basis would necessarily mean the ruin of the White population and European civilization in South Africa." To his mind, said the President, his premise was fundamentally unsound. In the second place they should note the effect of these proposals would certainly be the initiation of a three or four stream policy in the Union dividing the European, the Eurafrika, African and even the Asiatic elements of the population into three or four distinct political groups, seeing the Eurafricans or Coloreds would only be given social equality. "While we all acknowledge that social segregation of the races is in the best interests of the races concerned, yet we submit that the policy of political, economic, as well as industrial, segregation is fundamentally unsound, being based on an artificial foundation. It is calculated to antagonise the races and create a state of lasting estrangement among the races of the land."

While desiring to avoid prejudicing delegates with the questions to be decided, said Mr. Manabane, he must make a few remarks on the questions of the franchise. "The Cape Native franchise is a heritage of such vital import that it would be no easy matter for the Bantu people of the Union to sacrifice the Cape Native franchise until something of substantially equal utility was substituted.

#### IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, CREED OR COLOR

This would seem to lie in the direction of the introduction of a system of Native franchise, whereby the Bantu people of the Union would be entitled to elect a prescribed number of men irrespective of race or color or creed to represent their interests in Parliament. The common law of civilized nations laid it down as an accepted maxim that the man could only be tried by his peers. Similarly, the interests of the Black man could only be more adequately, more satisfactorily, more acceptably represented in any legislative assembly by a compatriot. (applause) He alone could more truly and correctly express his views, sentiments and aspirations, because those sentiments are his own just as they were his words. The eight Senators in the Union Senate, who were supposed to represent Native interests were not even known by the average Black man, nor is their influence felt in Bantu circles, much less in the counsels of State. Their interests could only be adequately represented by men of their own race in Parliament. After all, the color of one's skin told a great deal in Parliament. The presence of a solitary Black man in Parliament would make a great difference on the legislation passed. With one Black man in Parliament, speeches as made by Mr. van Hees, the member for Christiana, would not be made.



After traversing various solutions enunciated by speakers on both sides as the best for the Union, such as repression, segregation, and non-cooperation, Mr. Mahabane said a gracious and all-wise Providence had willed that the peoples of European, American and Asiatic descent should live together in that portion of the great Continent of Africa known as the Union of South Africa. The Creator appears to have said: "It is not good that the African shall be alone in Africa," and said, "I shall make him a helpmeet for him." (Laughter) And He brought out the European, the Asiatic, the American, as well as men of the Semitic race for the working out of the great providential purpose of transforming Africa into a great country. Hence we are all here to stay.

#### THE RHODES FORMULA

A common policy must, therefore, be discovered, adopted, followed and followed up, which is calculated to promote the best interests of all the heterogeneous elements constituting the population of the Union.

It would seem to me that there is only one such policy and that the one based upon the Rhodes formula of "Equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi." This connoted equal citizen rights, equal franchise rights, equal rights in the acquisition of land, equal rights in the defence of the country, and equal rights of labor in the industrial sphere.

The present generation of South African statesmen have overturned this noble principle and introduced a sinister policy of separation, differentiation, discrimination, disintegration, disunion, segregation, and have categorically in a series of legislative and administrative measures and enactments denied the Black man, the son of the soil, a place in the sun, and his rightful place in the political economy of the land of his birth.

Even as there exists a mysterious interdependence between man and nature, the intellect of man and the forces of nature, cooperation between man and nature, even so is there interdependence between the cosmopolitan races of this wonderful land, each race making its indispensable contribution towards the great task of making this a country that can claim the position of *primus inter pares*.

The great and crying need of this land is for a statesman who will boldly and courageously declare for a policy of race cooperation, race collaboration in developing the wonderful material resources of this great land, in building up its industries--cooperation in developing the agricultural and mineral resources of the land, cooperation in defending the territorial integrity of this land of our common adoption, as well as in defending its laws and institutions; collaboration in the making of laws for the good, orderly and peaceful government of the land. There must be mutual confidence among the races. Each side of the color line must be prepared to see and appreciate the other man's point of view.

#### ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE SUGGESTED

This state of affairs can only be brought about by means of a round table conference between representatives of both sides of the color line, more especially on great occasions like the present, when the country is called upon to find a right solution of the problem of adjusting the relations between the White, Black, Brown, and Colored elements of the population."

The presidential address was received with prolonged applause.



## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the  
African National Congress  
Bloemfontein, O.F.S.  
June 1926

(As reported in The Friend, June 25, 1926)

In the course of his presidential address at the annual convention of the African National Congress in Bloemfontein on Wednesday, the Rev. Z. R. Mahabane said: --

Two events of outstanding and far-reaching significance that have taken place this year are, firstly, the historic speech delivered at Smithfield, on Friday, November, 1925, by General the Hon. J. B. M. Hertzog, Prime Minister and Minister for Native Affairs, in which he gave a lucid exposition of his Native policy; secondly, we witnessed the historic joint sitting of the two Houses of Parliament for the first time in the history of the Union consequent upon the rejection for the second time of the Color Bar Bill by the Upper House. By a majority of 16 the joint session passed the measure on that fateful and never-to-be-forgotten day, that "Ash" Wednesday, May 12, 1926.

## UNFITTED TO RULE

After detailing the history of the measure and referring to the opposition thereto and to the Color bar clause in the South Africa Act of 1909, the speaker went on to state:--

"Hence, by a series of legislative and administrative measures extending over a period of 16 years since the consummation of Union and culminating in the passing of the Color Bar Act of 1926, the Union Government and Parliament have proved themselves to be absolutely unqualified and unfitted for the responsibility of legislating for the weaker and unrepresented races of the land, and have completely failed to discharge their sacred duties and heavy responsibilities of trusteeship for the weaker or 'child races,' as they are commonly called. They have thereby forfeited their position of guardianship over the more backward communities. They have failed to legislate for the 'good, orderly and peaceful' government of the country, no less for the common weal of all sections of the population.

"Our legislators have failed to conduct themselves as the common representatives of all the heterogeneous sections constituting the population of the Union of South Africa. On the contrary, they have openly and shamelessly acted in the exclusive interests of one section only of the community at the expense of those who have been rigidly and ruthlessly excommunicated from the political 'Israel' of this and which by the wise dispensation of Providence is the eternal home of the Black man, the habitation of the dark races of the earth.



## DISARMAMENT OF THE BANTU

After a further reference to the Color Bar Act, the Rev. Mr. Mahabane went on to deal with the "disarmament of the Bantu." He complained that the Bantu having been politically disarmed was also prevented from joining the Defence Force, and were thus weaponless and defenceless. Such things were having a bad effect on the Native mind to such an extent that "the cry has been raised, 'Leave the European churches, discard the religion of the White man.' A few there are, as Dr. Zwemer amply showed at the general missionary conference held at Johannesburg on June 30, 1925, who are beginning to look for a religious home in Islam."

After denouncing the policy of segregation, the speaker criticised the Government in that while the rest of the nations of the world worked for peace and cooperation, the Union Government "is working strenuously and energetically in an opposite direction, the direction of discord, disintegration, disruption, disunion, division, and is sowing broadcast the seeds of race hatred.

"A policy of such a nature can have no other but fateful and evil consequences. The Color Bar Act of 1926, the Asiatic Bill, the four Native Bills recently laid upon the table of both Houses of Parliament, and last but not least, the Nationality and Flag Bill, are ill-conceived and ill-advised measures which can only produce undesirable results, the setting of one race against another, the European against the African and the Asiatic, the Black against the Colored, Boer against Briton. Unless a halt is called the inevitable result will be civil war in this land with all its attendant horrors."

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## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the  
African National Congress  
Bloemfontein, O.F.S.  
January 1927

(As reported in The Friend, January 4, 1927)

The President delivered his presidential address and dealt with the position of the Native races as from the date of Union.

In stating the claims of the Natives, he declared that the White man was utterly wrong in arrogating to himself the position of an absolute monarch or despot, and that the day of the White oligarchy in this land must go and give place to universal democracy.

After extending a cordial welcome to the delegates from the various centers, the President said that the year under review would go down in history as one of the most eventful in the annals of the Union. When he addressed an audience from the platform last year Parliament had just passed a legislative measure known as the "Color Bar Bill," the effect of which was to close the door of progress in the industrial sphere against the Black man. That piece of legislation, he continued, was steam-rollered, helter-skelter, through a joint sitting of both Houses of Parliament in the teeth of the strongest opposition put up by the South African Party. It then became a self-evident truth that Parliament had definitely adopted a policy of governing the non-European people of the land without their consent.

## THE FOUR NATIVE BILLS

Immediately after the passing of that obnoxious Act, the Prime Minister laid upon the table of the House his policy in regard to the Bantu and Colored populations of the Union. Those bills purported to define the political status of those two communities in the national life of the country, as well as their relative rights to the ownership and occupation of the land.

The leader of the Opposition (General Smuts) had published a memorandum in which he gave his views on the Government bills. The Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Bantu had also issued two memoranda on the famous quartette of bills. A government conference of African Chiefs and other leaders of Bantu thought, held at Pretoria on November last, rejected as uncalled for, unwarranted and unjust the proposal for the abolition of the Cape Native vote, embodied in the "Representation of Natives in Parliament Bill," and took the strongest exception to the provisions of the "Native Land Act Amendment Bill" as inimical to the interests of the Bantu. The Conference, however, approved of the principle of a Union Native Council provided for in one of the four bills.



The African National Congress, in June last, appointed a Select Committee to study the provisions of the four bills, with an instruction to report at the present convention, and when the report was handed in, Congress would make its pronouncement.

#### THE NEW STATUS

Dealing with the Dominion Status of the Union, Mr. Mahabane described the declaration on the subject evolved by the Imperial Conference as "an event of transcendent historical importance." The immediate effect of that declaration, upon the position of those sections of the population of the Union who were not represented either in the Government or in Parliament, was that they could no longer look to the Government and Parliament of Great Britain for the redress of any grievances they might have against the Government and Parliament of the Union. In other words, the non-European peoples had been handed over by the Imperial Conference, bag and baggage, to the merciless mercy of the ruling races of "this land of Color-bars."

Great Britain had thus finally and definitely divested herself of all responsibility or answerability over the voiceless masses of this country. "Even the only remaining bulwark we had, of the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, appears to have now been destroyed."

#### THE NATIVE FRANCHISE

The question arose: "What is the political status of the non-European communities in the national life of the Union? Is their status one of political minority, or inferiority, or helotry?" That question was partly answered in 1909 by the National Convention, which drafted the constitution of the new United States. The non-European element of the population were excluded from the political organization of the new State by an ill-omened compromise, now embodied in the franchise clauses of the South Africa Act of 1909. Those clauses permitted the non-European peoples of the Cape Province to retain their franchise rights, but rigidly excluded the Northern Provinces from the citizenship of this land of their fathers, while section 26 (d) and 44 (c) of the Act definitely declared that only a "British subject of European descent" could become a member of the Parliament of the Union.

The views of the White people of the unenlightened Provinces of the Transvaal and Free State were voiced by their representatives at the convention, such as the late General Botha, who declared: "On one point there must be no manner of doubt and that is that they could only have Europeans in Parliament," and General Hertzog, who said that "he could not shake himself free of the anxiety he felt in regard to the question, and he saw great danger ahead if once the principle were adopted of giving votes to the Natives." "I" Mr. Mahabane added, "see great danger if we do not get our rights."

The policy of exclusion or political segregation of the Black man, embodied in the Color Bar clauses of the South Africa Act of 1909, perpetuated in the Smuts Native Affairs Act of 1920, and enunciated in the famous Smithfield speech of November 13, 1925, was being given its finishing touches by the Hertzog Native Bills now lying on the table of Parliament.



Those measures, he added, sought to consign the Black man, once and for all, to a position of mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water," with no status in the political system of the country. "We are only to be treated, if not as mere beasts of burden, draught horses, chattels in the possession of the White man or instruments of work in his hands, then as mere step-children in the family of a cruel step-father, who makes no provision at all in his will for his motherless children in the final disposal of his estate.

#### RIGHTEDOUSNESS OR WRONGFULNESS

Mr. Kenneth MacLaren, in his book, "The Cost of the New World," wrote: "Men have got to see that there is only one primary conflict in the world-- it is not White against Black, or Brown, or Yellow; not East against West; but right against wrong, Christ against anti-Christ." That, said the President, was the question at issue in this great controversy. Was the policy of the exclusion of the non-white races from the political family of this Black man's land right? On what principles was it based? On those of righteousness, justice or fair play, or on those of political expediency? Every right-thinking man would aver that it rested upon the Prussian principles of the days of the late World War: "Necessity knows no law."

For political expediency only the Black man must suffer political ostracism, in his fatherland, of the basest kind. What effect was such a policy calculated to produce on the mentality of the sufferer? Mr. A. H. Curle, in a recent book, "Today and Tomorrow, the Testing Period of the White Race," made the trenchant observation: "There are a number of disintegrating realities which the White race is faced with from within and without, and if not mastered in the years ahead, are likely to pull us down. . . . One is the coming struggle of labor against capital, and the poor against the rich. . . . and another is the fast-growing hatred of the Colored world for the White."

#### CAUSE AND EFFECT

"Now, Chiefs, ladies and gentlemen," Mr. Mahabane said with much emotion, "it is a fundamental and unalterable law of nature that every cause produces an effect. There must therefore be a cause that has brought about this mental state of the growing hatred of the Colored world for the White. Even as love breeds love, so does hatred breed hatred. Oppression and injustice produced hatred of the French people of the eighteenth century for the institution of monarchy, and it culminated in the French Revolution. It also brought about the Russian revolution, which cost the Tsar his life, as well as that of his consort. It has threatened the whole civilized world with the ugly spectre of Bolshevism. This policy of disregarding the human feelings of the masses has cost Kaiser Wilhelm II his throne, and caused his banishment from the confines of his great realm. It has brought about the downfall of monarchy in Greece. It is today causing a revolt of the Colored races against the White.

"The Black man as a human being a being of divine origin, is also inspired by the great ideas of liberty, freedom, equality, the sovereignty of the general will, more especially the great new idea of the self-determination of nations, great and small. The African, therefore, claims and demands that he shall be given his rightful place in the political organism of this, an African country-- not a place of a political outcast, as is proposed in the Prime Minister's Native Bills. Black South Africa demands a status, if not of absolute equality with the white man, then at least one of common citizenship in this land of our common habitation, carrying with it the right of direct representation in the



legislatures of the land; not by proxy, as proposed by General Hertzog, but by members of their own race.

#### THE NATIVES' DEMANDS

"Non-European races of the land now demand a recognition of their rights as human beings. They refuse to accept the position that the right to sit in Parliament can only be the monopoly of the White man. They refuse to subscribe to the notion that the Union Parliament is a White man's Parliament. They declare that the White man is utterly wrong in arrogating to himself the position of an absolute monarch or despot in this country. They declare that the day of White oligarchy in this land must go, and give place to the day of the universal democracy--not on a basis of color, or race, or creed, or class. And I believe that this Convention will speak with no uncertain voice on this vital question, and that we shall never allow the year 1927 to put a seal to our final excommunication from the national communion of this our fatherland."

Continuing the President said that the great movements that were influencing and dominating the thought of the modern world in this age of great happenings were those in the direction of international peace, international fraternity. Those noble ideals of international cooperation were visualized in the establishment of the League of Nations, as well as in the arrangements for the reduction of armaments. And he would not believe that White South Africa would be prepared to declare for a policy of non-cooperation and non-conciliation between White and Black in South Africa. Neither could he persuade himself that the White section of this great population will allow this fair land to stand condemned in the sight of the whole world as the land of Color Bars."

Considering, Mr. Mahabane said "the interests of peace, happiness and contentment, as well as mutual cooperation among all the races domiciled in this country would be better served by the adoption of a policy of industrial and political cooperation between White and Black; and I beg to appeal to the White people of this land to follow the noble example set the world by magnanimous England, which always grants its former enemies the right of self-government as soon as hostilities cease. Let the African not be given cause ever to complain."

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## PRESIDENTIAL ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS

Delivered at the Silver Jubilee Convention  
of the African National Congress  
Bloemfontein, O.F.S.  
December 1937

I thank you very sincerely for electing me your President General. I promise to serve the nation I am called upon to lead. I ask you to have the following aims in view:

(1) The recognition by the powers that be of the fact that members of the aboriginal races are entitled to all priveleges and rights of human beings.

(2) We have a judicious claim to participate in the making of the laws for our country.

(3) The White and Black people have worked together to build this land; a desert has been transformed into a garden, a wilderness into a paradise by the cooperation of both races.

The dictem adopted by the White man that he alone must rule and decide the fate of this country must not be tolerated by the African National Congress. It is as wrong in conception as it is disastrous in practice.

With this object in view we must organize, organize, and organize until every Black man or woman is a member of this organization.

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## AN EVENTFUL YEAR

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the  
African National Congress  
Bloemfontein, O.F.S.  
December 1938

It gives me the greatest pleasure to extend to you a cordial welcome to this Annual Conference of the African National Congress, and to wish every one of you a very happy Christmas and a very joyous and prosperous New Year.

It is with the greatest measure of trepidation that I venture to address this Assemblage of Leaders of the African race, more especially in view of the Voor trekkers' Centenary Celebrations which are being solemnized by the Laying of Foundation Stones of the Great Voortrekker Monument at Pretoria, the Administrative Capital of the Union, and also at Blood River, where the great African military leader, King Dingaan suffered defeat at the hands of Pretoria.

On an occasion of such serene solemnity, I would not like to utter any word that is calculated to hurt the susceptibilities of any section of the community. I crave permission, however, to offer a word of congratulation to the descendants of the Voortrekkers for the wonderful achievements of their forbears, and to express admiration for the foresight, farsightedness, courage, patience, perseverance, endurance, faith and determination that characterized that band of daring men and women known today as the Voortrekkers. They have taught the world that faith in the Creator of the Universe can accomplish miracles. We raise our hats to them. Theirs was the "Faith of Abraham of Sacred History," who, when he was called of God to go to a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed, and he went out not knowing whither he went!

A cursory review of the happenings of THIS EVENTFUL YEAR, 1938, makes painful reading.

1. The year witnessed the march of Herr Hitler, the German Chancellor, from victory to victory. In April the great German Fuhrer pounced upon Austria and, without the shedding of blood nor with the consent of its inhabitants, annexed it to the German Reich;
2. Towards the end of the year, in October, the world saw the humiliation by the domineering ambition of the Lion of Central Europe of the small nation known as Czechoslovakia, a new nation of only nineteen years old. At the behest of Herr Hitler a peace treaty was concluded at Munich between the great European Powers, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany which resulted in dismemberment, at a twinkling of the eye, of this new State, by the immediate cession of a territory belonging to this State, to powerful Germany. Hitler is now on the move to seize more territory by threatening Memel, a territory belonging to Lithuania. All this represents the steady fulfillment of the German slogan of 1914, "Deutschland uber alles!"



3. The Conclusion, soon after this piece of diplomatic highway robbery, of another Peace Pact between Great Britain and Italy, one disquieting feature of which was the official recognition by England of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia;
4. The aggressive and unwarranted attack of China by military Japan;
5. The humiliation and collapse of the League of Nations which has proved to be powerless to stem the tide of international injustice;
6. Last but not least, the relentless persecution by Nazi Germany of the Jewish race, the race that has given the world its Savior. The horrors of this persecution have reached such a pitch that is almost unparalleled in its severity and malignity; other parts of the world seem to be catching the infection.

All these terrible events present a spectre that has created a Sense of DESPAIR among the smaller nations of the world, no less the weaker races of mankind. The defenceless and helpless peoples of the earth have watched to their dismay the triumph of might over right, or in other words, the substitution of the doctrine of "might is right" for the noble dictum of "right is might," the capitulation of democracy to the autocracy of dictatorships. The great motto of the French Revolution, "liberty, fraternity, and equality" has been once and for all swept overboard.

#### STOCK-TAKING

Reverting to the theme of the hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the Voortrekkers, I suggest that it is high time the African took stock and drew up a balance sheet in order to compare his gains with his losses that have resulted from the advent of the European races into South Africa, to see whether his blessings compare favorably or otherwise with his woes. The greatest blessing that the White people have brought with them was the Bible, the most precious of all literature, and with it Christian enlightenment and civilization with all their attendant blessings.

But, alas, a comparison of the gains and losses as far as the Black man is concerned makes one shudder with horror. The aboriginal inhabitants have suffered heavy losses.

(a) Nine-tenths of the whole arable and habitable area of this land has been taken possession of by the European invaders of the land. And as a consequential result of this process of dispossession, the Black people have become a virtually landless and homeless community, and are now dependent upon the good naturedness of the European owners of the land that once belonged to them. They are now a population of nothing else but laborers.

(b) The unification of the four provinces of the sub-continent into one legislative union under one parliament and one government has resulted in further losses for the African. Our brethren of the Cape Province have suffered grievous loss, the loss of STATUS AS CITIZENS IN THE LAND OF THEIR BIRTH, THE LOSS OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE at parliamentary and provincial council elections. They have been ruthlessly deprived of a voice or vote in the choice of the rulers of their common land. The Black man in all the four Provinces of the union has lost one of the greatest gifts that God has bestowed upon his children, viz. -- FREEDOM, freedom of thought and speech, freedom of choice, freedom of movement



and of assembly and action. The liberty of the subject enjoyed in the realms of the British Commonwealth of Nations has been denied the Black man; they have been denied their rightful place in the political, economic and industrial system of the land, and relegated to the place of oblivion as mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their White neighbors.

This will be most obvious when one looks at that challenging proposition that constitutes the underlying principles of native legislation that governs the presence of the African in urban areas. The Natives (urban areas) Act of 1923, with all its subsequent amendments of 1930 and 1937, provides, inter alia, for the "regulation of the ingress of natives into and residence in urban areas." It lays down the principle that the Black man possesses no inherent right of residence in such areas, except only in so far as he supplies the labor requirements of such areas. Hence the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937 provides for the taking of a biennial census of all natives domiciled in urban areas, the object being to sift out from such areas such Africans as may be found to be redundant. This is conclusive proof that urban areas are regarded as the home of White people exclusively. This law fails to take into consideration the fact that there are Africans who have become completely detribalized and urbanized, and who know of no other home but a town location.

Perhaps THE GREATEST TRAGEDY THAT HAS BEFALLEN THE BLACK MAN IN SOUTHERN AFRICA has been the loss of his hold on the land. How he became dispossessed of the land in the course of the last century is a mystery that has still to be unravelled.

Let us for a moment examine THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA as it has been translated into legislative measures. This investigation reveals the sombre fact that the basic principles of this policy are as fundamentally wrong as they are ethically unsound.

(a) They presuppose the inferiority of the Black man and the superiority of the White man over the former. Hence the principle of "The White man's Guardianship over the Black man;"

(b) They spring from a fear complex on the part of the White man, fear of imaginary possibilities and eventualities, some of which are the creation of his mind, such as, miscegenation which would result in the domination of the former by the latter, ousting of the European unskilled laborer by the African from all classes of unskilled labor.

This fear complex has been voiced more strongly, more consistently and with more insistence by the present Prime Minister of the Union. Read his Smithfield Speech of November, 1924 as well as his speech in introducing the Representation of Natives Bill of 1936, and utterances delivered on several other occasions.

From a starting point like this the resultant legislation must necessarily be repressive and suppressive in conception, and harsh, oppressive and terroristic in application. I would ask you to think of the series of legislation that has been enacted since 1911, notably, the Mines and Works Amendment Act, generally known as the Color Bar Act of 1926, the Native Administration Act of 1937 with its iniquitous provisions for curtailing the right of freedom of speech and freedom of assembly, the notorious trio of Native Legislation of 1936 and 1937.



An irony of the position is that the White man should expect that the Black man shall accept legislation motivated by such unworthy concepts as that of self-protection at their expense as measures for the benefit of the African. As long as this remains the basic principle upon which the Native Policy of the Union is founded, it is futile for the politicians of this country to persuade themselves that by the iniquitous trio of recent Native Legislation a solution of the native problem or the problem of race relations as between White and Black in the sub-continent has reached finality, and it is premature to hail General Hertzog, who conceived and fathered this unholy trinity of legislation as "Daniel come to judgement" and the savior White civilization in South Africa.

One or two facts emerge from this legislative program which go to demonstrate that NO SOLUTION has yet been found in this respect. In the first place, a solution can be accepted as such only when it is the result of a round table conference of representatives of the two contending parties concerned or when it is the considered judgement of an impartial judicial tribunal set up by mutual agreement between the representatives of the conflicting interests. This cannot be said of this legislation.

In the second place the distribution of land as between White and Black is the most unjust and unfair that can be imagined. It throws into bold relief the grim determination of White South Africa to make this "a White man's land" in which the Black man can only live on sufferance or only as a reservoir of labor, whose cheap labor must be exploited to the fullest extent.

In the third place the state of discontent, dissatisfaction and unrest among members of the African community has been intensified rather than lessened by this one-sided legislation. Hence when these laws came into force many of the leaders of African thought advocated the adoption of a policy of passive resistance or non-cooperation. Others resorted to the law courts of the land to TEST the validity of one at least of these new laws. Others tacitly refused to be a party to what they rightly considered to be enumeration of the people with unjust intentions.

What is the way out of this impasse? Basil Mathews in his "The Clash of Color", discussing the claims of the non-European races of the world for a place in the sun, asks the question, "What basis, if any, is possible for a world order in which all the just rights and needs of every race would be met?"

The first step to take in this direction would be that South Africa should in this VOORTREKKER CENTENARY YEAR, sit down and review the whole position. There must be a willingness on the part of the European races of this country to regard the Black man as a member of the human race, and that as such, in him lies a mass of latent heterogeneous potentialities, and that these must be directed into right channels, so that they shall not be turned into potential enemies of the state and of the White man. The African should not be forced into a position of despair and morose defeatism, when he would groan, as one of our American Negro brothers, quoted by the Rev. Dr. Ray Phillips in his book, "The Bantu are Coming!"

Come, Brother, Come,  
And let us go unto our God,  
And when we stand before Him,  
I shall say --

Lord, I do not hate,  
I am hated,  
I repress no one,  
I am repressed;  
I covet no lands,  
My lands are coveted;  
I scorn no peoples,  
My peoples are scorned;  
And, Brother, what shall you say?

Would to God, that the Centenary Celebrations of one of the greatest movements of nations that the world has ever known, the commemoration of the great Trek of 1938, would herald a new era in the interracial relationships in this land of color bars.

The Prime Minister of Great Britain, the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain, an illustrious son of an illustrious sire, Joseph Chamberlain of historic fame, has launched a movement for the appeasement of Europe. May the Voortrekkers Centenary Celebrations result in the inauguration of a great movement for the appeasement of South Africa, for bringing about a new spirit, which will bring about a complete change of attitudes in matters of race relations, when we should all join together, White Black, Colored, Asiatic, and sing with the Angelic hosts of the time of the birth of the Prince of Peace, the Reconciler of man and man,

Glory to God in the highest,

Peace on earth,

Goodwill among men.

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## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the  
African National Congress  
Durban, Natal  
December 1939

It is a matter of the greatest privilege once more to stand before you and speak to you on matters of national concern.

I first of all desire to extend to you all a cordial welcome to this conference of the African National Congress assembled at what is the third largest city in the Union of South Africa, a city which, next to Cape Town, is the second strategic gateway to the sub-continent. I give loyal greetings to Paramount Chief Mshiyeni ka Dinizulu, the National Head of the Zulu Nation and to assure him that his honored presence at this gathering is highly appreciated, and in humble obeisance, we say "Bayete" and Pula". I need hardly remind the gathering that this national organization was constituted with the approval of our hereditary Chiefs of the whole sub-continent on the 8th day of January, 1912, to provide, inter alia: --

- (a) A national vigilance association and a deliberative assembly or council, without legislative pretensions.
- (b) The medium of expression of representative opinion and to formulate a standard policy on native affairs for the benefit and guidance of the Union Government and Parliament.

The first President was the Rev. John Langalibalele Dube, Ph.D., with Mr. Richard V. Selope-Thema as General Secretary and Pika I. Seme, B.A., now LL.D. as General Treasurer.

We meet this year at one of the most critical times in the history of mankind. The continent of Europe, the seat of modern civilization, is in the grip of one of the most destructive wars of modern times.

Nazi Germany, under the leadership of Herr Adolph Hitler, its present ruler, has for the last 24 months or more been on the march for the domination of a greater part; if not the whole of Europe. She launched a bloodless *anschluss* upon Austria and annexed it, so that today Austria is part and parcel of *what is now greater Germany*. Then she seized a portion of Czechoslovakia, known as "Sudetenland" and soon thereafter, despite the existence of the Munich Agreement annexed the whole of Czechoslovakia, and then, cynically flouting the protests of Great Britain and France, the German Fuehrer suddenly attacked Poland and declared it "German territory". Having entered into a solemn pledge to protect her independence, England and her gallant ally, France had no other alternative, but to declare war on this aggressive and Goliath-like country.



The Union Parliament thereupon met at Cape Town early in September and after serious deliberation decided on war on the side of the allies. Some of us are convinced that the Union Parliament and Government did arrive at a correct decision.

In the first place I consider that the smaller and weaker nations as well as the weaker races of the world are entitled to protection by the stronger nations from the ruthless and unprovoked onslaught of these international and interracial bullies of mankind.

In the second place, the Union of South Africa is a member, in full, of the British Commonwealth of Nations, who owes allegiance to the common King George, as her common Lord and Liege. If then this common King goes to war against an enemy, it is out of place for this or any country of the British Commonwealth to argue as to whether her interests are threatened or not. That member country is automatically at war on the side of its king against the king's enemy. The founder of Christianity once laid down the formula, "he who is not with me is against me". Therefore if South Africa were not with Great Britain she would certainly be with her enemies. A policy of neutrality, benevolent or otherwise, would have placed this country in very bad light in the eyes of all nations of the world. She would have earned for herself the unenviable title of a "national opportunist", a loyal and useful member of the Commonwealth only when she is sailing in smooth waters to be left severely to herself when she sails in troubled waters "a friend in need is a friend indeed." Then, hats off to those South African statesmen who saved our country from this shameful plight. I rejoice to think that the whole of black South Africa has endorsed through its organized bodies the line of action followed by our parliamentary representatives in voting against the neutrality motion of the ex-premier on that fateful 4th day of September, 1939.

The invasion of Finland by powerful Soviet Russia has certainly cast a gloom and created a sense of despair over all the smaller and weaker nations of the world, to say nothing of the weaker, less developed and defenseless races of mankind. Read side by side with the episode of the cowardly invasion and conquest of Abyssinia by powerful Italy a few years ago when the League of Nations proved absolutely impotent to intervene then we groan, "God save us from our powerful neighbors!"

Chiefs, ladies and gentlemen, I crave your indulgence to discuss with you once more THE PLACE OF THE AFRICAN in the politico-social structure of the Union of South Africa.

This issue has been raised from time to time and it must be faced and challenged. What is the place or status of the Black man and other Non-European groups in the politico-social system of this the land of their common adoption? Is his place to be compared with that of child in a household who has no voice in the management of the affairs of the household, or is it that of a step-child who has no proper status in a family, nor share nor portion in the inheritance of the family, or that of a "hewer of wood and drawer of water" in the national economy or that of mere "chattels in the white man's economy ministering to his needs (as Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr once defined the policy of repression) building up the White man's wealth" (see the Forum of October 1938).

This issue is of fundamental import, for in the discussion of the problems of major importance affecting the welfare, may the very existence of the country,



its place in the Comity of Nations, its relationship to or with one or other great nations of the world, or even its future destiny or fate, the black man is never consulted nor are his views ever sought, nor his wishes or desires ever consulted. It does never seem to occur to any public man that the views of the African races as well as those of other non-European races of the land should be ascertained.

The great split in the ranks of the South African United National Party which was a consequential result of the decision of the Union Parliament on the war issue arrived at its special session on the 4th day of September, 1939, has forced to the fore the question of the place of the Black man and other non-European communities of the land in the social economy of the country.

An influential section of the White population has resurrected the old issue of republicanism or secession from the British Commonwealth of Nations and this under the leadership of gentlemen who have only recently occupied positions of sacred trust and grave responsibility as Cabinet Ministers of the Crown, and the now political party to be born out of the ruins of the United Party of Fusion days will have as a fundamental plank in its program of principles and action the establishment of a republic in South Africa at no distant future, and it is the intention that the republican ideal will be decided by three-fourths of the European voters on a plebiscite to be taken.

Nothing is said or thought of the voters of the non-European elements of the population. So an issue of such vital importance, of such far-reaching consequences, such immense significance, an issue which will affect the fate of over 8,000,000 souls, is to be decided by no more than 750,000 men and women. Our answer to this challenge must be an emphatic "NEVER AGAIN".

Let us for a moment examine the ideology of the average South African White man in regard to the place of the Black man.

This is given expression to in the pronouncements of public policy by certain public men but more especially in the trend of Native legislation of the last three decades of the history of the Union of South Africa. The White man's concept of the place of the Black man is that of A CHILD AND A HEWER OF WOOD AND DRAWER OF WATER.

(1) The following clauses of Chapter 2 of the draft program of principles of the United Party as drawn up in 1933 give an indication of these concepts: --

- (a) Clause 6(a) lays down the principle of the paramountcy of the White man when it speaks of the recognition "as paramount the essential of European Civilization."
- (b) Clause 6(b) regards the Black man as constituting a separate quantity in the body politic of the country when it establishes the principle of the separate representation of Europeans and natives as being fundamental in character.
- (c) Clause 6(c) definitely regards the Black man as a child to be cared for by a trustee. It regards the native as a permanent portion of the population of South Africa under the Christian trusteeship of the European race as being accepted as a fundamental principle of native policy in this country.

(2) The provisions of the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 as amended from time to time and more particularly by the Native Laws Amendment Act No. 46 of 1937, regards the Black man as belonging to a labor class who can only be permitted to enter and reside in urban areas only as long as he supplies "the reasonable labor requirements of the urban area," (Sections 19 and 21 of Act 46 of 1937) hence those who cannot be absorbed in employment in the urban areas are to be regarded as "redundant" and must be removed therefrom.



- (3) The Native Administration Act of 1927 regards the black people as backward or primitive race to be governed by special legislation of a more or less primitive character.

Under this act, the Governor General is to be recognized as the Supreme Chief of Natives in the Provinces of Natal, the Transvaal and the O.S.F.; marriage laws are promulgated under this act which are to be peculiar to the Black man and take into account his primitive native customs and usages.

- (4) Perhaps the whole political philosophy of the larger section of the European population of this country is correctly described by an anonymous correspondent in a cogent article published in the "Star" of Johannesburg of the 13th December. In this article, this writer states that the position of the Black man in its political as well as its economic aspect is based on Calvinism, which was build on the theory that some people are called of God and that these are "elect". This correspondent correctly avers that "the vast majority of those brought up in Calvinistic tradition place equal value on the Old and New Testaments, and that they took over the "chosen people" from the Old Testament and forgot the true interpretation of it in the New. This philosophy affects the whole social structure of the country. According to this tradition, "because the natives are not the elect they must be granted no rights -- and should not be educated or it makes them bad servants."

The African people are not prepared to accept this position of inferiority or of political helotry in the land of their birth. We have claims and these should be given the most serious consideration by the ruling race in this country.

#### WHAT BLACK SOUTH AFRICA CLAIMS

Black South Africa does not demand social equality with white South Africa, nor social admixture nor intermarriage.

What the Black man believes is his inherent right, his due, his title-deed, is, in the words of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, as quoted in Basil Mathews' "The Clash of Color", "I fight, as a subject of King George, for a place in his household, and I will not be content with a place in his stables."

- (a) A place in the political household of Southern Africa, a voice in the management of the affairs of the land, a voice, not in an advisory capacity, as is provided for in advisory boards for urban locations, Native Representative Council or the Bhunga of the Transkeian and Ciskeian Territories;
- (b) A voice in the determination of the destiny of the land of our common birth or adoption;
- (c) A voice in the making of the laws intended for the good and orderly government of all the peoples and races of the sub-continent;
- (d) A recognition of his birthright to live a free and full life in this the land of his fathers, unhampered by restrictive and repressive legislation;

- (e) A place as citizens in the defence forces of the land, not merely as a labor contingent but in every capacity in defending the territorial integrity of their common country. This policy is followed with the greatest advantage to the country; by the great world republics of France, and the U.S.A. as well as by England in East African Territories;
  - (f) A rightful place in the industrial organism of the country, not merely as a casual laborer but as an employee whose wages and conditions of labor must be regulated under the provisions of the Industrial and Conciliation Acts of the land; whose trade unionism must be given statutory recognition.
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## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the  
Non-European Unity Movement  
December 1945

We must regard this conference as the most momentous in view of the fact that the consequences of the decisions that will be arrived at here will be far-reaching. They will affect not only the three racial groups in the population of South Africa -- African, Colored, and Indian, but also the European section as well as races beyond the borders of Southern Africa.

I crave your permission to make just a cursory review of the most staggering events that have taken place during this eventful year, 1945. Since we last met in January we have seen and heard of the following mighty happenings: --

1. The assemblage in conference at San Francisco, U.S.A. at the end of the first quarter of the year, of representatives of more than 50 of the nations of the world, to hammer out an instrument for ensuring the security of the world. There and then these statesmen drafted and adopted what they described as the Charter of World Security in the preamble of which are enunciated fundamental principles which give recognition to the sacredness of human personality, the equality of nations, small and great, and the equality of human rights for all mankind, irrespective of race, color, or creed.

2. The invasion, at the end of the first half of the year, of Germany and her subsequent defeat and her capitulation to the military forces of the nations that were allied for this purpose -- the triumph of so-called democracy over Nazism. The collapse of Japan came in the second half of this year.

3. The disappearance in the most ignominious circumstances of the two tyrants of the modern world -- Adolph Hitler and Benito Mussolini; the death of the latter at the hands of his own people is an undisputed fact, while the fate of the former is shrouded in mystery. Yet the fact remains that the virtual effacement of these two men who had terrorized the whole so-called civilized world is an accomplished fact and the mighty countries they had ruled are now under the military occupation of the allied nations. Hitler and Mussolini have disappeared from the scene unsung, unhonored, unwept.

4. The emergence of Russia as a mighty power, as a colossus of the world.

5. The rising in revolt of the Indonesians and the Indo-Chinese against the domination of the Dutch and French in the Far East and the declaration of republics.

6. The clash not only of color, but of interest between the Jewish and the Arabs in Palestine, in other words, the struggle for supremacy between white and non-white in that doomed land.



7. The discovery of the latest and most destructive weapon of war, the atomic bomb, and the use of the bomb in destroying Japan.

8. Last but not least, the appearance all over the world of a latent atmosphere of dissatisfaction, disaffection, discontent of the oppressed races of mankind. Note the "Quit India" cry of the Nationalists of India, the revolt of the Indonesians and the Annamites, the industrial strikes in the United States.

A glance at the present world situation reveals the fact that a new world order has been created. The map of Europe will be re-drawn, re-made, and re-colored; new systems of government in many parts of the world will take the place of old ones; monarchies in Europe will be replaced by republics; in Great Britain Labor Party Socialism is gradually attacking capitalism; a new organization has come into being, known as the United Nations of the world and the machinery for running it has been created, the object of which is to ensure world security to out-law war in our time.

A panorama of the world situation shows us new conditions, new ideologies and new weapons of war. In Europe and Asia world-shaking events are taking place.

In Great Britain, the greatest of all individualistic countries, a political party that believes in the rule of the common man and in the political ownership of certain enterprises, industrial and commercial, as opposed to private ownership of the necessaries of life, has been given the reins of government by the populace, and sits "in seats of the mighty". In Russia, communism is the law of the land, this Communism that is dreaded by a large section of the ruling race in Southern Africa. In France, socialists and Communists scored big victories in the elections.

With changes going on all over the world the question naturally arises:

#### WHAT IS THE PLACE OF THE NON-EUROPEAN IN SOUTH AFRICA?

(1) At the present moment his place is determined by the policy of segregation of the white and black races, the old policy that was laid down in the "Grond Wet" of the old South African Republic.

And, secondly, the position of the white Herrenvolk, as voiced by responsible representatives of the land, has furthered the segregationist outlook. This has made South Africa a white man's country and established the paramountcy of the interests of the white man. Translated into practice this hideous policy has had far-reaching consequences; it has reduced the non-white to a position of political helotry. He has no voice nor vote, no seat in the governing, administrative or legislative councils of the land; he has no hand in the making or unmaking of laws for the good and orderly government of the country. He has no vote or hand in the shaping of the destiny of the country, in the determination of its fate. The act constituting the Union of South Africa expressly stipulates that to be eligible for membership to the Parliament of the country the candidate must be a British subject of European descent (vide Section 26 (a) and 44 (c) of Chapter IV of the South Africa Act of 1909). And this act was accepted by British statesmen in spite of the pleas of the non-Europeans of South Africa.



No non-European is found on the administrative staff of the country, i.e. in the public service, police force, railway administration, postal establishment, except only as messengers and police boys. Even in the nationhood of the country he is excluded; only two million Europeans are spoken of as the population of South Africa while the eight million non-Europeans are excluded.

(II) The segregation policy of South Africa has reduced the non-European to industrial serfdom. The African is excluded from the definition of the term employee. He is a laborer, not in the sense applied to the European laborer. In South Africa the non-European laborer is the servant of the European laborer. He is excluded from European Trade Unions. A European Trade Union which admits non-European in its membership runs the risk of being refused official registration as a Trade Union. This registration carries with it the right of collective bargaining, the right to strike, etc. Exclusion from participation in trade unionism carries with it as its natural corollary, exclusion from the right and benefit of trade unionism. Vide the recent judgement of the supreme court on this question.

(III) Segregation has meant economic slavery for the non-European. The land distribution as between white and black is most unjust. Over 80% of the land belongs to the Europeans who number two million, and 20% to non-Europeans who number eight million.

A close study of the trend of European opinion in this country will reveal the fact that there is a move towards the re-making of the map of South Africa, or even Africa, so as to ensure a uniform policy of segregation.

Territorial segregation between white and black, residential segregation, separation between white and colored and colored and African or Indian, economic separation between European and Asiatic -- these would result in the creation of: --

- (a) Reserves as permanent homes for Africans, a labor reservoir
- (b) Reserves for colored people
- (c) Reserves for Indians and other Asiatics to counteract and kill commercial competition between European and Asiatic.

Is this policy of creating separate water-tight compartments of the racial groups of the Union not going to produce consequences that will be detrimental to the spirit of peace and engender a spirit of hatred and antagonism?

(IV) Social ostracism is the outcome of this policy of segregation. The white man has developed a spirit of hatred towards the non-European, color prejudice of the most virulent kind, a veritable psychosis of a dread nature.

The non-European, more especially the black man, is regarded as an outcast from society, a foreigner, an alien from the commonwealth of grace, an untouchable to be shunned and avoided, an uncircumcized Gentile, so much so, that any white man who may be seen shaking hands with him or admitting him to his front door or in any way showing a liberal attitude is branded as a negrophilist, a "Kaffir-boetie". It would be said of him as was said of St. Peter of sacred history: "He went unto men uncircumcized."



The non-European is regarded for all practical intents and purposes as a sort of sub-human, an "amper mens", undeveloped human being or as an entity outside the human species, as an unassimilable quality.

It makes one ask why he is sneered at, spat upon, frowned on? Is it because he is black? Is he responsible for this hideous "crime" of the possession of black skin?

The end of World War II has brought in its train new ideologies, new concepts of statecraft and a re-orientation of policies, as I have said before. It has brought about a redistribution of populations and a re-arrangement and a re-alignment of peoples and races. But to us in South Africa, it may mean something vastly different from what it may mean elsewhere.

Dr. D.F. Malan, leader of the nationalist party, calls the attention of the white races of the land to what he regards as a threat to white civilization, the coming up of the non-white peoples. He, therefore, proposes that they, especially the black man, be placed somewhere by themselves and that they be given a character to themselves -- an African Charter.

Professor A.C. Cilliers, speaking at the annual meeting of English-speaking South Africans held at Cape Town on the 10th of February, 1943, suggested the establishment of a Bantu National Home in Central Africa. But much more threatening are the words of Senator the Hon. A.M. Conroy, minister of Lands in the present Smuts cabinet. Speaking to United Party supporters in Pietermaritzburg on 13th November, 1945, he visualizes "Bechuanaland as the home for millions of natives in South Africa if the waters of the great Okovango River are harnessed." He expressed the opinion that "Bechuanaland will be the home of the native of South Africa."

General Smuts, the Union Premier, is looking forward to the eventual incorporation into the Union of South Africa of the present High Commissioner Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland as well as the mandated territory of South-West Africa. The whole idea underlying all these plans for creating native reserves to serve as labor reservoirs is in the interests of the white aristocracy.

In giving official notice at the San Francisco Conference in May, 1945, of the intention of the Union Government to demand later at the peace conference the incorporation into the Union of South Africa the territory of South-West Africa, the Union delegation, headed by General Smuts, claimed that the Union had introduced a progressive policy of Native Administration including a system of local government through Native Councils giving the natives a voice in the management of their own affairs.

Ladies and gentlemen, this system of so-called local government is a camouflage of the worst possible kind. It throws into bold relief the viewpoint of the white man concerning the black man here. They think he can be like a child fobbed off with a dummy when he is crying for the breast of his mother. This substitute is good enough for "skepsels". In the judgement of white South Africa the end of World War II affords a glorious opportunity for the extension and intensification of the policy of segregation to the colored and Indian races of the land.

For example, the series of administrative measures that aim at expropriating the colored people from their homes in the Cape Peninsula, in Kimberley, etc., and the creation of a Colored Affairs Department, with its Colored Advisory Council, at this most unpropitious time in the history of the country. For



the Indians of Natal and the Transvaal there was the introduction of the Pegging Act, the objective of which is to remove the Indian for residential and commercial purposes into zoned Asiatic areas. The time is opportune for the non-European to assert himself and claim his rightful place as a member of the human race, as a member of the Household of God, as a son in the family of mankind. With this end in view the non-European must claim: --

- (a) The unreserved application to him of the principles in the Preamble to the World Charter of Peace adopted at San Francisco in May last by representative statesmen of over 50 nations of the world, the principles of justice, of respect for human rights, of the sanctity of the human personality and the self-determination of peoples, of fundamental freedom for all without distinction of race, language, creed or sex
- (b) His rightful place in the political sun of the country of his birth or adoption, equal franchise rights, his rightful seat -- not by proxy -- in all the legislative councils of the land, his rightful place in all the administrative bodies of the land and in the public service of the country
- (c) His rightful place in the industrial organism of the country, in the legislative machinery that regulates the relationship between employer and employee.

In a word, the recognition of rights and privileges embodied in the Ten Point Program of the Non-European Unity Movement. Ladies and gentlemen, I desire to call your attention to the fact that the whole foundation upon which the system of government is based in South Africa is the source from which all the disabilities of the non-European spring. This is the color bar in the political machinery of the country which specifically, deliberately and expressly denies him the franchise. Whoever is excluded from the political home of the country, from franchise rights, is doomed. The color bar in the political system of South Africa is the pivot upon which revolves all sundry acts of color discrimination, all oppressive and suppressive measures directed against the non-European. It is the power-station from which the white man derives his strength to rule.

In the new age, in the hour of general reconstruction, general re-orientation of ideologies, the political system of South Africa must be declared to be fundamentally wrong and unsound from every ethical point of view, unChristian in conception, undemocratic in principle, uncharitable in practice, indefensible in the eyes of the modern world, untenable as a political tenet. The time has come when non-Europeans in South Africa must declare and proclaim to the whole world that the political faith accepted by white South Africa is not that of democracy. It is a government of the white races of the land for the benefit of themselves at the expense of the interest of the non-European races of the country.

Ladies and gentlemen, the hour has struck when we must venture out on a road different from that which we have been following in the past -- the road to unity, unity of the colored, Indian and African peoples of South Africa to join hands in the grim struggle for freedom.

There is a tide in the affairs of men  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;  
Omitted, all the voyage of their life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

We must be up and doing, we must revolt against this hideous system.  
Africans, coloreds and Indians must march together as a unified force. Let  
us adopt the slogan from the Chinese National Anthem: --

Our aim shall be  
To found a free land,  
World peace our stand,  
One heart, one soul, one mind, one goal.

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## 1946 AND ITS MESSAGE

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Convention of the  
Non-European Unity Movement  
December 1946

In the course of my opening address at last year's Conference I characterized the events of the year 1945 as "the most staggering." You will agree with me when I say that 1946 has witnessed events more staggering and world-shaking.

I mention some of these happenings.

(1) Early in the year the Union Parliament passed the India Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. By this enactment the Union of South Africa has incurred the righteous wrath of the Indian population of the whole world. This had led to undesirable consequences. India has severed economic and diplomatic relations with the Union of South Africa, she has applied economic sanctions against the Union and recalled the High Commissioner from the Union; and has decided to appeal to the Caesar of modern international Rome -- the United Nations Organization.

The Union Government opposed the introduction of this question at the General Assembly of U.N.O. at Lake Success, New York, U.S.A. on the 23rd October, 1946 and following days. She contended that the matter was a domestic affair which concerned the Union Government only.

U.N.O. decided to uphold the contention of India and gave the question its fullest consideration. After a debate which occupied a great deal of the time and attention of U.N.O., the General Assembly rejected, by 30 votes to nil, the contention of the Union Government and referred the dispute to the two governments of the Union and India to consider and report to the next General Assembly of U.N.O.

This ruling of U.N.O. has given White South Africa a rude awakening, comparable to an electric shock of a most deadening character. She is not only dazed but also stupefied, and is asking herself questions of a varied character. Some suggest that U.N.O. is a danger and that the Union should withdraw from it, or that South Africa should disregard its rulings in regard to color questions of the Union. Others are calling upon White South Africa to unite and present a United Front in face of the "rising tide of color" or she will be submerged.

Field-Marshal J.C. Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, and principal leader of the South African delegation at U.N.O., has returned from New York a disappointed, dispirited, disgruntled, disillusioned and discredited statesman.



He has been defeated and beaten by a personage less imposing, who represents members of the weaker sex, a woman, in the person of Mrs. Pandit, who was ably seconded by men who represent the despised darker races of the world, the Indian delegation; defeated not so much in debating skill, but because of the weakness of his case. The issue was between justice and injustice, right and wrong, right and might, freedom and serfdom; and in the present enlightened world opinion justice was bound to triumph over injustice; the Indian case was right, and "right is might," and the Indian delegation played the man and woman the fight.

(2) In pursuance of notice given at San Francisco in 1945 the Union Government submitted at the General Assembly of U.N.O. a proposal for the incorporation of the Mandated Territory of South West Africa into the Union of South Africa so as to form a fifth province of the Union. She strongly claimed that this was at the behest of the European and Native population of the territory; this quest met with no success at the hands of the General Assembly of U.N.O. The majority of the delegations of the fifty-four nations of the world were convinced that the African people of South West Africa had been properly consulted. In the light of the policy of the Union of discrimination on grounds of colour, a policy which is an absolute negation of the principles enunciated in the famous Atlantic Charter as well as in the "famous" preamble to the United Nations Charter of San Francisco, U.N.O. decided that the territory shall continue as a mandate under the Trusteeship Council of U.N.O. and instructed the Union Government to submit at the meeting of the Council to be held in March 1947, a Trusteeship Agreement.

#### MINE WORKERS' STRIKE

(3) As a protest against the persistent refusal of the Chamber of Mines to give favorable consideration to their many representations for increase of their wages the Rand African Mine Workers decided to go on strike, in which about 50,000 mine workers were involved. Although this demonstration was crushed by the Union Government by resorting to brutal methods yet it has served as an eye-opener for those who have eyes to see that this was a "sign of the times" of coming events. Coming events always cast their shadows ahead.

#### NATIVE REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

(4) Another event of great significance was the action of members of the Native Representative Council in refusing to collaborate with the government in its preparatory work for the legislative program of the forthcoming parliamentary session. The Council decided to adjourn its sessions held in August last as a protest against the deteriorating Native policy of the Union as well as the refusal of the government to grant the request of the council made in August for the abolition of all the discriminatory legislation of the Union. Members were called to a session held on the 20th November 1946, and again, as a protest against the unsatisfactory character of the reply of the government; members decided to adjourn the session and to report to their constituencies. This dramatic action of the M.R.C.'s has set the country thinking seriously. It is asking itself questions. Does this action of the M.R.C.'s constitute wise strategy in political warfare? Is it sound tactics in statesmanship? It has been suggested in some white circles that the N.R.C. should be abolished; in others that the government should declare the seats of the present "revolting" members vacant and forthwith arrange for an election of a new council.



At any rate White South Africa has never anticipated that such a drastic step could be taken by representatives of a race whose behavior towards the ruling race has always been characterized by a spirit of docility and servility of an extreme kind.

Ladies and Gentlemen, these staggering events constitute a MESSAGE FOR 1947.

The premises upon which the non-European policy of the Union of South Africa has been built have been wrong right from the very genesis of the advent of the European into the sub-continent. The political ideology represented by what has been described as the oldest section of the European population of the country has prevailed over that represented by the liberalism of the Cape. The ideology of the northern provinces of the Union, of "no equality between White and Black, either in state or church" has triumphed over the dictum of Cecil John Rhodes of "equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi."

As a consequential result of the adoption of this principle of inequality between White and Black the obnoxious color bar has been introduced not only in the political system of the country but also in all walks of life in the land, and upon this policy of segregation recommended by the representation of the so-called Union and approved of in 1909 by Great Britain through its parliament that has its seat at Westminster, London, hang all the law and political prophets of South African Statecraft. It is the fountain source from which flows all South African legislation in its relation to non-Europeans. This color bar forms the basis of discriminatory legislation and general administrative policy. Hence we have unequal distribution of land as between White and Black, unequal economic adjustments, unequal wage levels, unequal dispensation of justice; from this policy flow all the disabilities from which the non-Europeans suffer. In the fixation of scales of pay, the principle of "equal pay for equal work" is disregarded; scales of pay for the non-European are determined not upon merit but on the grounds of pigment of color of the individual concerned.

#### NEED FOR OPERATION.

The problem of race relations in South Africa has assumed the character of such a chronic disease that can only be cured by the performance of a major operation in order to eradicate that parasite on the body politic that is the cause of this dread malady - color prejudice with all the complications that have developed, race prejudice, race animosity, race antipathy, race hatred, fear complex, superiority complex, self-protective mentality, segregationist mentality, and all their kind.

The whole foundation upon which the superstructure of government in South Africa rests is fundamentally unsound. It has been the case of the strong taking advantage of the weak, the intelligentsia exploiting the ignoramus, the tutored overriding the untutored.

The so-called National Convention of 1909, presided over by the late Lord de Villiers, then Chief Justice of the Cape, which decided upon the unification of the then four British States of Southern Africa under the government with one parliament, was composed exclusively of members of the European race. This one-sided body drafted the bill which provided for the Constitution of the Union that was to be born. This draft bill framed by the



representatives of the European people of the four states was presented to the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland by a strong deputation consisting of representatives of the White races. This constitutional machinery severely and deliberately excluded the non-European groups of the body politic of the country, viz.: Africans, coloreds and Indians. This constitution introduced those color bar clauses that had the effect of excluding the non-White races from the full citizenship of the land of their birth or adoption.

The non-European people sent to Great Britain a strong deputation to protest against this flagrant violation of the principle of "government by consent of the governed." The delegation consisted of some of the ablest sons of the soil, in the persons of the late J.Tengo Jabavu, the first African journalist in South Africa, the late Dr. A.Abdurahman and the late Rev. Dr. W.B. Rubusana, the late Mrs. Mapikala, the late Saul Msaru, the late M.J. Fredericks, the late M.Londers.

The protestations of this non-European deputation were treated by the imperial parliament as "the whimperings of babes who cried by knew not what they wanted."

Since World War I, General Smuts has been proclaiming to the world the doctrine of "government by consent of the governed." In his own country he has so utterly failed to practice what he has so eloquently been preaching. He governs the non-European groups of South Africa by coercion, by Fascist methods, by means of "power politics." All native legislation that has been introduced and passed through the Union Parliament since 1910, has found its way into the statutes of the Union despite strong opposition from the African people. The Natives Land Act of 1913, the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, the Native Administration Act, 1927, the notorious Native Acts of 1936, all Asiatic legislation, all administrative acts affecting the colored community, hence the whole non-European legislation of the Union can rightly be described as "Ghetto Legislation."

I take up the position therefore that the whole non-European legislation of the so-called Union of South Africa is 'ultra vires' the statutes of civilized society. And as a natural corollary of this the non-European races of the sub-continent would be fully justified if they contended that the whole non-European legislation, having been passed without consultation with them, and without seeking their consent, is not binding on them.

Ladies and gentlemen, the world has become one, a new world has been born; as in the physical organism the suffering of one part of the body affects the whole body, so in the political organism, the suffering of one part of the world affects the whole world.

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## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

THE NON-EUROPEAN POLICY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH  
AFRICA AND THE REACTIONS OF THE NON-EUROPEAN  
TO IT

Delivered at the Annual Conference  
of the Non-European Unity Movement  
December 1948

I beg to extend to you a most cordial welcome to this the Sixth Annual Conference of the Non-European Unity Movement. Since we met last at Kimberley much water has flowed under the international bridge. The public Press has dished out to us news of events of the greatest concern, in this country and in other parts of the world.

In this country the Indian Passive Resistance is still on the horizon. Among the resisters that have been imprisoned may be mentioned two of the most outstanding leaders of Indian opinion in South Africa, namely, Drs. Y.M. Dadoo and N.G. Naiker, Presidents of the Transvaal Indian Congress and of the Natal Indian Congress respectively. The Native Representative Council which "downed tools" in August and November, 1946, has not met for the last fifteen months. The Union Prime Minister, in an attempt to solve the deadlock has made certain proposals for the improvement of the Council. These have sadly "missed the mark." What the councillors protested against was the personnel of the Native Representative Council, but the "discriminatory legislation" of the land and its concomitants. Parts of the world have been in the melting pot. India has achieved her independence, although it is regrettable that that has come about at very great price. The country has had to be "partitioned" into two states of equal status -- the Dominion of India and the Dominion of Pakistan. Burma has cut the painter with Great Britain and become an Independent Republic, while Czechoslovakia has adopted the communistic form of government. The western powers, England, the United States of America, what are called "the Benelux countries", have been shocked by this sudden turn of events, and there has come into being a Western European Unity Pact composed of Great Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg.

The whole world seems to be quite sick. Humanity is seething with unrest, discontentment, unsettlement. The "times are out of joint". The world is at cross roads; the old order of things appears to be passing away to give place to the new. What has been known and accepted as democracy appears to have been "weighed in the balance" and is found wanting. The non-White races of mankind who have been lagging behind are also being rudely shaken out of centuries of sleep and someone seems to say to them, "be opened and behold the portents and trends of the times, and make your Voice heard among the Voices of other races of mankind".



I crave your indulgence to speak to you on THE NON-EUROPEAN POLICY OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: THE REACTIONS OF THE NON-EUROPEANS TO IT.

In the first place I shall attempt a statement of that policy, its origin and characteristics and then indicate what I believe to be the reactions of the people affected by that policy.

That policy is based upon the assumption of the supremacy of the white races and upon their determination to maintain that position. With this object in view measures must be adopted, and these must necessarily be detrimental to the interests of the other racial groups domiciled in the land.

The non-European policy of the Union of South Africa may be stated in the following terms: --

1. Exclusion of the non-European races from the political system of the land as well as from its social organism. This means exclusion from the citizenship of the country with all that that connotes;
2. No equality between White and Black in the land, either in church or state; no equal rights nor equal opportunities of self-improvement;
3. Discrimination on the grounds of race and color, with all that follows from that discrimination; differential treatment of the non-European people;
4. Suppression of the Black races. The Black man must be kept in his place as a "hewer of wood and drawer of water" for the White man;
5. Retention of South African as a "White man's land"; a land in which the non-European can only be permitted to live as he ministers to the material needs of the former;
6. Maintenance of the paramountcy of the interests of the European over those of the non-European races;
7. Non-cooperation of the White man with the non-European in the governance of the land of their common habitation. The non-European must have no voice in the management of the affairs of the country;
8. Total disarmament of the non-European, from all conceivable points of view -- military, economic, industrial, civic, cultural, political, even spiritual, so as to render him absolutely impotent and helpless.

#### ORIGIN OF THIS POLICY

I shall now try to trace the origin of this one-sided policy. It took its roots in those motives that led to the Great Trek of 1836, when certain Europeans decided to leave the colony of the Cape Hope to find a new home north of the Orange River, across the Vaal River and over the Drakensberg Range of mountains. It is not too much to say that it had its source from the system of slavery that was in vogue during the 18th and the earlier part of the 19th century, when it was conventional to own human beings as if they were chattels or beasts of burden or mere instruments in the hands of their White masters. It sprang from the motives of "self-protection" or from the doctrine that was once propounded by the late General J.B.M. Hertzog, when, defending his Native Bills in 1936 he said, "self-preservation is the first law of nature." This was the established policy of the old Dutch Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and was adopted after strenuous fight put up by representatives of the liberal policy of the old Cape of Good Hope, by the National Convention, which brought about the unification of the then four British States of pre-Union days. In agreeing to the series of "compromises"



made in the course of negotiations, the cape representatives capitulated and bartered away the only truly Christian policy of "equal rights for all citizens irrespective of color or creed." A clash had occurred between the political outlook of the south and that of the north, between the liberalism of the Cape and the conservatism of the republics, between the northern states of democracy for White people or the priveleged classes only; democracy of the south and plutocracy of the north. The northern point of view prevailed over the southern, and the result was the introduction of the color bar in the political constitution of the new state that was to be born. Those color bar clauses are inscribed in Section 44 of the Act constituting the Union of South Africa -- The South Africa Act of 1909 -- which purports to define qualifications for membership of the Union Parliament. Under the provisions of these color clauses the candidate for parliamentary honors must be, inter alia, a "British subject of European descent." Does not this at once introduce "the caste system", not only in the political system but also in the social organism of the country?

By adoption of this reactionary policy, the rejection of the policy of liberalism, a serious departure from the principles of right and justice was made. It marked the introduction of the principle of "might is right" and the final overthrow in South Africa of the principle of "right is might,". Consciously or unconsciously it established the principle of what might be "the divine right of Europeans". The consequences have been most farreaching.

#### CHARACTER OF THIS POLICY

Flowing as it does, from such unclean sources the non-European policy of the union of the sub-continent must naturally be oppressive in character, repressive in execution, suppressive in its method, depressive in its psychological effects upon the people against whom it operates. Breeding as it must color prejudice of the most malignant type, this policy must be brutal and harsh in its methods, terroristic and frightful in operation, merciless and Hitleristic in determination. One needs only to read the speeches made by its representatives from time to time, in the Union Parliament as well as from other public platforms to realize the dangerous points to which this policy is dragging the populace.

Viewed from a Christian or humanitarian point of view the non-European policy of the so-called Union of South Africa has proved to be unChristian in conception and un-Christlike in spirit, anti-Christian in content, anti-non-White in intent, un-democratic in essence, shortsighted and selfish in outlook, thoughtless in execution. It is the veritable antitheses of the Christian conception of the sacredness of human personality. It has contaminated the whole social life of the country. It is breeding seeds of racial antipathy, racial animosity, race antagonisms that will inevitably produce results of huge dimensions. This policy is un-Christlike because it denies the non-European of being entitled to the principles enunciated in the famous Atlantic Charter. According to it the four freedoms of the late President Roosevelt are not applicable to the non-European races of mankind -- freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of movement and freedom from want. According to this policy democracy is restricted to European people only; it is a "government of some of the people by some of the people for the benefit of some of the people," or to be more explicit, "a government of the White people by the White people for the benefit of the White people". It is NaZism in a Southern



African garb. It is symptomatic of a virulent psychosis which manifests itself in weakness of the human soul known as "fear complex", curiously coupled with another weakness called "superiority complex". Policy born of such sick mind is incapable of being fair and just in its application.

#### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF THIS POLICY

The legislative program of such policy must be characteristic of its source. It must be discriminatory in its content and oppressive in its characteristics; it must be iniquitous in all its features and in all its ramifications. Instance the whole native legislation of the last period of over forty years -- the Native Labor Acts of 1911, the Industrial Color Bar Act of same year, the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Native Affairs Act of 1920, the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923, the Native Administration Act of 1927, the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, the Representation of Native Act of 1936, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1937, and a host of other legislation as well as other administrative acts of the Union Government; and the Asiatic Pegging Act of 1944, the Asiatic Land and Indian Representation Act of 1946, which has given rise to the present Indian Passive Resistance Movement. Then there is the Industrial Conciliation Act from which the Africans are excluded. They are denied the right of collective bargaining and from the right to go on strike as a protest against the refusal of employers to come to terms with them.

While this sectarian parliament has refrained from a separate set of legislation for the colored people its government has taken steps to bring about segregationist methods in its dealings with this section of the population. By administrative action it has established a separate sub-Department of State, called the Colored Affairs Department under which scheme it has introduced a Colored Advisory Council to function almost on the lines of the Native Representative Council and the Indian Advisory Board, set up under the provisions of the latest Indian Legislation -- the Ghetto Act. The whole of this thing constitutes the old imperialistic policy of "divide and rule."

#### THE REACTIONS OF THE NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLE TO THIS POLICY

I now proceed to indicate in a few sentences what I believe must be reactions of that section of the population of the Union of South Africa to this blind policy.

Prejudice of any kind is a dreadful mental malady, and the White people of this country are suffering from this cruel disease. They, therefore pretend to be ignorant of the ends to which their segregationist policy is leading. Color prejudice has made them forget that every cause must produce an effect. Instead of realizing the fact that their own un-Christian policy is the inevitable cause of all the unrest that is manifest among all the non-European people of the country, they cast the blame at the wrong door. They blame the Communist Party and what they are pleased to describe as "foreign ideologies" for this state of affairs. Some of them now call upon the government to ban all communistic movements, to disband existing communistic parties and to deal drastically with all such tendencies and to declare communism an



illegal creed. Dr. Malan's recent motion on the color question had as its avowed intention to destroy and curb movements among non-Europeans that result from the separation of the policy of the country. He and those of this way of thinking imagine that the non-Europeans are being instigated by the Communist Party in their reactions to the color policy of the Herrenvolk races of the land. Nothing of the kind. This policy is solely responsible for all that is taking place today. It has prepared a fertile field for the seeds of unrest and unsettlement and revolt that are manifesting themselves on the political surface of this fair land of ours. Someone said, "you can fool some of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time!" Unsavory reactions to this "tomfoolery" policy are bound to occur. The people affected are bound to kick and kick as hard as they can.

Perhaps the first reaction was the adoption of the All African Convention of what it called "the new road" and its call upon the African people to reject all segregationist institutions and call upon members of the Native Representative Council to resign on bloc. Then came the National Anti-Pass Campaign of 1945, then the Native Mine Workers' Strike of 1946, the decision of members of the N.R.C. to adjourn their sessions in August and November, 1946, as a protest against the discriminatory legislation of the Union Government.

Upon the institution by the government of the Colored Affairs Department with the establishment of the Colored Advisory Council, a section of the colored people launched the National Anti-Colored Affairs Department Movement (Anti-Cad Movement), while upon the passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 our Indian brothers decided upon a Passive Resistance Movement to say nothing of the action of the Government of India in lodging a protest with the United Nations Organization against this reactionary measure.

The Non-European Section of the population is being driven by this relentless anti-color policy to such a state of exasperation, frustration and hopelessness that they are bound, in the long run, to revolt and cry "thus far and no further". Hence the movement for boycotting all elections under the Native Representation Act of 1936, as well as those under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. Hence the move of all non-Europeans to take no part in the administration of this segregationist policy of the union. Things are leading to such a pass that they are compelled to declare for

- (a) policy of non-participation in the administration of all laws enacted on the basis of this policy;
  - (b) non-collaboration with a government that is avowedly anti-colored, anti-non-Europeans;
  - (c) non-participation even in the defence of the territorial integrity of the country with a government that has excluded them from the defence system of the country by the Defence Act.
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THE SOCIO-RELIGIOUS SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY

Presidential Address

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the  
Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation of S.A.  
Brandfort, O.F.S., June 8, 1956

Brethren,

I desire to extend to you a warm-hearted welcome to this the 11th Annual Conference of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation of South Africa. You are men who occupy a highly responsible position in the social life of the African community. You are ambassadors of the King of Kings, Shepherds of the flock of Christ.

You have come here for a purpose, not to spend a holiday, nor to enjoy yourselves. You have come as men impelled by a sense of responsibility as the religious leaders of the African race, as spiritual fathers of the race, as watchmen over the Household of God, as Prophets in the land, as those who have been called of God for a job of tremendous import. You have come along to take counsel together as to how you may discharge your solemn duty to God and man.

I crave your permission to speak to you on what I think I should call  
THE SOCIORELIGIONS SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY

I must, however, confess that I approach this subject with a great deal of trepidation and a keen sense of incompetence to deal with a matter of this description, but only a feeling of compulsion drives me on to tackle it.

I shall endeavor to make a survey of the social condition in this land and of their relation to the religious position as it presents itself to the naked eye of one who is not a student of social problems of the country.

I think I am not far wrong when I aver that South Africa as a whole can be said to be a "religious Society", and that Christianity is the religion of this society. While I cannot give any estimate of the percentage of professing Christians in comparison with the non-Christian section of the population of the Union of South Africa, yet it can be safely said that the social superstructure of the country is believed to be built upon Christian foundations.

I would invite you to come along with me for a glimpse at the social pattern of this, a multi-racial land. While the foundations are supposedly Christian, the superstructure itself gives a contrary picture. The social order of the country is inconsistent with the teaching of the Divine Founder of this universal religion, neither is it consistent with the philosophy of the early teachers of this great faith. The social system of this land has been erected on foundations that are contrary to the Christian philosophy.



This system has been founded on the concept of a society that is "bi-partite" or "tri-partite" in character, white and black, European and non-European, civilized and uncivilized, white, colored and black, Greek and barbarian, Jew and Gentile, and also on the notion that the two or three sections into which this community is divided, are antagonistic to each other, and also that the non-Europeans belong to the "uncivilized" or "barbarian" sector. The philosophy on which South African social system has been built believes that "assimilation" between these sections will never be possible, and also that it would be extremely disastrous for the white race if this assimilation could eventuate. The system appears to have its inspiration from Abraham's answer to the request of Devas in the Parable of "The Rich Man and Lazarus" when he said, "and besides all this between us and you there is a great gulf fixed, so that they which pass from hence to you cannot, neither can they pass to us, that would come from thence."

This is the philosophy upon which the Northern States of pre-Union days were founded, "There can be no equality between white and black in this country, either in Church or State." Upon this un-Christian philosophy the so-called Union of South Africa has been devised. The Framers of the Constitution of the Union, in consequence, introduced color bar clauses in the act constituting the Union, and this unfortunate philosophy has been the "guiding star" in the checkered history of the country these forty years. This doctrine does not seem to believe that even the adoption of Christianity as the common religion of the white and black races of this land can heal the breach, nor can that break the wall of partition that divides us. On this rock Mohammedanism beats Christianity. In Mohammedanism all those who accept Alla as God, and Mohammed as his Prophet are accepted into the brotherhood of that great religion, irrespective of race or color or culture or class, or intellectual attainment, or even the scale of civilization. The Moslem would appear to sing the words found in MacCaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome" which run thus:

Then none was for a party,  
Then all were for the state,  
Then the great man helped the poor,  
And the poor helped the great,

Then laws were fairly portion'd,  
Then lands were fairly sold,  
The Romans were brothers,  
In those brave days of old.

Further, the social order of the Union of South Africa is based upon false or faulty concepts, viz.-

- (a) The superiority of the white man as well as the permanent Baaskap of the European.
- (b) The permanent inferiority of the black man, and his eternal state of serfdom.

It also derives its origin from the psychological nightmare, fear on the part of the white man that he might be swamped or swallowed up by the black man because of his numerical superiority, and the white man must take precautions to preserve his racial entity. It is based upon selfish motives, such as "self-preservation is the first law of nature," or the Germanic philosophy, "necessity knows no law."



From a philosophy founded upon psychological factors of the above description, must naturally follow a social order that is the natural outcome of a diseased mind. From a contaminated fountain source must flow contaminated waters, class legislation, color discrimination, color prejudice of a most virulent nature, of thoughtless and blind ruthlessness. From this fountain source must naturally flow a social system that is tainted with studies discrimination of the worst kind:

1. Unequal distribution of the land, which allocates 80% of the land to the white population, which numbers 2,500,000, leaving about 13% to the African population of over 8,000,000 souls
2. Unequal treatment in matters of fixation of wages, and the regulation of settlement of labor disputes of African laborers and other workers
3. Total denial of civil and political rights to the non-European, as adumbrated in those class measures enacted in 1936 and 1956

The list is incomplete, but a brief statement of the facts is sufficient to show that the social order resulting from such glaring legislative measures must inevitably be unsound, unhealthy. The natural corollary of such enactments must be evil. 90% of the social evils of the country must be traced to this contaminated source. The social evils I refer to are the following:

- (a) Frightful incidence of divorce, illicit marriages, disintegration of family life among African communities, general depravity
- (b) Illicit traffic in spirituous liquors of all kinds, illicit traffic in Dagga, illicit traffic in precious minerals, juvenile delinquency, disappearance of parental control among the African race, youthful gangsterisms, emergence of Tsotsiism, development of murderous propensities among sections of the people, emergence of the new cult of Russians, indecent assaults upon members of the weaker sex.

In short, a state of affairs which bears striking resemblance to social conditions depicted in the first chapter of Isaiah,

Ah, sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint, from the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds and bruises, and putrifying sores.

In his inaugural address delivered before the recent synod of the N.G. Kerk of the O.F.S., the new Moderator, the Rev. P.S.Z. Coetzee urged the church to do all in its power to combat the spread of Communism in the land. We would respectfully suggest that the foundations upon which the social set-up of the S. A. Community have been erected are mainly, if not wholly, responsible for the fertile soil upon which the seeds of Communism and other such "isms" take root and thrive. An objective study of the history of the country from where Communism came, the Russia of the days of the Czars, will bear out our contention.



In my humble opinion this situation calls for the appointment of a commission of enquiry into and report upon the root causes of the social conditions of this country as they affect the African and other non-European groups of the Union population.

Turning now to the Religious situation.

*Even in this field we find no redeeming feature.* The religious standard of the country is at a very low ebb. While I believe that no less than 50% of the African population is associated with church life, yet there can be no getting away from the fact that the type of Christianity of the age, the Atomic Age, the Machine Age, cannot stand any comparison with the church of the Apostolic Age. The divergence is appalling. The picture that presents itself is that of nominal Christianity, a Christianity that has the form of godliness, yet denying the power thereof. It is far away from that Christianity that was preached and expounded by the great apostles, Peter, Paul, John, James and their successors of the Reformation Age. Church-going is at a premium. The youth of the age appears to be as indifferent as they are apathetic to the claims of the church to which they owe so much. According to a report submitted to the synod of the N.G. Kerk held at Bloemfontein in April last, "the church is going through a critical period in South Africa."

Although the African races of the land have virtually discarded the religious forms of their ancestors, they seem to groan that they find "no spiritual home" in the Christian church. I must assert that there is no doubt but that Christianity is now the national religion of the African people. Yet, at times they seem to halt between two opinions, Christianity or a Return to Ancestor Worship. One is inclined to sympathize with this attitude of hesitation. Christianity and the Christian way of life are presented to the people, not only by the great churches that are responsible for its introduction into the country, but also by a numberless sectarian coterie, which masquerades under a nomenclature of a non-descript character. The Native Affairs Department says there are over 1000 different sects, each of which claims to represent the true apostolic succession. For this state of affairs it is extremely difficult to apportion responsibility. We all, however deeply deplore the grim fact that the church founded by the Son of God has split up into forms of worship and sectarianism of bewildering dimensions. Each denomination believes that it derives its authority and existence from God. We all seem to cry, "lo, Christ is here," "lo, Christ is there". The net result is rivalry among branches of the church which all owe common allegiance to the One and Indivisible Christ. The poor, unsophisticated followers become bewildered and dumbfounded. The fervent prayer of the Founder, "that they be one, as even we are one, ..that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me," is conveniently forgotten. The Pauline conception of the oneness of the Christian church has thus been thrust aboard "one Lord, one faith, one baptism." What does the great apostle to the Gentiles think about it all when he sees his teaching of the unity of Christendom dashed to pieces on the rock of divisiveness? How does he feel when he looks at this tremendous process of dismemberment of the body of Christ, this disfigurement, this disintegration of the great united church of Apostolic days as described in the early chapters of the Acts of the Apostles? What has become of that unity of heart, unity of mind, unity of purpose, that fellowship of the saints, that community of interests of people called "Christians"? It



is only a united church that is capable of winning the world for Christ, a united Christianity that can hope to overpower the mighty and subtle forces of evil. A united church will stand, and a divided church will fall.

I would respectfully appeal to the religious leaders of the African people to ask themselves the question, as before God, What effect will this divided Christianity have upon the religious character, the moral stability, the moral fiber of the African people? Is this appalling sectarianism not tantamount to ecclesiastical fratricide of a most virulent character?

Brethren, I presume I have nearly succeeded in drawing your attention to the situation in all its aspects, social, economic, and religious. I believe you all agree with me that as far as the socio-religious situation of the sub-continent is concerned "All is not well in Denmark," and that the position presents such gloomy picture that we all should groan,

The time is out of joint,

O, wretched spite

That ever I was born to put it right.

The situation presents a challenge to the Christian Church of the present age, it constitutes a call to the religious leaders of the age, a call for genuinely Christian men who are thoroughly convinced that Jesus the Christ is "the eternal son of the living God, that he is a priest of God 'after the order of Melchizedek', that he is the Savior of the world," men whose attitude to Jesus and his cause, like that of Saul of Tarsus, has been thoroughly revolutionized, spirit-filled men who can bear witness to a Risen Christ, who now sitteth on the right hand of God, men who have not the slightest doubt but that Christianity is now the established religion of the Black people of the sub-continent, and the religion of their colored compatriots, men who are convinced that Christianity is the religion ordained of God to bring salvation to the non-European races of Southern Africa.

Further, in my humble opinion, the socio-religious situation calls for religious leaders of varied types of temperament, of varied spiritual gifts, types such as those listed in the fourth chapter of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, the eleventh verse, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, Teachers, men who would be in a position to cope with the situation in all its aspects, all its complications, its implications, its amplifications, its ramifications, its intricacies. In a word, the situation calls for men who can proclaim, "Behold, the Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord has annointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

It calls for men who have been called to preach the true gospel of salvation of the whole man, the gospel of liberation from bondage in all its forms, the gospel of reconciliation between God and man, between man and man, between race and race, between South and North, between West and East. This would involve freedom in all its aspects,

Freedom from want, Freedom of movement,  
Freedom of worship, Freedom of speech,  
Freedom of assembly.



It calls for prophets who would proclaim the gospel of emancipation, emancipation from the thralldom of sin, from the power of evil, emancipation of the whole man, spiritually, intellectually, physically, socially, economically, politically. It calls loudly for the rise of a William Wilberforce, a Martin Luther, a John Wesley, to arouse the black giant from his slumber, from ignorance of himself.

Last, but not least, the situation calls for the rise of Women of Prayer, women of the faith of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, whose fervent, vehement, importune prayer gave Israel the prophet and priest who consecrated the first King of Israel.

Men of Prayer, of the type of Nehemiah, it calls for an Intercessory Priesthood, who not only denounce the sinful propensities of the race, but also prays for its deliverance, for forgiveness of the sins of the nation.

Oh God, hear the CRY of Africa. Give a thought to Africa. God bless Africa and her sons and daughters.

CHRISTIANITY AS THE RELIGION OF AFRICAN TERRITORIES  
SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

Presidential Address

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the  
Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation  
Kimberley, C.P., August 20, 1958

Dearly Beloved Brethren,

I desire to extend to you all a most cordial welcome to this 12th Conference of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation, and to express the fervent hope that our deliberations will be crowned with unparalleled success.

I need hardly remind you that a great deal of water has flowed under the bridge since our last conference held at Brandfort, O.F.S. in June, 1956. I shall mention only a few of the events that have taken place since then.

1.) A National Conference of African Leaders of thought of all shades of political outlook was held under the auspices of this organization at Bloemfontein, O.F.S., on the 4th October, 1956, to consider the Tomlinson Commission Report on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Reserves within the Union of South Africa.

2.) No less than 156 European and non-European men and women were arrested in the early hours of the 6th December, 1956, and taken to Johannesburg, under charges of high treason. This sensational "coup" created a tremor throughout the whole length and breadth of the earth. The case is proceeding.

3.) Arising from the deliberations of the Bloemfontein Conference of Leaders a multi-racial conference of representatives of the four racial groups who compose the population of the Union of South Africa was held in the University of the Witwatersrand on the 3rd December, 1957, the object of which it was to consider a suitable formula for the solution of the problem of race relationships in the Union, the theme of the conference being "Human Relations in a Multi-Racial Society."

I desire to invite you this afternoon to study with me what we shall describe as CHRISTIANITY AS THE RELIGION OF AFRICAN TERRITORIES SOUTH OF THE SAHARA.

This theme will induce us to remind ourselves of the nature of man, and that he is a social, religious, and political animal. From time immemorial and throughout the ages and throughout the whole habitable world man has professed a belief in a deity or some supernatural being; and he has felt that this being deserves to be worshipped and adored in some form or other. With this object in view man has evolved a form of worship which we call religion. In his quest for a form of worship man has brought a variety of forms of worship from which there has sprung up the great religions of the



world, namely, Judaism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Parseeism, Taoism, Christianity, which is perhaps the youngest of these religions, but the most influential, the most universal, and according to the late Mahatma Ghandi, a great Indian scholar and thinker, the best of all the others.

This great religious system has been planted in all continents of the globe, and it can be claimed as was done of the British Empire, "the sun never sets over Christendom." This religion has been in existence for nearly twenty centuries. Its founder is Jesus the Christ, the Eternal Son of the living God, the Son of Man, who has now been acclaimed "the Savior of the World." A statement occurs in the book, "the Christian Message for the World of today": "In the history of mankind no other religion has been professed over so large a proportion of the globe or by so many people." Christianity has its roots in the Judean soil, and beginning at Jerusalem, it soon spread to the continent of Europe, from where it radiated to the ends of the earth, in fulfillment of its founder's commission, "Go ye into all the world and make disciples of all nations." Built as it has been upon the rock against which all the "gates of hell could not prevail", its teachings are based upon very sound principles enunciated by him and embodied in the greatest and loftiest of all the homeletic discourses of all history known among churchmen as "The Sermon on the Mount", as also upon the moral code propounded by Christ in that greatest maxim of the philosophy of human relationship, "do unto others as you would have them do unto you", "love thy neighbor as thyself," i.e., love every human being, every man and woman, irrespective of race, color, culture, class or country of origin or stage of development. Further this religion has been founded upon soundest principles of ethics enshrined in the teachings of the great apostles, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John, St. James, or in other words it has been evolved out of the doctrines and practices of the early Christian Church as recorded in the New Testament and the Acts of the Apostles.

#### INTRODUCTION INTO AFRICA

The introduction of this great religious system may be said to date with the journeyings of one of the seven deacons appointed by the early church, Philip, who came into contact with an Eunuch of great authority, a minister of state under Candace, the Queen of the Ethiopians (Africans). This took place right in the first century of the Christian Era. This first venture into "the dark continent" did not, however, make much headway. It was not until the discoveries of the continent by the great explorers, notably Moffat and H.M. Stanley, when the great scramble for the partitioning of Africa started, that missionaries from several European countries, notably Great Britain, France, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands, came and hoisted the flag of the kingdom of God and of his Christ in several strategic parts of the new-found territory. Judaism did not seem eager to spread its faith to this new continent. It fell to the lot of two of the great religions of the world to compete for the soul of Africa, namely, Mohammedanism and Christianity. Christian Missionaries from the west entered the country through two gateways, the Cape of Storms (Cape of Good Hope) and the Cape Coast, what was then the Gold Coast, the present Ghana, and penetrated into the interior of the continent south of the Sahara and occupied countries situated therein, namely, Dahomey, Angola, Ghana, Ethiopia (Abyssinia),



Kenya, Nigeria, Liberia, French Cameroons, Belgian Congo, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Madagascar, Portuguese East Africa, South West Africa, the Rhodesias, and South Africa.

According to Map 4 in the Tomlinson Commission Report on the Socio-Economic Development of the Native Reserves within the Union of South Africa, published in 1954, Africa may be divided into three chief religious regions, namely,

- (a) A North African Islamic block
- (b) A Central African Pagan block
- (c) A South African Christian block.

From my own personal observations gained from my recent visit to Ghana and Nigeria, where I spent nearly three weeks, having passed through the French Cameroons and Belgian Congo, I gained the impression that Africa may be divided into two chief religious regions, namely,

- (a) An Islamic religious block, north of the Equator
- (b) A Christian religious block, south of the Sahara.

The latter block would embrace all those countries that are situated in that area, namely Angola, Belgian Congo, Dahomey, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Madagascar, Nigeria, Kenya, French Cameroons, Portuguese East Africa, the Rhodesias, South Africa, Tanganyika, South West Africa.

According to R.A. Hill's book on "the World and its Peoples", the majority of the people of Liberia are Christians, while 70% of the people of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) are Christians, their principal church being the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, a branch of the Coptic Church. This book further states that in South Africa roughly 90% of the white population are Christians, 40% of the African population profess no belief or are pagans, leaving 60% of Africans as Christians! It is a well known fact that the great majority of the colored population of the Union of South Africa profess Christianity. Coming back to the Tomlinson Report, "From an analysis of the relative strength of Christianity, it appears that South Africa can already to a great extent be classified as Christian, 63.2% of the population being Christians as against 36.8% being non-Christian." The report continues, "Moreover, it appears that the Bantu Christians are by far the dominant factor in the South African population structure, namely, 36.1% of the total population, and that Bantu heathendom is second in the list namely, 32.5% thereof." "Further," continues the report, "when South Africa is compared with the rest of Africa in the religious sphere, one of the facts revealed is that South Africa forms the key to the rest of Africa, and that Africa is a buffer area between the West and the East. If Christian civilization established itself in Africa, then Africa can certainly become a buffer between democracy and communism, as well as between Christianity and non-Christianity." Assuming that the Rhodesias are predominantly Christian, it can therefore be safely claimed that Christianity is the religion of African territories south of the Sahara.

Taking all these facts into consideration one can well understand why the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, declared recently that "Africa is the most important place in the world today" and why a statement is made in the report of the World Reformed Churches which held its conference at Pptchefstroom on the 14th August, 1958 which is to the effect, "it is very likely that the major battlefield in the third world



war will be Africa" It is gratifying however that Christianity dominates the whole communal scene in territories south of the Sahara, and leadership in all walks of life in these territories is vested in Christian people; also that the majority, if not all leaders in the political field, all government officials, school teachers, college lecturers, university professors, administrative officers, officers and other members of the police force in these lands are either Christians or adherents of the Christian faith. Believing as we do that man is a religious animal a challenge is thrown out to all men and women living in these Christian territories to make a choice between the two rival religions that are contending for the soul of this central continent, Christianity and Mohammedanism. In this matter there can be no "sitting on the fence," no neutrality, no neutral zones. Black Africa is challenged as did Joshua of Old Testament history, when Israel was on the point of wavering between "two stools." "Choose you, this day," he roared, "whom ye will serve, Jehovah or the gods of the Amorites!" Africa has come to a crisis. We have to make a choice between Mohammed and Christ, between God and Pan (the god of the Pagans). There are some who are asking themselves whether Christianity has benefitted us as a race of people at all, whether the profession of Christianity has brought us any beneficial "dividends." The European peoples have reaped huge fruits from their acceptance of the Christian Religion. What have we got out of it? Life, whether it be individual or social, or corporal or political, is a grim struggle for existence, for survival. Does Christ offer the African race any life, any hope for survival? Listen to the Prime Minister of the new Africa state, Dr. the Honorable Kwame NKRUMAH. In his address to members of what is called the All African Seminar of Pax Romana, which assembled at the Ghana University College at Accra towards the end of last year, he said, "Ghana must develop as a Christian country." This eminent son of the soil had earlier told the delegates who came from nine countries of the continent that the people of Ghana owed much to the Christian missionaries who had come to the country in the spirit of devotion and brought them glad tidings of salvation. John Foster Dulles, the Secretary of State of one of the greatest world powers, a leading personality in the American political life, told a meeting of the United Nations Assembly a few years ago, "that the United States was founded by men who believed that there was a divine Creator who had endowed man with inalienable rights."

From my visit to parts of Central Africa I have become convinced that Christianity is the religion of upwards of 60% of Black Africa south of the Sahara. Some one wrote sometime ago, "all educated Africans profess the Christian religion, whether they be real or only nominal Christians, but they profess no other religion, unlike Asiatics in the country, the largest percentage of whom are Moslems or Buddhists."

Brethren, the Christian religion offers the best program. A Program for the Redemption of Humanity, comprehensive in its content, redemption of the whole man, in the entirety of his complex make-up, physically, intellectually, socially, economically, politically, morally. Its all inclusive program is aptly defined in the sixty first chapter of the Book of Isaiah, verse 1, "The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath annointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek. He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound." Christ amplifies this by saying, "to preach deliverance to the captives, . . . to set at liberty them that are bruised."



These words are significant, deliverance, liberty. It is a program for liberation in all its all-embracing content. It foreshadows freedom, the Four Freedoms of the Atlantic Charter, freedom of worship, freedom of movement, freedom from want, freedom from fear, as also the gospel of liberation embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as adopted and subscribed to by the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 10th day of December, 1948. A program for reconciliation between God and man, between East and West, between white and black.

It was this program that inspired men like William Wilberforce to fight for all their worth, for the emancipation of slaves, which culminated in the abolition of slavery in the British Empire in the first half of the 19th century. The implications of this liberation have been re-stated in the statement of Christian policy issued by the Conference of the World Reformed Churches held recently at Potchefstroom. To mention only one or two of these statements, "The fundamental unity of the human race is at least as important as all considerations of race or color." . . . "No race may consider itself privileged or superior to other races." . . . "Believers of all races should receive one another as brothers and sisters in Christ."

I now ask for permission to make an earnest appeal to

(a) The protagonists or preachers of this religion to make a fresh study of this religion of religions. This would certainly create a deeper conviction in their minds that the hope of the world, of suffering humanity, lies in the acceptance of Jesus Christ as the Savior of the world. With this conviction would come a resolve to double their efforts at the task of the propagation of this form of belief, to continue the mission of the Messiah to seek and save the lost sheep of Israel.

(b) The clergy of the Christian Church, in all its branches to undertake a review of the situation with a view to possible re-orientation of its concept of the Christian Faith, its theology, its philosophy, its mission to a languishing world, its responsibility to God and to man, its reaction to that note in Christ's high priestly prayer, "that they may be one, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me." Has the time not arrived when Christendom shall give yet another serious thought to the question of church reunion, "the toenadering" of the scattered fragments of Christianity, to the urgency of the realization of the ideal of "One Holy Catholic Christian Church, the Universal Church, and the Community of the Saints". We live in an intensely interesting, but explosive age, the Sputnik Age, the Space Age. From time immemorial there have always been at least two psychic forces at work, contending against each other for the soul of mankind, namely evil versus good, might versus right, bondage versus freedom, and which have in our day, taken other forms, communism versus democracy, apartheid versus integration, anti-Christ versus Christ. The age calls upon the church to review these factors, and re-examine those that tend to weaken its witness.

(c) The European adherents of the Christian Church in South Africa who, as quoted above, constitute about 90% of the European population of the Union, to give serious consideration to the psychological effects on the non-European section of the community, as also its effect upon the progress of Christianity in the country of their attitude of scorn, of contempt, of unfriendliness to the non-European people of the land, to give serious thought as to whether the whole trend of non-European legislation of the past period of forty-eight years is not responsible for the preparation of fertile soil in the heart of the



non-Europeans for the seeds of what the whites dread so much, Black Nationalism. Communistic infiltration among non-Europeans. To consider whether the so-called "traditional policy of Apartheid" or separate development of the races is not responsible for the creation of a state of tension in the sub-continent. Apartheid, with all that that term connotes, discrimination in all the spheres of life in the country, economical, educational, industrial, commercial, political, ecclesiastical, ethnological. The white people of this fair land should give a serious thought to the fact that the whole trend of legislation emanating from the concept of Apartheid is inimical to the cause of racial peace, harmony, tranquility, good neighborliness, friendly cooperation among the white and non-white races of the sub-continent. The policy of Apartheid constitutes the most formidable obstacle to the progress of Christianity in the land. It is certainly enemy no. 1 in this respect, enemy no. 1 to the Christian faith. Apartheid is a negation of those fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, namely:

The fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man,  
The solidarity of the human race, the equality  
of men in the eyes of God  
The freedom of human personality, irrespective  
of race or color

The universal declaration of human rights, etc. . . .

In his condemnation of this doctrine of Apartheid, the Rev. H.W. Rist, M.A., a past president of the Methodist Church of South Africa, wrote a poem in which the following lines occur:

Are these then chattels forever damned  
To sullen serfdom's sweating toil?  
Just to exist as we command,  
To human arrogance a spoil?

Are they indeed a lesser race  
Inept to become the nation's peers?  
Inferior objects of a lesser grace  
Condemned thus through all the years?

Is this the authentic Christian mind?  
Then must we seek another word,  
A wisdom juster and more kind  
Than yet the woeful world has heard?

(d) Leaders in the political realm, to re-think their ideology, re-examine their political faith in the light of these considerations. As a Christian country can South Africa continue along this road of discrimination on grounds of race? Can South Africa continue to insist that Apartheid is "a Christian way of life"? In 1960 the country will celebrate its golden jubilee. That should be the occasion, not only of rejoicing, but also of a re-examination of the basis of the national policy with especial regard to Apartheid.

(e) The Intelligentsia and other civilized Africans to accept and accept Christianity as their religion, to make a solemn resolve to surrender their wills to the will of Jehovah and Jesus the Christ, make a solemn vow

to worship God in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ. We respectfully call upon them to follow the example of the Fingo Tribe, who, under the leadership of the Rev. John Ayliff, made a solemn vow at the Mzwashwini now over a hundred years ago, a solemn covenant with God, which was to the effect that Jehovah shall be their God whom they would serve, and that Jesus Christ shall be their savior, and that they would dedicate themselves and their children to this God. We call upon them to heed the warning of Ntsikana, an African prophet of old, who warned the Amaxhosa,

Accept the Umqulu (the Bible) the white man brings to you.  
Shun his Black water (brandy) and his holeless  
button(his money or gold)

And see if that course will not bring you the desired  
Salvation, liberation, freedom, and loosen the chains  
of slavery.

The acceptance of Christianity brought salvation to the European peoples in the 16th and 17th centuries. It brought in its wings emancipation to the negroes of America. Listen to what Moses said to the Israelites centuries before the advent of the Christian Era, as they stood trembling betwixt the Red Sea and the advancing Egyptian Army, "fear not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord." "Not by might nor by power, but by my spirit," saith the Lord.

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## EVANGELIZATION OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the  
Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Conference  
Sharpeville, Vereeniging, Transvaal  
May 27, 1959

It gives me very great pleasure to stand before you this afternoon and to extend to you a cordial welcome to this the 13th Annual Conference of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation, held at this historic town of Vereeniging.

Last year I addressed you on the theme, "Christianity as the Religion of African Territories South of the Sahara".

As a follow-up of that conviction I crave your permission to speak to you on what I consider to be a relevant theme, EVANGELIZATION OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA.

My aim is to invite not only the African section of the Christian Church, but the whole Christian Church of South Africa to launch a drive for the evangelization or Christianization of this part of the continent of Africa; erstwhile "Dark Continent", yet, the center continent, an area of historic importance, the cradle of the human race, the cradle of the world's civilization the continent that gave refuge to Moses, when he was cast away by his own brothers, and the continent that eventually gave him proper nourishment, sound learning, education and training that fitted him for leadership, and for a place as perhaps the greatest law giver that the world had ever produced, the author of that moral code which forms the basis of the ethics of the civilized world.

Two or more pertinent questions suggest themselves and call for consideration as we give a glance at the present African situation or at the Africa of today.

Firstly, is there a fresh call for the evangelization or christianization of this continent of Africa or that part of it that lies south of the Sahara?

Secondly, is the Christian church south of the Sahara or south of the Limpopo River in its present set-up capable of undertaking such an ambitious program for the evangelization of this vast terrain?

Thirdly, are the resources, both in regard to man-power as well as material potential adequate for such a stupendous task?

Perhaps a little examination of the series of the events that are taking place with such terrific rapidity in the whole continent of Africa may supply us with the answer to the first question. These events have resulted in a radical or revolutionary change in the economic, social, cultural and political structure of the continent. This strange phenomenon has suddenly attracted the attention of the entire civilized world, including the most powerful countries of the modern world, namely, the United States of America and Soviet Russia. The keenest observers of the world events have well stated that the eyes of the world are focused upon what has suddenly become "the most important place" in the world, namely Africa, East and West, North and South, are watching speechlessly the steady unfolding of this great drama. The prediction made by General J.C. Smuts more than a decade ago has materialized. Africa has become "the cockpit of world politics."



In this connection I venture to draw your attention to the most staggering changes that are taking place in French Africa. Under that forceful and dynamic leadership of that strange personality, that "man of destiny," General Charles De Gaulle, who suddenly appeared upon the political scene of the French Republic at the call of the hour. De Gaulle felt the urge to effect a needed readjustment in the constitutional structure of the French empire. The first result of his approach was his election as the first President of the Fifth French Republic. This was followed, as by a magic wand, by the emergence of a number of independent African States within the orbit of the French community, such as the Federation of Mali, the Republic Camerouns, the Central African Republic, etc. In the Belgian Congo what was a veritable revolution also took place a few months thereafter and brought about political reforms which gave its African people of 13,000,000 souls franchise rights at a twinkling of the eye.

Coming further down to the south we are confronted by a sudden change. Following upon the release of the Cowen Commission Report the Territory of Basutoland will soon be granted a representative form of government.

Perhaps what has shocked the civilized world more than anything else was the summoning of what is called the All African Peoples' Conference, which was held at Accra in Ghana on the 6th of December, 1958, and which was attended by representatives of nine African states, under the guidance and inspiration of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, prime minister of Ghana. The significance of this conference cannot be overestimated.

These remarkable happenings are predictive of coming events. They should serve as a pointer of what is coming. Coming events always cast their shadows ahead. These things give a clear indication that the sleeping giant continent has been rudely shaken from its centuries of sleep. They are symptomatic of what is coming over the continent.

We, as leaders in the religious field of the continent should initiate:

A review of the position that has been created by these strange events. An unbiassed assessment of the situation by us would help us to discover a clue as to the part that religion should play in such a "toestaand?" What contribution should the religious influences make in shaping the course of events in this vast drama.

Dr. Nkrumah told his countrymen some time last year that Ghana should develop as a Christian country. This he said as a result of his conviction that Christianity had made a positive contribution to Ghana's attainment of a new status as an independent state.

The crucial question arises. Is this newly awakened continent to be a Christian country after the pattern of the continent of Europe? Shall it come under the influences of Christianity or shall it come under the sway of Islam (Mohammedanism)?

From statistics quoted in a report that was presented to the Conference of the World Reformed Churches held at Potchefstroom in August, 1958, the number of Heathens in the continent of Africa was estimated at 83,000,000 or 40% of the population, 85,000,000 Mohammedans or 41% of the population, and 52,000,000 Christians or 19% of the population of about 220,000,000 souls. Islam has established itself as the religion of Africa north of the Sahara or north of the Equator. If this be the case then Africa south of the Sahara or south of the Equator must be regarded as a "Christian block." The Christian church must, therefore, put forth maximum effort to capture this southern hemisphere of the continent for Christ, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. If Islam claims the northern hemisphere of the continent for the crescent, then the Christian church must claim the southern for the cross.



### CRUCIAL QUESTION

Another crucial question arises: Is the Christian church of the sub-continent, in its present set-up, competent or capable of undertaking the gigantic task of the evangelization or Christianization of Africa south of the Sahara?

The Christian church must submit itself to a thorough going self-examination self-searching of heart, to see if she is "in the faith." Can the church as at present constituted, stand up and face the challenge of the present African situation? The church is lamentably and roughly split into two big camps, Roman Catholicism on the one hand and protestantism on the other. While the latter is again torn asunder into a string of sectarianism of bewildering dimensions. Roman Catholicism appears to be reluctant to acknowledge protestantism as a section of the Holy Catholic Church, and as a member of "the Community of Saints." Thus the Christian church has failed, lamentably, to present a united front against the common enemy, namely, heathenism, or unbelief or paganism, and their attendant evils.

Having been called forth by the Giver of Life, as he did Lazarus of New Testament history, "Africa, come forth," the dark continent is now on the march. She has emerged from the ignorance, superstition, vice, degradation, barbarism, savagism, psychic unconsciousness, intellectual insensibility, mental unawareness. For her the hour of Renaissance has come. Africa now calls for guidance and leadership. Of the spiritual forces that are now contending for the soul of Africa, Christianity, Mohammedanism, communism, awakening Africa asks, "to whom shall I look for guidance, for direction, for the unloosening of the bonds of spiritual enslavement, Christianity or Islam?"

The 12th Conference of this organization, held at Kimberly in August of 1958, after an examination of the impact of the respective teachings of these spiritual forces, arrived at the conclusion that Christianity had to a certain extent established itself as the religion of African territories south of the Sahara. Christianity has proved to be a dynamic force.

### A DYNAMIC FORCE

It possesses a capacity for working miracles of all descriptions. During the early centuries of the Christian Era, Christianity succeeded in turning Europe upside down, such as changed, not only the spiritual make-up of the continent, but also revolutionized its intellectual, moral, economic and political super-structure, and altered the whole course of the history of the whole world.

In a review of the history of the world is revealed that the fact that the Christian church has made a decisive contribution to the almost Herculean task of turning the whole continent of Europe into a civilized country, one that was destined to bear the torch of enlightenment to the uttermost parts of the earth. The Renaissance that followed hard upon the Reformation brought about such a revolution as made Europe an entirely new continent, one from which the spark of civilization and general awakening spread to the whole world.



The need for the awakening of the erstwhile Dark Continent of Africa cannot be overstressed. The call for a revolution of the social, psychic, moral, spiritual, intellectual, and political make-up of the continent is as loud as it is insistent, for Africa must take up her rightful place among the other nations of the earth, she cannot lag behind all the time. What the Christian church has accomplished in Europe in the new continent, a change in their modes of thought, their way of life, their methods of harnessing the natural resources of the earth to attain their destiny, in accordance with the divine injunction, "be truthful and multiply," and "replenish the earth, and subdue it, and have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air, and over everything that creepeth upon the earth." If we, as ambassadors for Christ, are convinced that this religion has established itself as the religion of this part of the continent, and obligation rests upon us to see to it that this part of Africa is thoroughly evangelized, thoroughly Christianized, and that the influences of this religion must control its way of life, guide its steps, and that the spirit of Christ must permeate its emotions, its mode of thought, its movements, social, economic or political.

An eminent Ecclesiastic once warned the church to which he belonged, "you have to evangelize or perish." Christ declared, "all authority is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." Brethren, the situation demands: --

(a) A church, reborn, revitalized, filled with the spirit of Jesus, the Christ, an apostolic church after the pattern of the church of the first century of the Christian Era, a live Christian church as that of the days of the Reformation under leadership of such stalwarts as Martin Luther, John Calvin, or of the Evangelical Revival of the Wesleys and their colleagues, leaders of the calibre of Andrew Murray and of Charles Pamla, their contemporaries as well as their immediate successors, whose names are written in the book of life. The times call for a church re-baptized with the holy Spirit.

(b) Joint Mission Front, made up of all the Christian denominations in the land, such as that envisaged in the Ecumenical Study Courses held at Adams College, Natal, in June 1956, and continued at Modderpoort, O.F.S. a few weeks ago, the theme of which was: "How the Church can fulfill her Mission in a Changing World." This was attended by 38 ministers representing churches of the Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian and Methodist traditions.

(c) Church Reunion: Such a step has been initiated by Christian Church Councils in Nigeria and elsewhere in Central Africa. The uniting churches believe that by this union the Church in Nigeria will become a more effective instrument for God's work, and that the result of union will be greater peace, closer fellowship, and fuller life within the churches and also renewed eagerness and power for the proclamation of the gospel of Christ. In this way the spirit of Christ's high priestly prayer would be fulfilled, "That they all may be one, and that the world may know that Thou didst send me."

(d) A reformed Christian church, a reformed Christian society, remodelled in consonance with St. Paul's vision of a unified Christian family, wherein, "the middle wall of partition which divides between white and black, European and non-European, has been broken down," and wherein "there is now, neither Jew or Greek, there is neither bond nor free, neither male nor female," or "where there is neither Greek or Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all and in all." Where there is neither



colored nor Bantu, but where all those who call upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and, all those who acknowledge him as their Lord and Savior, and who look upon each other as brothers and sisters, as enunciated in the statement of policy adopted by the Conference of the World Reformed Churches held at Potchefstroom in 1957, a Christian community wherein discrimination based upon the grounds of race or color has been eliminated, where the policy of apartheid and all that that concept connotes is taboo, a Christian society, where any policy that connives at class legislation, such as that which disgraces the Statute Book of the Union ever since the consummation of the unification of the four provinces of S.A. in 1910, and intensified with breathless speed since 1948, culminating with those legislative measures of this fateful year, 1959, which decreed artificial divisions of the population upon racial lines, and which divided the country into white state and a number of black states, all of which are situated within the campus of one and the same country, under one and the same government, cannot be tolerated.

The challenge of the African continent of this age, the Space Age, demands a church that is Christian in the truest sense of the term, a Christian society wherein love is the distinctive virtue, a church, whose members love one another, whether they be white or black, white or yellow. It is only a Christian church which possesses such a qualification that is capable of outclassing the powerful Islamic forces in the grim battle for "the soul of Africa! The fruit of the spirit," says St. Paul, "is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance, against such there is no law." It is from such a fountain spring where flow such virtues as Christian toleration, brotherly forbearance, mutual understandings. Only a church that possesses such characteristics, the marks of a truly Christian church, that is capable of launching a drive for the evangelization of Africa south of the Sahara.

It is a matter for deep regret that these desirable traits are conspicuous for their absence in the ecclesiastical structure of the church in southern Africa.

Permit me to lodge through this conference an earnest appeal to the Christian church in South Africa generally, and the European section of the church in particular, that the African situation at this hour calls for a church that is typical of the Christian church as depicted in the Acts of the Apostles and in all the scriptures of the New Testament, a Christian community that tolerates no color bars, no discrimination on grounds of color, or resulting from description that can hope to compete successfully against the consolidated forces of paganism and materialism.

It is gratifying to notice that the Christian church of the whole world had become convinced that the situation demands attention. Hence the theme of the General Assembly of the International Missionary Conference held at Accra, Ghana towards the end of December 1957, was, "The Christian Message at this Hour," and that of the All African Church Conference held immediately after the Accra Conference at Ibadan, in western Nigeria, on the 10th January, 1958, was, "The Church in Changing Africa."

The underlying idea at the back of the mind of the sponsors of these two conferences was to study the situation, so as to discover the approach to the problems of Evangelization of the changing continent. The leaders of the Christian Church have come to realize that the church must take into consideration the needs of the times, the need of the African man in all his manifold complex, the individual man, the family, the citizen, man with his manifold needs, social, economic, his political aspirations, and so adjust its methods of evangelism as to meet the changing conditions, the changed demands, the needs of the times.



Further, it strikes me the situation calls for a revival in the church, a spiritual awakening of the church, a return of the church to its first love. It seems to me, the message that was directed to the church of Ephesus, is directed to the Christian Church in South Africa, "know thy works, and thy labor, and thy patience, and how thou canst not bear with them which are evil, and thou hast tried them which say they are apostles and are not, and hast found them liars, nevertheless, I have somewhat against thee, because thou hast left thy first love, remember therefore from whence thou hast fallen, and repent, and do the first works, or else I will come to thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of its place, except thou repent." Revelation, II, Verses 2 - 5.

I venture to suggest that it is only a revived church that can visualize a "fallen humanity" and be conscious of its call to go forth and call fallen sinners to repentance, seek the wayward children of God, and seek "the lost sheep of Israel," and preach the "good tidings and feel the urge to go and preach and teach and heal a sick world."

Now, how about the resources for use in this task, resources both in man-power and material for use in potential? Who is sufficient for these things? The old challenge to Isaiah seems to be repeating itself to the would be preacher of the present day. "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" Who is prepared to answer, "here am I, Lord, send me"?

Large numbers of young men and women are trekking northward to take up teaching posts in the new independent African states of Ghana and Nigeria. Where are those who feel the call to go forward and preach the gospel up north in Rhodesia, in central Africa and other parts of the continent south of the Sahara?

Some, there are who feel the call to go, but where are the wherewithall for the supreme venture, the necessary equipment for the hazardous undertaking?

The need for evangelization exists also in South Africa itself, in the industrial areas, in the large cities and towns of the Union on the farms, in the African reserves, in the mines, the goldfields, diamond fields, coal fields.

Headed by one Dr. A.C. Hoffman, Director of the National Museum, an expedition of five men has resumed the search up north for the relics of a lost tribe -- the Hottentots (vide Press Reports of May 14, 1959). Wanted: a Hoffman team for the lost tribe of God -- the unbeliever.

In my humble opinion this situation call for some "modus operandi" with the Christian church in the northern territories of the Africa south of the Sahara. The All African Church Conference referred to above, and which was held at Ibadan, appointed a continuation committee. This committee met at Brazzaville in French Equatorial Africa on the 28th October, 1958. Here a permanent secretariat was set up, with Mr. G. O. Grant as interim secretary.

I suggest that the Federation seek to establish contact with the Christian church in the central African territories of this part of the continent, through the Christian councils of those territories. Machinery for the consummation of this idea, thank God, has already been created in the establishment of the permanent secretariat of the All Africa Church Conference referred to above.



Evangelization of Africa South of the Sahara, which we visualize in this study, demands collaboration of the whole Christian church, Catholic and protestant, the whole church in all its ramifications.

Brethren, Africa is passing through an indiscribable process of transformation, she is experiencing the pangs of re-birth, and the church of Christ must be in the vanguard of this momentous upheaval. Political awakening must march hand in hand with religious awakening. The sub-continent must be evangelized, must develop as a Christian country, must march forward with the Cross of Jesus as the emblem of its existence as a political entity. It is the high privilege of the church to enter the fray, conscious of its "call to arms" in the great cause of the kingdom of the King of Kings ever echoing the time-honored Christian battle cry:

Onward, Christian soldiers,  
Marching as to war  
With the cross of Jesus  
Going on before.

Amen.

## CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the  
 INTER-DENOMINATIONAL AFRICAN MINISTERS' FEDERATION  
 Benoni, Transvaal, August 10, 1960

Dearly Beloved Brethren,

I extend to you all, a most cordial welcome to this the 14th Annual Conference of the Federation, and express the fervent hope that the deliberations of this year's gathering, this golden jubilee celebration of the existence of the Union of South Africa will be crowned with success.

Before proceeding with my inaugural address, I deem it right and proper that I should give just a "bird's eye" review of the year, which extends from July, 1959 to June, 1960.

The year has been characterized by some keen observers of contemporary history, as "Africa's Year of Miracles", the year of destiny, the year of decision, an eventful and fateful year.

Outside the borders of the Union the year has witnessed gigantic changes in the social order and the political field of tremendous dimensions, of unforeseeable potentialities, of unpredictable significance. The map of the continent is changing its coloring at terrific speed.

Internally we have seen tragedies of bewildering magnitude, a series of tragic events which have resulted in a great deal of bloodshed, rioting which took place at the Sobantu Bantu town, near Pietermaritzburg, in August, 1959, resulting in the destruction of three African schools accomodating more than 2,000 pupils, disturbances at Cato Manor, near Durban, which took place in January, 1960; when 435 miners (of whom 6 were Europeans) were entombed, the shooting and killing of 70 African men and women and children at Sharpeville, near Vereeniging and Langa near Cape Town, on the 20th March. Last but not least, the deplorable attempt on the life of the Prime Minister of the Union, the Hon. Dr. H.F. Verwoerd, on the 9th April, 1960.

I have chosen as the theme of this year's Presidential Address,  
 CHRISTIANITY IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA.

I crave your indulgence, before proceeding, to remind you of the theme of the last two year's addresses, viz. -- CHRISTIANITY AS THE RELIGION OF AFRICAN TERRITORIES SOUTH OF THE SAHARA, the theme of the Kimberley Conference of 1958, while the Vereeniging theme was EVANGELIZATION OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA.

At the Conferences of 1958 and 1959, we came to the conclusion that "Christianity had to a certain extent, established itself as the religion of African territories south of the Sahara." We also accepted the verdict of the Tomlinson Commission Report on the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Reserves of the Union of South Africa. The Commission declared that "South Africa was a Christian Block or a Christian Country."



Of the great religions of the world that are contending for the soul of mankind, viz. -- Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Judaism, etc., Christianity can well claim to be the universal religion, seeing it had succeeded in hoisting its flag or planted the cross in all the five continents of the earth.

A talk on the theme I have chosen would have to be prefaced by an attempt on a definition or description of Christianity, its nature, its essence. According to Webster's Dictionary, Christianity is the religion of Christians, or the system of doctrines and precepts taught by Jesus on earth, or the religion founded upon principles of ethics propounded by him and the early teachers of this faith, such as St. Peter, St. Paul and St. John the Divine. Christianity is a system of religion or philosophy of human relationships based upon fundamental principles of human life and human relationships, such as love and faith. Love has been described by one of the greatest preachers of Christendom as "the Greatest Thing in the World." When Christ was challenged by one of the great law students of his time to say, "Which is the greatest commandment?" he laid down the thesis of the fundamental principles of man's relationships with his maker, and of his relationships with his fellow creatures. He expounded what I regard as the greatest basis of philosophy of human ethics, the best way of human life. Christ quoted Moses who taught, "Hear, O Israel the Lord thy God is one Lord, and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy soul, with all thy mind, and with all thy might," and that the second was like unto it, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and upon these two Christ continued, "Hang all the law and the Prophets." This meant that in the observance of these depends the unlocking of the key to the solution of the vexed problem of human relationships.

These principles of human ethics are further amplified by Christ in the course of his Sermon on the Mount, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do even so unto them, for this is the law and the prophets," Matthew, 7, V. 12.

Christianity is also founded upon Peter's great confession, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." "Upon this rock," says the Lord, "I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" Matthew 16, V. 18.

A careful perusal of the first twelve chapters of The Acts of the Apostles would reveal the fact that the guiding principle of the Christian society of the first century of the Christian Era was love, brotherly love and faith, faith in Jesus as the eternal Son of God, and the Savior of mankind. This attribute of love proved to have been the great factor to their strong bonds that preserved their communal life, that secured their wonderful unity, unity of sentiment, unity of thought, unity of purpose, their togetherness, their community of interests, and this contributed greatly to the wonderful success of the propagation of the gospel among the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans and the Barbarians of that Greco-Roman world. The whole manner of life of the Christian believers of the time made such an impression upon the world of the day, that they were nicknamed Christians, and the Disciples were first called Christians at Antioch, Acts 11, V. 26.

The distinguishing characteristics of the life of the true community, a society born and filled with the holy Spirit are, as set forth by St. Paul in the fifth chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians, V. 22, "the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance," against these there is no law. Or in modern language, "tolerance, forbearance, mutual helpfulness, mutual respect, peaceful co-existence, respect of one another's point of view, respect of one another's susceptibilities, readiness to forgive and forget, considerateness. Against such, there is no law."



These qualities constitute those attributes of Christian character that led Mahatma Gandhi, a Buddhist scholar, to the conclusion that "Christianity was the best of all the great religions of the world."

This, then is the very essence of Christianity.

Let us for a few moments examine (if any) THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Has Christianity any message of Hope for man, a complex entity, consisting as he does, of body, soul and spirit? Some of the critics of Christianity have declared that Christianity concerns itself entirely with the spiritual welfare of mankind, and has no concern for man's temporal and material well-being. If that contention can be upheld, then Christianity would have failed to fulfil its mission to the world, as is recorded in the 61st chapter of the Book of Isaiah. This scripture gives an indication of the mission of the Christian church, and that mission is comprehensive, all-inclusive in its nature, its intent and content, scope and implications. It is a mission for the emancipation of man, spiritually, intellectually, mentally, physically, economically. It embraces man's freedom from spiritual bondage, his liberation from the tentacles of vice and ignorance, his deliverance from diseases of all kinds, his upliftment from the degradation of poverty, his emancipation from the captivity of intellectual isolationism.

For a few of its achievements in the field outside of spiritualism, it may be stated that the renaissance that swept over the continent of Europe in the 17th century of the Christian Era is being re-acted in the continent of Africa in the present century. A general awakening has taken place on a large scale, as the direct result of the impact of Christian teaching during the last period of 100 years. This is manifest,

FIRSTLY: IN THE FIELD OF LITERACY.

Progress can be recorded of the intellectual attainments of the African people of Africa south of the Limpopo River, at any rate. Whereas, according to official or semi-official statistics, there were 237,802 Africans or 6.8% of the African population of Africa south of the Limpopo who could read and write in 1951, it can be estimated that today there must be roughly 3,000,000 Africans or 33% of those who can read and write.

We boast today of a large number of intellectuals, thousands of African ministers of religion, thousands in the teaching profession, hundreds in the "learned professions," medical practitioners, legal practitioners, journalists of no mean order, clerical assistants in the public services and other establishments, in the nursing profession, etc. Why, even those who cannot read or write can no longer be classified as barbarians or savages, for they have gained knowledge by being employed in all kinds of work, on the farms, in domestic services in the cities and towns of the country, in the mining and other industrial concerns. The African of this century can give testimony of what Christian influences have meant to him, in similar language to that of the blind man of sacred history, who said of Christ who had restored his eyesight, "Whether he is a prophet or not, I know not. One thing I know, that is that whereas I was blind, now I see."

Whether Christianity is a genuine religion, whether its founder was a prophet sent from God or not, whether he is the Son of God, whether he is of divine origin or of divine ordination, we know not, one thing we know, and that is that "Whereas we were blind, now we see". Isaiah's prediction recorded in the 2nd verse of chapter 9 of his Book, appears to have been literally fulfilled, or is in the process of fulfillment: "The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light, they that dwell in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shines."



This can well be said of African people domiciled in the Union of South Africa, those who can read as well as those who are illiterate. Their mental horizon has been greatly widened, and whereas about fifty years ago, they dwelled in the shadow of death, now they walk in broad daylight.

SECONDLY: IN THE REALM OF PHYSICAL HEALTH.

The several missionary bodies operating in the continent, have embarked upon great hospitalization schemes, viz. -- The N.G. Kerke, the Anglicans, the Roman Catholics, the Methodist, the Lutheran, the Baptist, the Seventh Day Adventist, the Presbyterian, the American Board of Missions, the Moravians, and so on and so forth. These have established hospitals and clinics in many strategic centers all over the continent. Governments have given official recognition to these voluntary efforts, and have given financial assistance to these noble efforts.

In this way another prophecy is being fulfilled, "The Sun of righteousness has appeared, bringing healing in his wings to those who had been afflicted with all manner of diseases, and maladies of various descriptions." Oh, saith Christ unto the messengers of John the Baptist, "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see, the blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have the gospel preached unto them."

THIRDLY: IN THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD.

Africans are not lagging behind. They have and are serving their apprenticeships in the industrial life of the country, in agriculture, in mining, road making, building, woodwork in all its branches, masonry, bricklaying, stevedoring in the maritime line, electrification in all its ramifications, elementary engineering, domestic science, motor mechanism, etc.

In spite of restrictive manœuvres, the caravan of African advancement is on the march. A visit to African townships in the several urban areas of the country would present the visitor with revelation of the progress that is being made by the African people in their march to a civilized standard of life. The old hovels, the dwellings of older generations of African people, have given way to well-furnished modern houses, in some instances, veritable mansions. A large number of Bantu people, of the middle class group, own motor cars of the latest models. All this is traceable to the impact of Christian teaching coupled with western civilization, which is professedly Christian.

Having just examined achievements of Christian teaching in Africa south of the Sahara or south of the Limpopo during the last 50 years of the life of the Union of South Africa, let us turn to the vexed problem of HUMAN RELATIONS, or RACE RELATIONS in the land of our study.

One Dr. Roland Oliver has published a booklet containing a series of broadcast talks on the race theme, "How Far is Africa, Christian?" Or in other words can Africa be regarded as a Christian continent? Has the impact of Christian teaching made an impression on the African communities? Is Christianity as practised in this southern hemisphere of the continent of Africa in accord with the teachings of its founder?

In our humble judgement this faith calls for re-examination. The attitude of those who profess this faith towards people of a different color or culture needs re-examination, with a view to its re-orientation, so as to tally with the tenets of this faith.



In business circles at the end of every period of three months, six months or twelve months, an audited balance sheet is prepared, so as to enable the management as well as those who are intimately connected with the business to have a clear picture of the financial position of the concern. The management itself conducts the affairs of the establishment in such a manner as will ensure a balanced position.

In drawing up the balance sheet of the position of Christian activity in Africa south of the Sahara or south of the Limpopo we look forward to a balanced position. But, alas, the position indicates an unbalanced state of affairs. The wrong side seems to out-weigh the right side of the balance sheet. Christianity as practiced in the southern hemisphere of the continent of Africa, especially in matters of race relations, presents an unfavorable picture. Instead of a state of peaceful co-existence, and spontaneous co-operation in this part of the continent, more especially in the southern tip thereof, one is confronted with race tensions of the worst kind, which have led to disastrous incidents. This state of affairs has caused uneasiness on the part of leaders of the Christian church. Dr. Billy Graham, a noted evangelist, is reported to have said, in an interview at New York, on the 8th April, 1960, "Enemies of Christianity have come to regard Christianity as the white man's religion." In his inaugural address delivered before the annual synod of the K. and B. District (diocese) of the Methodist Church of South Africa, the Rev. William Illsley of Thada Nehu, O.F.S., a former president of the Methodist Conference of the Church of South Africa, held at Ficksburg, O.F.S., in July, expressed the fear that "Christianity might suffer eclipse in South Africa if the whites continued to spend their time and their energies wrangling" (see The Friend of July 11, 1960).

Unfortunately, the preaching of Christianity by missionaries could not rely on the moral and active support of those who profess this religion, namely, the white settlers or colonists who came to find a home in the new continent! Their attitude towards the conversion of the Africans or others of different color, and their admission into the membership of the Christian church, and thus, into the commonwealth of those who are called Christians into the Communion of Saints, into the Family of God's Children, or those who call upon the name of Jesus the Christ, and accept him as their redeemer, proved to be one of hesitation such as that displayed by the elder brother of the prodigal son, who, instead of joining in the general rejoicings of the family at the return of the younger brother from the self-imposed exile of his folly, protested, "What meaneth these things? Or, the unbrotherly attitude exhibited by believers of the circumcision, towards the conversion of the gentiles and their immediate admission into the glorious fellowship the saints, and therefore, their automatic inclusion into the benefits of the covenants. They accused St. Peter with the heinous crime of association with men of another race, "Thou wentest into the uncircumcised, and didst eat with them."

This attitude of race prejudice, color prejudice, has manifested itself all along the line, since the white Christian came in contact with the black man, and this unfortunate attitude has persisted and militated against the propagation of this glorious gospel message of brotherly love, brotherhood, all these 100 years of its history, and of the history of white rule in the sub-continent.



Some of us are convinced believers in Christianity, and in the sayings of the founder of this faith as being fundamentally sound. Perhaps changes in attitudes of individuals as well as of nations cannot be brought about by mere tuition. This possibility falls within the province of divine intervention. Human nature can only be transformed by supernatural action. In his conversation with Nicodemus, Christ made it quite clear that, "Except man be born again, it was impossible for him to do right. Except man be born of the water and of the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." This implies that it is only by a process of regeneration that the leopard can change its color, or that a man's attitude towards people of a different color or race can come right.

We can realize, therefore, that the attitude of the white man to peoples of color is dictated by certain psychological factors over which he has no control. These factors may be stated as follows: -- fear complex, superiority complex, race prejudice (already referred to above), "Baaskap mentality", faulty conception of the true nature of the black man, or of possible submergence in a so-called "sea of black nationalism", miscegenation, which would result in the springing up of a "bastardized race".

This state of fear, with all its concomitants, is mainly, if not solely responsible for the existing state of race tension in southern Africa, for the deterioration of race relations in the country, as also the formulation and adoption of a race policy that is distinctly in conflict with Christian principles, a policy that is responsible for the whole trend of Bantu legislation that has found its place in the statute book of the Union of South Africa, ever since the consummation of Union fifty years ago. In the nature of things, legislation fathered in this way, by people suffering from such state of mind, must be as oppressive and repressive in conception as it is suppressive in practice and execution.

This un-Christian policy has inevitably brought forth the wrath of the civilized world upon our beloved country. After a great deal of hesitation coupled with the desire to respect the determination of the United Nations Organization not to interfere in the affairs of Member States of the world body, the United Nations has been impelled to say to the Union, in the words of Mr. Harold Macmillan, "We have endeavoured to observe the maxim, Mind your own business, but if your business affects my business adversely, I shall have to speak."

The United Nations have tried to respect the ability of South Africa to solve her own domestic problems and manage her own internal affairs unmolested.

But, after the grim experiences of the destructive nature of modern warfare, the nations of the civilized world met and decided upon most carefully worded historical document known as "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights".

This historic declaration of policy was adopted and signed by states which compose the United Nations Organization (UNO) at the General Assembly held on the 10th December, 1948.

It now becomes the bounden duty, the task of leaders of thought on both sides of the color line to make every effort to find ways and means for the application of these basic principles of the Christian religion to the quest for the solution of the problems of human relations that have engaged and still engage the attention of these multi-racial communities domiciled in territories south of the Sahara in general, and south of the Limpopo in particular.

Then Christianity would be firmly established as, according to Mahatma Gandhi, as "the best of all the great religions of the world" Then all obstacles and hindrances to the march of this beneficial faith would be removed. Then there would be no fear of Christianity ever suffering eclipse in the continent of Africa south of the Sahara. Then the southern hemisphere of the continent would develop as a Christian country in the truest sense of the word, and southern Africa would easily assume leadership in a continent that is undergoing mervellous process of rapid change and transformation. Then, and not till then, would the governments of this portion of the continent claim to be Christian governments, and their peoples be regarded as Christian communities, where dwelleth love, or charity. And then those fervent hopes expressed in tones of Angelic doxology of the first Christmas Eve of the first Christian Era would be echoed or fulfilled:

Glory to God in the Highest, Peace on Earth  
Good will toward Men. Amen.



## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the  
Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation  
August 9, 1961

Dearly Beloved Brethren,

I regard it as a priceless privilege for me to stand before you this afternoon, and to extend to you a warm welcome to this the fourth largest town in the centre province of the Republic of South Africa, namely, Bethlehem, a railway junction of great importance.

I desire to remind you of the themes of the presidential addresses delivered by me at the last three conferences of the Federation, preceding the present one. They are as follows: --

1. Kimberley -- August 20, 1958: "Christianity as the Religion of African Territories South of the Sahara"
2. Vereeniging -- May 27, 1959: "Evangelization of Africa, beginning with Africa south of the Sahara"
3. Benoni -- August 10, 1960: "Christianity in Africa, south of the Sahara or the Limpopo"

The thought -idea underlying these addresses is "Christianity as the form of our religion."

I crave your permission to call your thought to the theme of the address delivered by me before members of TIAMA at their annual conference held at Klerksdorp in November 1957, which was "Changing Africa, the Role of the Religious Leaders".

In this connection I would remind you of the now historic phrase which occurred in the course of the historic speech delivered before the Parliament of what was then the Union of South Africa in February, 1960, by the British Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Harold Macmillan, when he spoke of "the wind of change" that was blowing across the continent of Africa.

My thoughts on this subject will be guided by the prophetic words of the psalmist as recorded in the 104th Psalm, "Thou renewest the face of the earth".

While it has been held in some religious circles that the Age of Miracles has passed away, yet the year under review, July 1960 to June 1961 has witnessed miracles of the first class order, the most spectacular of which was the circling of the globe in 24 hours by that daring and intrepid Russian airman, Major Yuri Gagarin, the space man, the world's first astronaut or cosmonaut. This, apart from miracles wrought by the founder of the Christian religion, must be regarded as the miracle of miracles. When Mr. Macmillan coined the phrase "the wind of change" blowing across the continent of Africa, he little thought that enormous changes that have since taken place would have taken such a short space of time. While, according to certain students of the African scene, who have published the results of their observations in newspapers, there were, in 1947, nine independent African states, there are this year no less than



29 African countries of the continent of Africa out of about 58 that have attained a status of independence or freedom from the rule of European powers. These have achieved political status of freedom, self-determination, self-government, sovereign independence, full nationhood, complete freedom from the tutelage of any of the great powers of the western world. This position has been reached, not by force or arms, nor by resorting to armed rebellion, not by power or might, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord. This veritable revolution has been virtually "bloodless", it appears to have come about by an "irresistible force", the unseen hand of God. Today the political map of Africa has undergone an undreamt of coloring! Of the 55 countries that form the center continent, with a population of nearly 280,000,000 no less than 29 countries of the erstwhile "dark" continent with a population of anything from 160,000,000 to 180,000,000 souls or roughly 72% of the total population are free. The great majority of these countries have adopted a republican form of government, some of them in, others out of the community of the erstwhile "guardian" power.

The "wind of change" is blowing across the whole continent even in the southern tip of the continent. What up to the end of the year 1960, a leap year, was the Union of South Africa within the British Commonwealth of Nations, leaped, as by wand of magic, into an entirely new country. By a process, set in motion, a vote of the white electorate at a referendum held on the 5th October, 1960, a constitutional measure passed at this year's session of the Parliament of what was formerly the Union of South Africa, the Union of South Africa became, on that fateful day, the 31st May, 1961, the Republic of South Africa, with a State President as Head of the State, replacing, as by a stroke of the pen, the Monarch of the British Commonwealth, and that, outside the British Commonwealth. This turn of events, this sudden change, so drastic in its nature, so colossal in its sweep, so fundamental in character, so far-reaching in its consequences, so revolutionary in intent and context, has rudely shaken the non-white races of the land from the lull of centuries, that their political leaders contemplated staging a demonstration.

What emerges from these happenings is the glaring fact that out of the ruins of the old dark continent, a new Africa is being born.

In my humble opinion this phenomenon presents a challenge to the religious leaders of the Continent. What role are they going to play in this stupendous shaking? What is being enacted is no new thing. It is nothing but history repeating itself.

The religious leaders of the present age, the present hour, the space age, this age of new forms of miracles, an age of what the Rev. Lloyd George Griffiths, Chaitman of the Kimberley and Bloemfontein district, in his inaugural address at the recent session of synod said, has been described by a certain church leader as "Africa's Decade of Destiny"

We would counsel these leaders to take a leaf out of the book of the religious leaders of all ages, at times of crises. Take the prophets of the Old Testament, Moses, Samuel, Nehemiah, Issaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Micah, take those of the New Testament, the Christian era, the apostles whose activities are recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, those of the Middle Ages, those who played their part in the reshaping of the Old Continent in the Renaissance, the Crusades, the movement for the liberation of the slaves in the first part of the nineteenth century, the Martin Luthers, John Calvin, St. Augustine, the Wesley's, etc.



The prophet Issaiah writes in the 61st Chapter of his book, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, for the Lord has anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, he hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the horizon to them that are bound."

Take Nehemiah's great example as of a leader on his knees, who fell on his knees, in vehement prayer, while at the same time he worked, he acted. The late Rev. Price S. Mbeti, the regenerator of Bensonvale, the builder of Bensonvale said, "to prayer add action". "When I heard these words" said Nehemiah, "that I sat down and wept, and mourned certain days, and I fasted and prayed before the God of heaven" (Nehemiah, Chap. 1, v. 4).

Ezekiel saw a vision of the dry bones lying in a valley. He was given an injunction to preach for the revivification of these bones, "Behold, I will cause breath to enter into you and ye shall live" (Ez. 37, V. 4). John Wesley, at the time of the great French Revolution, preached the gospel of spiritual holiness through the land, and historians tell us that this preaching saved England from revolution. Martin Luther initiated the Reformation, which inaugurated a new era of purified Christian faith.

Religious leaders of this age have to engage in the preaching of the gospel of reconciliation, reconciliation between God and man, "Turn ye, turn ye, to God, O, House of Israel, for, why will ye perish". St. Paul told the Corinthians that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself. The great need of the age is the gospel of reconciliation between man and man, between white and black, between East and West, between civilized and uncivilized, between Greek and barbarian, between Jew and Gentile, the gospel of building the bridges, breaking down the middle wall of partition, that so mercilessly divides the children of God against each other, which creates a state of conflict between white and black, between race and race, which breeds a sense of mutual suspicion, which promotes sentiments of hostility between the different racial groups who live in one and the same homeland.

Political developments should not be oblivious to spiritual values. Man is a tripartite being, made up of spirit, soul and body. A full-fledged man is one whose whole being spiritually, mentally and physically is evenly developed, all parts of his personality being simultaneously developed. If not, he would be a deformed entity.

Christ counselled his hearers "Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven, and these things shall be added unto you." Nkrumah told a summer seminar of his people "Ghana must develop as a Christian country".

While we rejoice at the political developments that have taken place in the continent in which providence has placed us, we would like to see that spiritual values are not relegated to the limbo of forgotten things. It is highly important that these changes go hand in hand with spiritual and moral changes.

It is here that religious leaders must come into the scene. They, as ambassadors of the kingdom of God, as prophets and priests in the realms of the King of Kings, the highest ruler of the whole creation, must play their part, for

"Your cause is right, and right is might,  
Then play the man, ye sons of light,  
Play the man, win the fight, play the man". . .



(1) In the first place, religious leaders should look around to see if the hand of God is present in these developments, to see if the fulfillment of the divine purpose is being unfolded in these things, to see if these developments are an indication of his will, an indication of the fulfillment of the second part of the Lord's Prayer "Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done as it is in heaven" or the fulfillment of the Psalmists' prophesy "Thou renewest the face of the earth" (Psalm 104, v. 30)

Mordecai warned Queen Esther of sacred history "And who knoweth whether thou art come to the kingdom for such a time as this" (Esther, Chapter 4, v. 14)

(2) In the second place the religious leaders of the people should ask themselves if the voice of God, "the still small voice of God," is not audible in these movements.

I would call upon you as religious leaders of God's Israel, to listen to the solemn voice of your King "Son of man, I have appointed thee a watch-man" or "Son of man, I have set thee a watch-man unto the House of Israel, therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth and warn thou my people."

In this marvelous upheaval, in this social, political, ideological revolution, the church has a part to play, to give needed guidance, to give direction, to guide the trembling feet of the new nations as they enter upon this unchartered sea of a new venture, as they leap into the dark, along safe paths.

I may be mistaken, but it seems to me that, while the hand of God seems to be discernable in this terrific political cataclysm, the religious leaders of the people must turn to the word of the creator for direction, that word is recorded in a book, the Book of Books. Wesley cried, "O give me that Book."

From this record we should be able to see that from time immemorial the religious leaders of the race through which God revealed himself to the world, namely, Israel, the prophets (major and minor) played a leading role in all national movements of the ancient world, or the pre-historic world. Notably, Moses, who towers head and shoulder in his intellectual acumen, above the prophets, not only of Israel, but of the whole earth. His place in the history of the whole world is incomparable. In the whole course of history we find that whenever man proposed, God disposed. As God takes the initiative, man reacts. This process is discernible also in the scheme for the redemption of man. In the great process of evolution, the whole progress in the transformation of this earthly planet, of changing the universe, in all its facets, the whole panorama of its make-up, in its ethnological embrace, its geological disposition, its ideological context, its sociological superstructure, its theological significance, there have been evidences of cooperation between the creator and man, who has been made in the image of God, and after his likeness, and has been endowed with creative capabilities to enable him to unearth and develop all the latent resources of "mother earth".

Even in the creation of new worlds and new world orders, God has summonsed to his aid, man, so that there has been "samewerking" between God and man. In the process of evolution there are tokens of the unseen hand of God and the reaction of man. In the building of new nations by the mysterious ways of God man has been playing his part. In all these the religious leader must also take his rightful place, he is the channel through whom God speaks and acts. In the words of Cecil Rose:



When man listens God speaks,  
 When God speaks men change,  
 When men change, Nations change.

As the political leaders speak and call upon people to awake to political consciousness, the religious leader must also play his part by calling upon the people to turn to their God, the burden of his message must, in the words of the prophet, be

(a) Turn ye, turn ye, to your God, for why must ye die,  
 O, House of Israel?

(b) Return to a life of righteousness, for it is "righteousness that exalteth a nation."

Like John the Baptist, a new voice must "cry in the wilderness" of this new travail of the world in general, and of Africa in particular "repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

The religious leaders must call the human race to the need for spiritual regeneration, which must precede political regeneration. Christ warned his disciples "seek ye first the Kingdom of heaven, for all these other things shall be added unto you."

At the Benoni Conference last year, as a result of the presidential address on "Christianity as practiced in Africa south of the Sahara" or rather, "South of the Limpopo River", a resolution was adopted, calling upon the church as a whole, to consider the advisability and expediency of launching a drive for "The evangelization of Africa, beginning with Africa south of the Limpopo". I consider this call should be reiterated. Hand in hand with political developments, which are so revolutionary in essence and in their sweep and embrace, and which cover about 9 tenths of the area covered by the continent of Africa, should proceed religious revival or awakening.

Gentlemen, the situation in Africa south of the Sahara, or rather, south of the Limpopo, is challenging. Here exists a state of tension between white and non-white races of the land, antagonism, conflict, unrest. The gravity of the situation calls for change of some kind. In the words of Professor P.V. Pistorius, professor of Greek at the University of Pretoria, "a change of heart", in this multi-racial country. Such change of heart would bring in its train, a change of attitudes among the different racial groups that make up the population structure of the Republic of South Africa.

With this end in view, we would respectfully, and yet with all the seriousness that we could command, urge the existing Christian organizations of the land, namely, the Christian Council of South Africa, the Federal Council of the N.G. Kerke of South Africa, the Continuation Committee of the Inter-Church Conference held at Johannesburg in December 1959, and presided over by Dr. the honorable William Nicol, former administrator of the Transvaal Province, to give serious consideration to this humble suggestion, and convene a new Inter-Church Conference with the special object of considering the situation in the light of the developments outlined in this address. Perhaps, the latter body might be requested to sponsor the suggested conference.

Brethren, the call of the hour, this fateful hour, this decade of Africa's destiny, is for the emergence of a

#### RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP,

which has

(a) Eyes, to see in this hour, God sitting on his throne, high and lifted up, to see the things which the prophets of old desired to see, but were denied the privilege of seeing.

(b) Ears, to hear the voices of the Cheraphims crying "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord Almighty heaven and earth are full of his glory". Ears to hear the divine challenge "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?"

"Hear the voice of him who sitteth on his throne, saying, Behold, I make new heavens and a new earth, upon which dwelleth righteousness."

Eyes, to see in these mighty movements, in this vast new world order, "The writing on the wall."



## THE CHURCH AS THE CONSCIENCE OF NATIONS

## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers Association of Southern Africa, Bloemfontein, O.F.S., August 5, 1964.

Regional President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to stand before you and deliver the Inaugural Address at this the 19th Conference of this August Organization, and to extend to you all a most cordial welcome to this Assembly.

I have to apologize for the absence of the President, the Rev. Samuel S. Tema, who is away from South Africa on ecclesiastical duty as a delegate of the N. G. Kerke of S. A. to an important Conference of Ecumenical significance, the World Presbyterian Alliance.

This is the first gathering of the reconstructed body, formerly known as IDAMF, but now under new colours as IDAMASA, or Inter-denominational African Ministers' Association of Southern Africa. Brother Tema had the honour to preside over the Reconstruction Conference held at Port Elizabeth, in August 1963, while on me falls the honour and privilege to guide the deliberations of the first conference of the re-organized body.

Brethren, it is a privilege for us to live and move and have our being in these times of staggering changes, or of the birth of a new world order. There appears to be nothing that we can do, but to resign ourselves to any inevitable fate that may overtake the earth and to say with the Morolong of old, "Go itse Modimo".

I have felt constrained to speak to you on a difficult theme, viz: 'THE CHURCH AS THE CONSCIENCE OF NATIONS'.

In the course of the Hoernle Memorial Lecture delivered at the Annual Council Meeting of the S. A. Institute of Race Relations held at Cape Town early this year Archbishop Denis E. Hurley O. M. I. spoke of a crisis of the Christian Conscience, while the Prime Minister of the Republic of S. A., Dr. the Hon. H. F. Verwoerd, in a statement of his proposals on the High Commission Territories of the Sub-continent spoke of what he termed Crisis in World Conscience. I may be permitted to make an attempt to define the word CONSCIENCE. It is a mental faculty, fitted in the mechanism of the framework of human beings, a mysterious something which either approves or disapproves any word spoken or action taken by man or woman; it functions as a Monitor or Mentor. It is analogous to the still small voice or God which spoke to the Prophet Elijah when he was in hiding in a cave for fear of Queen Jezebel. 'What doest thou here, Elijah?' This voice speaks to every human being at every stage of development, at every level. It does not spare wrongdoers, religious or otherwise, sophisticated or unsophisticated. It



spoke to the first male child that was born to this earth, and, who, motivated by envy or jealousy, murdered his younger brother. "Cain, where is Abel, thy brother?" It came also to Masilo of an old time African folk lore story, who, actuated by similar motive, had killed his younger brother. It came in the form of a strange bird, which, perched on the horn of a mysterious white cow, read out in song the charge against him, "Masilo has killed Masilonyane." To Judas Iscariot it spoke, as it were, in piercing terms of self-condemnation, "I have sinned, for I have betrayed innocent blood". We generally speak of it as the voice of a guilty conscience.

Now, in like manner as every human being is endowed with this live faculty, so is every body of people, every community, every tribal entity, every nation, endowed in its national organism with some such organ. It may assume the form of an individual or group of individuals who have been chosen of God and endowed with some peculiar gifts, to see visions, to hear mysterious voices. In Old Testament history God selected certain men and women who were known as Prophets. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews tells us that, "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the Prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by His son, whom He hath appointed Heir of all things, by whom also He made the World's?" (Hebrews 1, V. 1-2)

To the Israelites during the time of their bondage in Egypt, He spoke by the mouth of Moses, perhaps the greatest, the most outstanding of the Prophetic army, the Deliverer of a people, the lawgiver of all mankind, the most adventurous of world leaders in whom was blended in one personality an unusual combination, a religious leader of first class stature, an admirable military leader, a genius in political philosophy, a Prophet of first class order. He said to the Israelites who were in a state of national frustration, "The God of your fathers has sent me to you." To fallen Israel, He sent Isaiah in the year that King Uzziah died, to whom He appeared in a three-fold vision, the vision of God, the vision of Sin, the vision of Grace, and in challenging language asked: "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us": Isaiah obeyed and assured God of his readiness to undertake the job and God said, "Go tell this people, hear indeed ye shall hear, but not understand, and see ye indeed ye shall see, but perceive not." To Ezekiel God said in weightier language, "Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel, thou shalt hear the word at my mouth and speak to the people."

The Prophets spoke to the people, to the nations through their traditional leaders, the Kings, rulers, Princes, Potentates. After a spell of veritable silence of the Prophetic voice, another type of Prophets arose, namely the Apostles or Ambassadors chosen, instructed, trained and commissioned by the Lord Jesus Christ. These He sent forth in language as this: "Go and make Disciples of all nations, go, teach, heal, raise the dead, proclaim the gospel of the Kingdom of God, call upon them to repent for the Kingdom of God is at hand." On passing into eternity of this class of Prophets He called into the field another type, the church, for the perpetuation of His voice and the continued existence and presence of this conscience. This spiritual edifice, the church is founded upon a rock and against which the gates of Hell



shall not be able to prevail. Unlike the Maginot line of France, this voice is indestructible; like the human conscience it cannot be silenced. So the Christian Church is the lawful divinely appointed successor of the Prophets. It is the chosen vessel for taking the word of God to all the peoples of the earth. The modern Church, the church of the present century speaks to individuals as did Jesus to Nicodemus when He propounded the doctrine of the new birth or when He encountered the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well and exploded as antiquated myth of racialism. But on certain occasions, in certain circumstances, at times of national crises, the Church must speak to families, to communities, to tribes, to nations, to leaders of the race. So the Christian Church has been planted in all lands, amongst peoples of all tongues, all colours, all cultures, as the conscience of the world, of all races of mankind. For this purpose, there is a variety of talent in the church, a diversity in unity; God has appointed "some Apostles, some Catechists, some Evangelists, some Pastors, some Presbyters, some Priests, some teachers, some Bishops, some Ministers, for the edification of the Saints and for the perfecting of Body of Christ." The Church is an organ of supreme and vital importance in the organizational pattern of national existence; she plays a vital role in all aspects of national life, in the realm of its physical soundness, its mental and intellectual development, its cultural progress, its spiritual well-being, its moral integrity. The Church is the official spokesman in God's dealings with humanity, counsellor in spiritual matters, guide in the march of man towards manhood and towards a state of perfection. Her mission is aptly and adequately defined in the terms of the appointment of one of the major Prophets, namely Isaiah, who writes in the 61st Chapter of his great book:

"The spirit of the Lord God is upon me because He has anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, He hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to comfort all that mourn."

It is the bounden duty of the church to utter fearlessly holy denunciations and indignation against the Social Evils of the land such as:

(a) THE DRINK EVIL, and all its concomitant ills, drunkenness, which is one of the root causes of the thousand and one resultant features of Evil, untimely deaths, broken family lives, lamentable loss of precious and promising young lives, the unnatural creation of widows and orphans while their husbands and fathers are alive.

(b) IMMORALITY in all its phases, Juvenile Delinquency among white and Non-white, the resultant growing incidence of divorce cases, the alarming cases of illegitimate childhood.

(c) UNPROVOKED ASSAULTS upon innocent people, with intent to do grievous bodily harm or to murder, with weekly reports of cases of deaths from unnatural causes.

The Church, as the Conscience of the race, the Monitor, should not keep silent in a situation of this description, but should raise her voice as in response to the injunction given to the Prophet Isaiah, "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet and shew my people their transgression and the house of Jacob their sins." Is. 58 V.1.

The church should also raise her voice in the best interests of the country and of the community not only on moral issues but also on such



national issues as threaten the continued peaceful co-existence of the racial groups that constitute the population structure of the country. She should warn the leaders of national thought against such policies as are calculated to create a situation where there shall inevitably be two or more nations within the campus of one and same land, a state of imperium in imperio (a state or states within a state) or a situation that would tend to produce a state of disaffection, dissatisfaction, discontentment, despair, exasperation, with consequential results.

By a gracious providence four Racial Groups are domiciled in one and same country, namely the Republic of S. A., perhaps to fulfill a divine purpose. These four racial groups should be afforded ample opportunity to live side by side, live together, plan together, work together, to make this part of God's world, this earthly planet, a great country, to work out a common destiny.

Each of these four racial groups shall be afforded ample opportunity, ample scope to make its distinctive contribution to the great divinely appointed task to demonstrate God's glorious handiwork. Each has been endowed by a gracious God with qualities that are peculiar to it, physical, moral, mental, intellectual, spiritual, such as:

- (a) The Viability of the man of Asiatic origin.
- (b) The Vitality of our Coloured cousin
- (c) The Virility of our African brother
- (d) The Vivacity of our fellow-citizen of European descent.

With this variety of endowments, God, in the voluntary co-operation (samewerking) of these racial groups, would shew the world that He could make of the centre continent a glorious country.

But the Christian Church can speak with an effective voice only and not till then when she can present a united front and speak with one united voice, one strong authoritative voice. Then and not till then would the church be in an invulnerable position as were the Prophets of old, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel etc., also as were St. Peter, who, when he and his companions had been commanded and reprimanded by the rulers of their nation, answered and said to them: "Whether it be right in the sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye". Acts 4 V. 18--19, or further in answer to the stern reminder of their Jewish rulers: "Did not we straightly command you that ye should not teach in this Name, and behold ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine and intend to bring this man's blood upon us?" Then answered Peter and the other Apostles and said, "We ought to obey God rather than men". Acts 5 V. 28--29.

In this connection, far from advocating the putting an end to our denominational affiliations, or taking steps in the direction of organic unification of all churches into one unified church, we urge each and every African Minister, clergyman, and Catechist and other Christian laymen to cast in their lot with IDAMASA, and then all those of us who are followers of the Lord Jesus the Christ, the Eternal Son of God, the Saviour of the world, shall, like the early church, be together and have all things in common and the world shall behold this unified body of the Disciples of Christ, and then fear shall come upon every soul, while many wonders and signs would be done by the Apostles, the Lord adding to the church daily such as should be saved. Then and not until then shall the church as the official spokesman of the most high, the King

Kings and Lord of Lords, the righteous Judge of all the earth, be in a position to speak Ex-Cathedra, and as the Conscience of the Nations of the earth, standing on a common platform and a common forum, speak like the Prophets of old; "Hear all ye nations of the earth," or in the language of the Prophets: "Thus saith the Lord." The time has come when the church should declare in the words of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "the times of this ignorance God winked at, but now He commandeth all men everywhere to repent," or like John the Baptist and Jesus: "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of God is at hand."

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## INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Delivered at the National Conference of Leaders of African Thought, Bloemfontein, O.F.S., October, 1956

Chiefs, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is with the greatest measure of trepidation and a sense of unworthiness that I venture to stand before you, and extend a cordial welcome to you all to this momentous Gathering of African Leaders of Thought and Movement among the Race you severally and individually represent. You, Chiefs, are the natural Leaders of the Race.

A Conference of certain Leaders of Thought was held at Bloemfontein about three months ago, to consider the Subject we are going to consider at this Conference. A speaker at that August Gathering, which was held under auspices of The South African Bureau of Racial Affairs, described the Meeting as one which had to consider a question of 'Life and Death', and I submit we are called upon to regard this one in that light.

The question that has necessitated the Summoning of an 'INDABA' of this magnitude, perhaps the most momentous that has ever been called by Africans since the Advent of the White man at this the Southernmost corner of what used to be called 'The Dark Continent', merits most serious consideration of those who are entitled to speak for the masses of the African peoples in the Sub Continent. A Commission was appointed by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Union of South Africa towards the end of the year, 1950, with Professor F. A. TOMLINSON as Chairman. The Commission was authorized:

To conduct an exhaustive Enquiry into, and to report on a comprehensive scheme for the Rehabilitation of The Native Reserves with a view to developing within them a social structure keeping with the culture of the Native, and based on an effective Planning.

The Commission was composed of no less than nine Members, men of very high standing in the national life of the country, one of them a Member of the existing Native Affairs Commission. The Secretary of the Commission is not included in the personnel of the Commission stated herein.

The Commission presented what I may call its 'Interim' Report on the 1st October, 1954, but the final Report was tabled in the House of Assembly during the last Parliamentary Session, and this was the occasion for the delivery of remarkable Speeches by the Hon. the Minister of Native Affairs The Hon. Dr. H. F. VERWOERD, the Prime Minister, the Hon. J. G. Strydom, and the Leader of His Majesty's Opposition, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, Q. C., and other Members of the Legislative Assembly. I hope to come back to the Report later.

For the time being, I crave your permission to enter A PLEA with every Member of this Conference to approach this weighty matter with (a) A Calmness of sentiment, so that there is a minimum of sectionalism or sentimentalism, and maximum of Reason and thought in the consideration of Issues of paramount importance raised in this



- highly scholarly Report,
- (b) An overwhelming sense of Responsibility that becomes a Leader of those who have not got the time to ponder these matters,
  - (c) A Determination to make his or her humble contribution to the Solution of what is really the PROBLEM OF PROBLEMS, namely, The Problem of Adjustment of Relationships between the White and Black Inhabitants of this a multi-Racial country.

The Findings and Recommendations of the Tomlinson Commission Report raise ISSUES of such national importance, such far-reaching consequences, such transcendent significance, that the African Ministers' Federation felt no one Organization, whether it be of national character or ecclesiastical complexion could have the temerity to tackle them unilaterally, or single-handed, and have the courage to make public pronouncement on the Issues raised, and tell the country and the world that this pronouncement reflects the considered View of the African People, the people most vitally concerned.

The ONE all-embracing, all-inclusive of all the ISSUES raised is APARTHEID or SEGREGATION, or SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT of the White and Black races in the land. This then is the great Trunk of the Tree of the National Life of the Union of South Africa, the pivot upon which all other Branches of this national Tree revolve. This Ideology of Apartheid branches out in a variety of ways, viz. -- Political Segregation, Industrial Separation, Social Separateness, Cultural Dividedness, Territorial Segregation, etc.

It is true, as has been said from time to time, in and outside Parliament, Apartheid is 'The traditional Policy of the Union'. Even the late General J. C. SMUTS once stated that 'Segregation was the law of the country'. Yet, in the course of an Address at a Meeting of The Institute of Race Relations held at Cape Town, some time ago, and while discussing the subject of Trusteeship, he confessed that 'Segregation had fallen on evil days'.

To implement this unfortunate policy of Apartheid the Union of South Africa, right from its inception in those fateful two years, 1909 and 1910, placed upon the National Agenda of the country, a prodigious Legislative Programme. The first item on this huge Programme was the insertion of a political Colour Bar in the Constitutional Machinery of the land, namely, the ACT constituting the Union of S. A. This Colour Bar is embodied in the clauses of the Act which purport to define qualifications for Membership of Parliament, and this fateful act is enshrined in six simple, but fateful words, 'A British Subject of European descent'. From this initial step follows a stream of Legislative Measures which avowedly give effect to this so-called 'traditional policy'. This Plan has been pursued with amazing vigour and determination and precision. The logic of its Planners is admirable. The following List is a striking illustration of this Scheme of Apartheid. Well, may Prof. B. B. KEET write, 'WHITHER, SOUTH AFRICA?' Let me now give the List of this series of Apartheid ENACTMENTS.

1. The UNION DEFENCE ACT of 1911, which excludes the Non-European from the Defence Force of the country,
2. The Industrial Conciliation Act, which denies the Non-European worker the privilege of being called 'an Employee', thereby cutting



- him from the benefits derivable from the operation of the Act,
3. The Natives Land Act of 1913, with its amending Act, The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936, which debar him from acquiring land in certain parts of this the land of his fore-fathers. These two measures also definitely allocate only a little over 13% of the land to Africans, or just about 18 million morgen of the whole available land Area, to a population of over  $8\frac{1}{2}$  million souls, leaving 86% of the land to a European population of little over  $2\frac{1}{2}$  million souls.
  4. Natives Urban (Areas) Act of 1923, with its subsequent amending Legislation,
  5. The Native Administration Act of 1927, which cuts off the African from the operation of the 'common law' of the land, and makes of him an absolutely separate entity from the rest of the Community,
  6. The Mixed Marriages Act, The Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, The Separate Representation of Natives in Parliament Act of 1936, which virtually deprives the Black Man of a Voice in the making of laws for the 'peaceful and orderly government' of the country, The Natives Resettlement Act, which deprived the Africans of Sophiatown of the right of Ownership of Land, and makes it legal for the Government to force them out of their Homes, The Bantu Education Act of 1953, which provides for what is to be a typically Bantu Education as distinct from the ordinary concept of Education, The Locations In The Sky Act of 1956, et cetera, etc., etc. What a formidable List!

The other great ISSUES raised by the REPORT concern

(a) THE LAND QUESTION.

How did the Land pass out of the hands of the aboriginal Inhabitants of the land into the hands of those who came into the country only with the Landing of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652, the middle of the 17th Century' how did the land in the countries North of the Orange River and that beyond the Drakensberg Range of Mountains pass into the hands of the Voortrekkers? How did the original inhabitants become dispossessed of the land?

Urban Areas are now said to be European Areas, where the Black-man can only reside as long as he ministers to the needs of the White man. He cannot enter an Urban Area unless he produces documentary evidence of his employment by White man who resides in the Area. In other words, he lives in the Urban Area just as a matter of sufferance, or as a 'Hewer of wood and Drawer of water' for a White master. Otherwise he is given 24 or 48 hours Notice to quit. Urban Areas are regarded as 'The Homes' of the European.

(b) HUMAN RIGHTS.

Human Rights as propounded in 'The Universal Declaration of Human Rights' by the United Nations Organization are intended for all those creatures which come under the category of 'Human Beings', but this is NOT the case in South Africa, where Apartheid is the law of the country. The Non-European is rigidly excluded from all 'Political Rights', he has no Voice nor vote in the making of laws



for the good and orderly government of the country, he has NO Say in the shaping of the course of the destiny of the land of his Birth, NO Say in the determination of the Fate of the country and its inhabitants. In South Africa the Blackman as well as his Coloured Brother has no place in 'the body politic' of his country, but is treated as an alien, an uitlander, a foreigner. In the Social organism of the land he is treated as an undesirable, an untouchable. It may well be that some White people do not believe that the Blackman is a Member of the human race. A few days ago, some one asked Members of the Black Sash Women the pertinent question, 'Do you really believe that the Native belongs to human beings?'

Perhaps it would be advisable to look at The MOTIVE POWER, of this philosophy of Apartheid, that has expressed itself in the big Legislative Programme of Segregationist Schemes outlined above.

The White people of this country appear to suffer from PSYCHOSIS of a virulent nature, which manifests itself in a variety of symptoms, such as

1. FEAR COMPLEX, SUPERIORITY COMPLEX or SUPREMACY FEVER,
2. RACE PREJUDICE, Master-Race Mentality, or in the language of Germany of Hitler's days, HERRENVOLKISM of a highly advanced type.

This Fear Complex is similar to that which seized Pharaoh of Old Testament History, which prompted him to say to the Egyptians, 'The Children of Israel are increasing at an alarming rate, Come, let us deal wisely with them.' The Egyptians then adopted a Policy of Oppression, Repression and Suppression, and eventually, one of Infanticide. Fear is a state of mind that generally leads to murderous acts.

One mourns the decision that has been made to REVERSE the Policy of Co-OPERATION that has resulted in the marvelous Transformation of the entire land surface of the country from a barren and savage land into a highly developed country, covered with a net-work of a huge Railway System, good Public Roads, decorated with beautiful Cities, Towns and Dorps and Villages, that compare not unfavourably with those which grace the Western Countries of the old Continent.

Ever since the cessation of hostilities of the 18th and 19th Centuries between White and Black in this land, those great struggles for Supremacy, for Survival, for ascendancy, a great period of Co-Operation has set in, a period of mutual assistance between European and Non-European, which has resulted in the wonderful Transfiguration of the land that we witness to-day. This phenomenal development that has taken place is due to Co-Operation, 'Samewerking' of the White man's brain with the Blackman's brawn, the intellectual initiative of the White man with the physical energy of the Black man, the economic equipment of the European with the labour capacity of the Black man, the head of the Caucasian with the hand of the African. The words of Mr. Justice H. A. FAGAN, Chairman of The Native Laws Commission of a few years ago, are words of truth and wisdom: 'We need them (the Native) and they need us'. Let me remind you also of the words of the late Cardinal GRIFFIN, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, uttered in 1846, when he assisted in the settlement of a Strike of Dock Workers, words which constitute the truth, the whole truth, nothing but the truth. His Eminence then declared, 'All men are necessary in the great workshop of life'.



For the last period of 100 years of South African History the country has been following, consciously or unconsciously, a Policy of Economic Integration, Industrial Co-Operation. The Tomlinson Report recommends a REVERSAL of this Policy, and the substitution of a Policy of Total Apartheid, or complete Separate Development of the two main Racial Groups of this fair land, White and Black, or European and Non-European. The Tomlinson Report recommends, at this HOUR in the chequered History of the country, a Confirmation or Entrenchment of the so-called 'traditional' Policy of the Union, the Policy of Apartheid, Segregation, Separation, Territorial Separation, Political Separation, Industrial Disintegration, a drawing of the line of Demarcation between the two Racial Groups, a driving of the two into TWO Camps. Where will this Separation ultimately lead to? Where will it ultimately land the country? Well, may a great Thinker like Prof. B. B. Keet, write, 'WAARHEEN SUID AFRIKA?' 'WHITHER, SOUTH AFRICA?' The Tomlinson Commissioners believe that Complete SEGREGATION will lessen the state of TENSION between the Races. I have grave doubts about this. In my humble opinion, Territorial Separation, Political Segregation, Industrial Separateness, will, as surely as the day follows the night, lead to a state of affairs when TWO National Entities will EMERGE, and co-exist in one and same land, a veritable 'Imperio in Emperium'. It may eventually lead to a 'Bantustan', which will produce results quite different from those which the Government is dreaming of. Some one said, 'You can fool some of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time', or, 'you can dominate some of the people some of the time, but you cannot dominate all the people all sections of the people all the time'.

The great question of the day should be, 'WHITHER, SOUTH AFRICA?' Whither is this Policy, this so-called 'Traditional' Policy of Separate Development leading the country to? Is it not leading to a state of affairs which will create a state of TENSION between the two Racial Groups, a state of 'Confusion worst confounded?' Some one has written a couple of lines:

The day may be ever so long,  
But it comes at last to vesper song.

This 'traditional' Policy of the Union of South Africa is incapable of being endured by the Non-White Inhabitants of the land for a long time. Viewed from all its aspects, Socially, Economically, Industrially, Territorially, Politically, Culturally, it has operated most disadvantageously, most disastrously, extremely adversely, as far as the Black man is concerned as well as his Coloured compatriot is concerned. It has reduced him to a position of Political IMPOTENCE of the worst description. As a race of people the Black man as well as his Coloured Brother has been reduced to a state of Helplessness, Homelessness, Hopelessness, Lawlessness, Pennilessness, Powerlessness of unimaginable sort.

Instead of Extension or Entrenchment in the communal life of the country, this Policy must be REVIEWED, and the Cry should be one of 'Halt, Look round, and see whither this trend is leading to!'

We appeal to those who possess the power to 'make the powers that Be', to stop, and think, and to do at this critical hour in the history of South Africa. Is the Voice of the Black man in this Atomic Age, when hundreds of the Sons and Daughters of Africa have acquired University

Education of the highest order, and University Professors and Lecturers at University Colleges, or Barristers of Law, and Lawyers who have names for themselves, Medical Practitioners of no mean order, Educationists and School Inspectors and Supervisors of Schools, School Boards' Secretaries, Preachers of the Gospel who compare favourably with their White Colleagues, when a considerable percentage of their people have proved their mettle as Traders, Agriculturalists, Builders, Carpenters, Station Commanders of certain Police Stations, still to be treated like the 'Voice of one crying in the wilderness', or is it to be regarded as was the case when he was in the primitive stage, as

The whimperings of a Babe,  
Who cries, but knows not what it wants?

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## HUMAN RELATIONS IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY.

## OPENING ADDRESS

Delivered at The Multi-Racial Conference of South Africa,  
Johannesburg, Transvaal, December, 1957.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I need hardly tell you that it is with a great measure of trepidation and sense of insufficiency for the task that has been thrust upon me in having to preside over a Conference representative not only of all sections of the population of the Union of South Africa, but also of men and women drawn from all strata in the social set-up of this multi-racial country--an imposing galaxy of intellectuals, legal and medical luminaries, ecclesiastical dignitaries, parliamentarians, educationalists, industrialists, social workers, as well as the ordinary man and woman. I believe my only qualification for the position in which I find myself is that I happen to be President of the Interdenominational African Ministers' Federation of South Africa, which is the principal sponsor of this gathering. Only a sense of duty to the race and to my God has compelled me to accept the task.

A set of circumstances has conspired to bring about this unique assembly, namely, the existence of a state of tension in race relations in the country, the clash of ideas in the quest for a formula for the betterment of this state of tension, the rising tide of unrest in the country, the flat refusal of the 'powers that be' to lift this grave problem out of the arena of party politics and place it on a national level, and the growing conviction on the part of a large section of the community that deterioration in race relations is assuming alarming proportions. It has been felt that an attempt must be made to explore a suitable formula for the solution of what is the problem of problems; not only as far as South Africa is concerned but with which mankind is confronted.

This Conference is the sequel to the National Conference of African Leaders of thought held at Bloemfontein on 4th October, 1956, the purpose of which was to consider the implications of the Tomlinson Commission Report on the Socio-Economic development of the Native Reserves in the Union. That Report raised issues of tremendous inter-racial and national significance, and of consequences so far-reaching that it was felt on all sides that the situation called for the summoning of an inter-racial or multi-racial conference of representatives of all sections of the population of the Union, white and non-white, European and non-European, for the purpose of exploring a suitable formula for the solution of a problem that has defied the best statesmanship in this land, namely, the problem of adjustment of race relations in the sub-continent; and the present Conference is the net result of the prolonged negotiations that have been initiated in order to implement the suggestion made at the Bloemfontein Conference of 1956.



Perhaps never before in the chequered history of this land of many colours, varying cultures and civilizations, divergent social conditions, varying stages of advancement, and cluster of languages and tongues, has a glorious, a priceless opportunity presented itself for representatives of the racial groups that constitute this heterogeneous population, hailing from both sides of the colour line, to come together, reason together, think together, exchange views, in the grim quest for the solution of the impasse, to discover the best way of life for the co-existence of the racial groups that Fate has planted on this part of this earthly planet, to work out the mysterious Divine purpose which has not yet been fathomed.

In my humble opinion the situation is so grave, so alarmingly intense, so threatening, so explosive, that it reminds one of Hamlet who bewailed himself of the unenviable position in which he found himself and on an occasion of similar gravity said:

The time is out of joint. O, cursed spite  
That ever I was born to set it right.

Permit me to quote the words of wisdom that were uttered by one of the sages of the first half of this eventful century, namely, Viscount Kaneko, described as a personal friend of the Emperor of Japan, then one of the big powers of the world, in his defence of the Japanese invasion of China in 1938, the latter country being then regarded as 'the sleeping giant' of the Far East, being weak culturally, educationally, intellectually, economically and militarily, and immature politically. The noble Japanese statesman said,

On behalf of my country I say that Japan is eager to extend, at the earliest possible moment, the warm hand of fraternal goodwill and reconciliation towards China. After all, he continued, there is only one way for two nations to live and thrive, and that is in accord, co-operation and friendship.  
(Rand Daily Mail, 27th January, 1938)

This statesmanlike utterance is applicable in the case of South Africa today, where two racial groups, white and non-white, live together in juxtaposition in the same land. No one can presume to improve on this philosophy of living together harmoniously.

I think I should remind you that attempts for the calling of round table conferences to consider the problem of race relations in this country have been made.

1. When the Hertzog Native Bills of 1936 came before Parliament, suggestions were made to the Prime Minister, General Hertzog, to consider the advisability of a round table conference with the leaders of the African people to suggest a formula. Those suggestions were turned down.
2. In June 1950, the late Senator, the Hon. J. D. Rheinalt Jones, approached the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, with the request that



the latter might consider the advisability of arranging for a national convention or round table conference of all political parties and representatives of European and non-European interests to consider a solution of racial problems in the country. The Prime Minister, in his letter in reply to Senator Jones, declined to comply with the request, giving as his reasons for this refusal, that he believed that the divergence between the Communistic and liberalistic standpoint, and the policy of those seeking to solve the problem by way of differentiation based on just and fair treatment of each group in its own province was too wide to be reconciled by such means.

3. On the 3rd February, 1957, a motion was tabled in the Union House of Assembly for the convening of a national convention that would be representative of all sections of the community, white and non-white, to consider, inter alia, ways and means of fulfilling the common desire of all South Africans for inter-racial harmony and co-operation (see Hansard No. 3, February 4th, 1957.)

Let me say with all the conviction I have that along this line alone lies the path for the solution of the country's racial problems; that unilateral action by one Government or another, one party or another, one section of the community or another, will never succeed. The 1909 compromise has failed; the Hertzog attempt of 1936 has given no satisfaction, but has aggravated the position; the Coloured Separate Representation Act (or rather the Coloured Disfranchisement Act) of 1956, has angered the Coloured Community as well as rending the European section asunder. The South African policy of apartheid has caused a serious rift in the United Nations Organization. The collective voice of the entire thinking non-European population of the Union has been enraged by its implementation, while an overwhelming world opinion condemns it in the strongest terms. Ds. J. J. Buskes of Amsterdam, Holland, and eminent Predikant of the Dutch Reformed Church, after a detailed study of it, wrote a book with the significant title, "The Policy of Apartheid -- Unacceptable".

A three centuries quest for a suitable formula has met with no success. The problem has persisted. It now calls loudly for a fresh approach. During the 19th Century, two schools of thought in this connection have emerged: that of the Northern Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, "There shall be no equality between White and Black in these Republics, either in Church or State." and the Cape formula, crystallized by Cecil John Rhodes' dictum of "Equal rights for all civilized men south of the Zambesi, irrespective of race or colour or creed."

A long battle of words was fought between these two conflicting concepts at the National Convention composed of representatives of the European section of the population, drawn from the then four states of the sub-continent, the Cape, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. This National Convention met at Durban and Bloemfontein in 1908 and 1909, and was presided over by an eminent lawyer, the late Sir J. H. de Villiers (afterwards Lord de Villiers, first Chief Justice of the Union.) The battle raged upon the rock of the problem of race relations. Yet the section of the population that was vitally affected, the non-white races, was not represented! To arrive at an agreement of



some sort, a compromise was agreed upon, the purpose of which was to endeavour to placate the divergent feeling of representatives of the two schools of thought. With this end in view, Colour Bar clauses were inserted in the Act constituting the Union of South Africa. These clauses purport to define the necessary qualifications for members of the Union Parliament. The would-be parliamentarian must be a "British subject of European descent." Thus, despite the fact that the non-European people of the Cape Province remained their franchise rights, yet all people of non-European descent were thereby categorically excluded from the body politic of the country.

The Constitutionals of the National Convention of 1909 deliberately threw overboard the principles enunciated by the protagonists of the French Revolution of 1789, namely, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for all. Dr. Malan, in a speech at some celebrations of the French Revolution a few years ago, said these principles could be applied only in a "homogeneous community, not in a heterogeneous community." The framers of the constitutional machinery of the Union of South Africa threw into the limbo of forgotten things the principles upon which the greatest republic of the world is founded, namely that taxation without representation is tyranny; all men are born equal; all men are equal in the eyes of the law. It is needless to say that the principles upon which the Government of the Union of South Africa is founded are an antithesis of those of the rest of the civilized world, and that they are not calculated to promote the spirit of harmony and peaceful co-operation among the various peoples of the country. Instead, in them are embedded seeds of discord, disharmony, disunity, disintegration, antipathy, non-co-operation and hostility. Yet the supreme need of this country is a state of peaceful co-existence, and esprit de corps, which should certainly stand the community in good stead in times of need, times of national emergency.

I crave your indulgence to remind you of the five or six 'cracies of Government, the theories of government that have been propounded in the past, about which very little is heard in our age, the Atomic Age. These are:

Aristocracy -- government of the country by the nobility.

Autocracy -- government of a people vested in one man, now generally referred to as Dictatorship.

Democracy -- government of the people, by the people and for the people.

Plutocracy -- government of the people by the wealthy classes in that community.

Theocracy -- government of the people by Divine authority or by the priests.

To these might be added a sixth, namely,

Whitocracy -- government of the people by the white people and primarily for the benefit of the white people.

The latter is the system of Government that is in vogue in the Union of South Africa. It deliberately takes no cognisance of the fact that all peoples who live and move and have their being in that country have feelings and aspirations that are the common possession of human beings. Does any sane person persuade himself or herself into believing that such



a form of government can be tolerated in this age?

It may possibly be that those who believe in a form of Government of the people by a section of the people, or government of some of the people by some of the people for the benefit of some of the people are the victims of a certain psychosis. They suffer from a twin psychological malady, 'fear complex' and 'superiority complex' for which they are not responsible, but which result from a set of circumstances beyond their control. In this connection I am reminded of the first of the seven Words uttered on the Cross by the Founder of the Christian Religion: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

They also seem to be victims of a distorted state of mind, a faulty conception of human values as far as non-Europeans are concerned. They do not seem to believe in the personality of the non-white man. To them he does not belong to the human race; he is not included in the category of those who were made in the image and likeness of God; they are not descendents of Adam. Their concept of a non-white person is that he is a "kaffir", a "native", a "boy", a "girl" or "maid", an elevated baboon, a sub-human, a member of a child race, created by a benevolent Deity to serve the material interests of the superior race, the Herrenvolk, in the capacity of "hewer of wood and drawer of water" for his white master. The coloured man is regarded only as an appendage to the white man, while the Asian is regarded as an alien, a foreigner, and uitlander, a temporary sojourner in a foreign land, who cannot claim rights of citizenship in that country. He is 'n ongenooide gas!'

I believe it is this faulty conception of the true nature of the blackman that is mainly responsible for this unfortunate mess in the government of the country, coupled with this state of fear. Remove this combination of factors and "alles sal reg kom."

The entire fabric upon which the system of Government in this country has been erected needs to be reviewed in the light, not only of changing conditions in the social order, but also of the call of the time. An objective examination of the principles upon which the entire superstructure of human relations in all its aspects, social, economic, industrial, educational and political, is required, and this can only be satisfactorily done by means of a Conference of the nature of the present one, where all sections of the Community, all shades of opinion, and all interests are represented. I am not unmindful of the fact that the stage has not yet been reached when a truly national convention can be convened, a convention of the character envisaged in Mr. Hepple's motion tabled at the recent session of parliament, and which was unceremoniously rejected by the Government party.

I respectfully ask you to have a glance at the composition of the population of the Union to see if South Africa can be included in the category of democratic or freedom loving countries of the free world.

According to the latest census figures, the population of the Union is as follows:

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| Europeans: | 2,641,689, or about 25 per cent.  |
| Africans:  | 8,560,083, or about 60 per cent.  |
| Coloureds: | 1,103,016, or about 10 per cent.  |
| Asians:    | 366,664, or about 5 per cent. of the total population, making a total population of 12,671,452. The composition |



of the legislature of the country is as follows: The House of Assembly consists of 153 members, the Senate of 89 members, giving a total parliamentary membership of 242. The Union Parliament, as is the case in all parliaments, has been vested with supreme and sovereign powers and authority to make laws for the good and orderly government of the country, powers to manage the affairs of the whole country, to control the lives of all sections of the population, to guide its destiny and to determine its ultimate fate. Under, and by virtue of the authority vested in it under the provision of the South Africa Act of 1909, it was drafted by representatives of the white section of the land, and passed by the Imperial Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (in those days). Further, by what is known as the Statutes of Westminster, 1931, the Union has been placed upon a status of absolute equality with Great Britain and other member states of the British Commonwealth of nations.

In this highly responsible body, the Union Parliament, European interests are represented by 235 members, while the African section of the population is represented by only seven members. These seven are supposed to be the spokesmen of nearly 9,000,000 souls, or 50% of the total population. Is there any semblance of justice and fairness in this grotesque arrangement? Can it be reasonably expected that such an arrangement will give satisfaction to those who are intimately concerned? This arrangement is one of the root causes of all the dissatisfaction, discontent, disaffection and unrest that is prevalent in the country to-day. This sham representation, this shameless make-believe, is a veritable dummy to soothe the so-called child races of the land.

The coloured races of the land have, by the passing of the Separate Representation of Voters' Act in 1925, as well as the historic judgment of the Appeal Court in November, 1956, have been virtually disfranchised and deprived of a voice in the legislative councils of the land.

Some one has said,

"You can fool some of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all the people all the time."

Similarly, "You can dominate some of the people some of the time, but you cannot dominate all the people all the time."

Some responsible leaders of sections of the white people are misleading their followers when they tell them that the natives are satisfied with their lot, and that they are contented with the way they are being governed. They are not. On the contrary, those people who imagine that there is peace in the country are living in a fool's paradise. They should be disillusioned by the constant flareup of boycotts, demonstrations that occur from time to time in diverse forms. These are an indication of the signs of the times. They provide a true reflection of the prevalence of a state of racial tension in the country. They are indicative of the fact that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark."

In the course of an illuminating address to the Department of Bantu Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand on 13th August, 1936, on the theme "Essentials of the Native Problem", the late Jan H. Hofmeyr, then Minister of the Interior and Education in the Hertzog Cabinet of those days, observed:



The day of repression as the basis of our native policy is past. The white man has awakened the native; he has ended his savage life, and has set his feet on the long road which leads to civilization. It is a path from which there can be no retreat. (The Star, 14th August, 1936.)

No truer statement could have been made. The fact of the matter is that non-white Africa is on the march towards a realization of herself. The tide of national consciousness, of political awakening on her part is in full swing. The Sun of Righteousness has dawned on the Dark Continent, and she is on the road to shake off the shackles of political slavery. No amount of repressive legislation or any device of apartheid, in all its phases or facets, can solve the problem of problems in South Africa, namely, that of Human Relations in a Multi-racial society. No due consideration is given to the claims of the various sections of the community; nor will this be possible unless a national convention is convened of representatives of all interests in the country. Then and not till then can we hope to arrive at conclusions which are calculated to give general satisfaction. Then and not till then is there hope for the emergence of a multi-racial society of the character depicted in the lines occurring in Macaulay's Lays of Ancient Rome:

Then none was for a Party,  
 Then all were for the State,  
 Then the great man helped the poor,  
 And the poor helped the great,  
 Then laws were fairly portioned,  
 Then lands were fairly sold,  
 And the Romans were like brothers  
 In those brave days of old.

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## AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Delivered at the Annual Conference of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Cape Town, C.P., January, 1961.

The purpose of this paper is not to criticize the Government on its policy of Urban Areas Administration, but an attempt to offer suggestions for an administration which may bring about a system of local government which will be acceptable to the people and contribute towards peaceful and harmonious relationships between the authorities and Africans in these areas. It is, therefore, my sincere hope that it will be received in that spirit by the authorities, and also that the suggestions offered here will be given consideration.

We welcome the statement read in the House of Assembly on the 21st May 1960, by the Minister of Finance, Dr. T. E. Dönges, on behalf of the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, which announced the Government's intention to give the Africans in the urban areas "a greater authority over their own people there" (except for the statement "in accordance with the policy of separate development" -- this has not received general acceptance). Some of us believe that it is God's purpose that White and non-White people should live in this country happily together -- it belongs to us all by divine will, there is no reason to suspect racial friction if only we accept this divine arrangement, but as long as we reject this divine arrangement, and continue to perpetuate our own artificial arrangements with the hope that this will eliminate racial friction, there is no hope of ever solving the racial problem in this country. The events in Pondoland, Sekhukhuniland and Tembuland are a proof of the fallacy of this policy.

It is a pity that ideas and proposals submitted by certain church organizations, employers' organizations and other political and non-political organizations (e.g. the Institute of Race Relations) have not been accepted by the Government on the ground that "those who made the proposals, however well-intended, often did not have sufficient facts at their disposal by which they could test the effects of their proposals", that being the case, it therefore remained the task of the Government, "with full knowledge of affairs, after consideration of all the facts and consequences, and after consultation with its experts, to take the necessary decisions". While I entirely agree that the Government should be advised by its experts, yet at the same time I believe that suggestions from other bodies and people who are in direct contact with the people should not be summarily dismissed; constructive criticism does not necessarily mean opposition.

Again, on the 12th September 1960, the Prime Minister outlined his "new deal" proposals to improve conditions of urban Africans. He announced that steps to provide better food and transport for the urban Bantu and to enable them to take a greater part in local government were being considered; the question of wages was also being discussed. The 'new deal' announced by the Prime Minister envisaged improvements in



housing conditions as well as general wage increases for lower-paid workers. We welcome this announcement from the Prime Minister, and appreciate the fact that the Minister recognizes the fact that improvements in the housing conditions of urban Africans had been accompanied by a profound change in their way of life and that this had intensified their desire for a higher standard of living. The Prime Minister also announced that "the Government deemed it desirable again to draw attention to its policy for the improvement of race relations -- and in order to ensure that the aspirations and needs of the urban Bantu population will always receive sufficient attention, a special and very senior official of the Department of Bantu Administration is being appointed in every large urban area, who will keep in close contact with Bantu leaders and recognized Bantu authorities."

A further tonic to the above statement came from the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. de Wet Nel, in a statement which he made on the 7th November 1960 viz. -- "As it has always been my sincere endeavour to create healthy and humane relationships between Europeans and the Bantu, I have decided to revise and consolidate all laws and regulations that have a bearing on the Bantu in White areas, with a view to the elimination of regulations which cause irritation, by:-- (a) The removal of regulations that impose unnecessary hardship on the Bantu; (b) The elimination of over-lapping legislation; (c) The simplification of repeated legislation; (d) Efficient administration. "With this end in view I have appointed a full-time official for the task". These announcements are encouraging and give us hope for the future, but it is too premature to cherish hope for better things before these improvements are implemented. This brings me now to the object of this paper.

By the "Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959", machinery has been created by the Government for so-called Councils in the Bantu Areas of the Union, such as those of the Transkei, the Ciskei, Herschel District in the Cape; Thabanchu and Harrismith districts in the O. F. S., Zululand in Natal; Sibasa, Sekhukhuniland, Pietersburg etc. in the Transvaal, and Mafeking and Taungs in the Northern Cape. These are known as Tribal Authorities, Regional Authorities, Territorial Authorities -- designed to meet the national aspirations of the Bantu people in the Bantu areas and give them a semblance of local government. These bodies possess no legislative powers, their functions are only to administer laws, regulations and stipulations made by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development signed by the Governor-General. By their nature and design they can only look after local affairs, such as dipping, roads, soil erosion schemes, but can never satisfy the political aspirations of the people, who are now politically conscious, and are aware of systems of local government among the Europeans -- such as Village Management Boards, Town Councils, Divisional Councils of the Cape, Provincial Councils, and voluntary organizations such as Trade Unions, Farmers' Associations, Municipal Associations, Chambers of Commerce, Chambers of Industry, etc. Yet people for whom these councils exist possess political rights and franchise rights -- they are voters and return representatives to the Provincial Councils and to Parliament -- the national forum for airing the sentiments of the people, a body that possesses powers to



make laws for the good and orderly government of the country --Parliament -- the highest legislative authority in the land -- the body which is vested with supreme powers for controlling the destinies of the land, for determining the course of affairs and deciding the fate of the country -- "a government for the people by the people".

*I would like to appeal to the authorities very respectfully to study very seriously the unhappy situation in Pondoland, and not disregard the pleadings of these people on the ground that what is happening there is the result of the work of agitators and opponents of government policy. The Pondos, who have a good reputation behind them of being a very loyal, harmless and peaceful people, have rejected the findings of the Government's commission on the ground that they have not been consulted.*

We hope that the Government will concede that the urban African population is here to stay, and that measures and schemes will be evolved which will ensure that what is happening in the Reserves will not happen in urban areas, and like the Minister, we would like to see in these areas "the creation of healthy and humane relationships between Europeans and the Bantu". The Minister has also announced that "The Department of Bantu Administration will be so equipped as to enable it, in every city with a large urban Bantu residential area, properly to supervise the administration of the Bantu through the municipal authority concerned, so as to ensure that the Bantu are properly informed on all the aims of the government policy" -- that will not be enough unless it is done by consultation and co-operation with the people concerned.

Hitherto, the Bantu authorities in the rural areas have not made a favourable impression; on the contrary, in certain parts of the country these Bantu authorities have produced unhappiness, unrest and disregard for law and order. When the Government realizes that Africans in urban areas are a settled community, and have become thoroughly detribalized and industrialized, and that they know no other home or way of life than town life, that they have acquired some knowledge of town life and town conditions, that they have been introduced to government formst of urban populations, and that they have had a taste of control of life in urban areas through the Advisory Boards' system, Trade Unions, African Chambers of Commerce, etc., some machinery should be created with this end in view.

While schemes have been evolved for self-government for a population of 3,307,234 in the Reserves or Bantu areas, no such schemes have been made for a population of 2,328,534 Bantu people in urban areas and 2,924,315 Bantu people in European rural areas (1951 Census returns). The Government has virtually abolished the erstwhile Union Location Advisory Boards' Congress, but has put nothing in its place, abolished the Native Representative Council which was instituted under the provisions of the Separate Representation of Natives Act of 1936, and finally put an end to the Native Representatives in Parliament, thus effectively suppressing the voice of the African people of the Union, the voice of roughly 10,000,000 of the population of the Union which numbers approximately 15,000,000 people. There should be created in urban areas some machinery whereby the African can have some form of local government. The Native Advisory Boards have played an important role in the life of urban Africans, but unfortunately, they had no administrative powers, their functions



were only advisory, and they carried them no farther than the doorsteps of the municipal officials. I would not at all recommend the appointment of what is called "Bantu ambassadors" who are supposed to be the representatives of the chief in urban areas; these may only be representing a small section of town dwellers who still have affiliations with the reserves and not the majority of permanent town dwellers. The urban African is a detribalized person who knows no chief -- his only chief is the municipal official or his employer. The majority have completely lost their tribal affinity and emblem. These ambassadors will not be accepted, and will only serve to create in urban areas the unsavoury feeling of unhappiness and antagonism which we see in the Bantu areas; in order to encourage and bring about "the improvement of race relations" in urban areas which the Minister desires to see, the system of ambassadors should not be introduced, and where it has already been put into practice it would be intended to serve only the temporary town dwellers who have their homes in the Bantu areas.

There exists today on both sides of the colour line a profound desire for an immediate creation of channels for contacts between the Whites and the leaders of African thought, and between the Government and African leaders both in urban and rural areas. My suggestion is that there should be established what I should call "Urban Township Boards" with full administrative powers, elected by popular vote along the same lines as in the election of Town Councils or Village Management Boards. These Urban Bantu (African) Township Boards should be composed of elected members with the Director of Non-European Affairs Department with his senior colleagues as members in an advisory capacity. They should be presided over by an official of the Town Council -- the Mayor or the Deputy Mayor. They should be vested with full administrative powers, such as laws controlling the township, sanitation, lighting, collection of rents and disbursements with the Town Treasurer as Hon. Treasurer and Financial Adviser, the Finance Committee of the Town Council to scrutinize and check all accounts before they are paid out -- this of course will be subject to a proper scheme to be agreed upon by the Town Council and the Urban African Township Board.

What we would really want to see is that Africans be given all facilities for self-government in order to satisfy their aspirations. The urban African is very desirous of having the privilege of discussing his problems freely with his White neighbour at round-table meetings. This, and only this method, is the safest and surest way to bring about healthy and humane relationships between Europeans and the Africans.

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## THE WORLD OF YOUR MINISTERIAL ACTIVITIES.

Notes of an address delivered at the opening of John Wesley College, A College of The Federal Theological Seminary of S.A., Alico, C. P., May, 1963.

Gentlemen,

It gives me very great pleasure to stand before you this morning on this auspicious occasion, the Formal Opening of a college of your Federal Theological Seminary. I count it a matter of the greatest privilege to address, among others, a group of young men who are on the threshold of taking up a Career which is perhaps, the most honourable, the noblest of all careers, a career of Representatives or Ambassadors of Him who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, the Creator of heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that therein is. Besides all this you are going to be Preachers of one of the great Religions of the world. I refer to these Religions, Buddhism, Confucianism, Christianity, Hinduism, Islam, Taoism, Zoroastrianism, etc. You are going to be Preachers of that Religion which Mahatma Ghandi judged to be the BEST of all these others. As far as I know, Christianity is the Universal Religion. As it has been said of The British Empire of a decade ago, 'Over the Christian Empire the sun never sets'.

You have been called to Preach Christ and Him crucified, to be Witnesses for Jesus, the Son of the living God, and to make disciples of all the Nations of the earth, and to bring them all into the Family of God in Jesus, into the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints.

In this high Calling, I warmly congratulate you. I congratulate you on the honour that comes to you. I sincerely congratulate you in that the Call to Preach and Minister and to exercise the Office of this High Calling comes to you at a time like the present, in a world like the present, at an extremely difficult and turbulent hour, times which St. Paul characterizes as 'PERILOUS', a State of affairs, 'a state of confusion worse confounded'. Yet, in the History of the world, nay, of mankind, a most interesting time, a fascinating period, one which we of the older generation of Preachers of this glorious Evangel, envy. We do not only congratulate you, but also envy you this great honour, this glorious privilege.

"Blessed are your eyes which have seen the things many prophets and righteous men had desired to see, those things which ye have seen and heard".

The time of your Call may be likened to that of which Mordecai spoke, when he said to Queen Esther, 'Who knows that you have come to the Kingdom at a time like this?' Brethren, who knows that you have been called to 'Holy Orders' especially at a time like the Present, to labour in the Vineyard of the Lord in a World of the present AGE, the Atomic Age, the Sputnik Age, The Space Age, the Age of Miracles, a world which has undergone a Process of tremendous Change, fundamental Change, phenomenal Transformation. This world appears to have travelled through a variety of stages in its march to perfecting its march to a Destiny



known only to God, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent, the Omnipresent, 'The All wise God! This world presents an appearance quite different from that of the days when the early Missionaries set their feet on the soil of the Continent about two Centuries ago, quite dissimilar to that of the time when I commenced my career as a Preacher and Minister in the Christian Church, now over half-a-century ago.

In this Survey I shall confine myself to that portion of this earthly Planet in which we are domiciled, namely, the Continent of Africa, the 'Centre Continent' in general, and of Africa south of the Equator in particular, Africa, the erstwhile 'Dark Continent', formerly inhabited during the times of the Prophets of the Old Testament by people who walked in darkness, and 'who dwelled in the shadow of death', but who have now seen a great Light, and upon whom the light has shined'. This Continent, the land of our Birth and of our habitat, is believed by eminent Scientists and Anthropologists to be 'The Cradle of the Human Race'. This Continent has also served as 'The Cradle' of the Human Race'. This Continent has also served as 'The Cradle' of the greatest Lawgiver of the world, viz., MOSES, the Deliverer of Israel from the house of Bondage. This Continent has also served a great purpose, the veritable 'Cave of Adullam' for the Infant Child, Jesus, whom Herod sought to destroy in His Infancy.

This World Area comprises the whole land surface which extends right from 'The Cape' on the Coasts of The Atlantic Ocean in the Southern Extremity of the Continent to 'Cairo' in the Northernmost extremity of the Continent, right from Liberia on the West coast of the Atlantic Ocean to Somaliland on the Coast of The Indian Ocean on the East, or as it runs along the Equator from the West to the Eastern coast on the Indian Ocean. In this Area there are about fifty States, 31 of which are now free from the Control of European Powers, are Independent States, while about 19 of them are still under the control and tutelage of Western Powers.

What I may term The Southern Hemisphere of the Continent, namely, Africa South of the Equator, constituting the Sphere of our Labours in the Church of Christ, land area wherein you will have to exercise your Ministry as Preachers, Priests and Presbyters in the Christian Church, and Ambassadors of the King. In this area falls that portion of the Sub-Continent, which until 1960, was known as 'The Union of South Africa' under the British Commonwealth of Nations, the British Club, but which now is The REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, and which is now outside the 'The Club', and is, in its relation to Great Britain, and for all practical intents and purposes, a 'foreign land'. In this Area is included South West Africa, a former Colony of The German Reich, and is now a Mandated Territory under the Guardianship of The Republic of South Africa. Included also in this sphere of your labours are those countries which fall under the category of 'High Commission Territories' of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, as also The Central African Federation (The Rhodesias and Nyasaland).

I think I should now give you just an Idea of THE POPULATION STRUCTURE of the Continent of Africa, giving that of Africa South of the Equator in greater detail. This Population is estimated as follows:--



|  |                  |       |                    |
|--|------------------|-------|--------------------|
| The Republic of S.A.                   | 15,420,000       |       |                    |
| South West Africa                      | <u>572,000</u>   |       |                    |
|  |                  | Total | 15,992,000         |
| High Commission Territories of         |                  |       |                    |
| Basutoland                             | 666,000          |       |                    |
| Bechuanaland                           | 337,000          |       |                    |
| Swaziland                              | <u>259,000</u>   |       |                    |
|  |                  | Total | 1,262,000          |
| Central African Federation             |                  |       | 8,330,000          |
| Mozambique                             | 6,234,000        |       |                    |
| Angola                                 | <u>4,550,000</u> |       |                    |
|  |                  | Total | <u>10,784,000</u>  |
| Grand total of Africa South of Equator |                  |       | <u>36,368,000</u>  |
| The rest of the Continent              |                  |       | <u>213,638,000</u> |
| Grand Total Population Up-to-date      |                  |       | <u>250,006,000</u> |

The Tomlinson Commission Report on The Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Reserves of The Republic published in 1954, divides the Continent into three Chief Religious Regions as follows: a North African Islamic Block, a Central African Heathen Block, a South African Christian Block.

In regard to the numerical strength of these Regions the same Report gives the following ratios, viz.--

85,000,000, Heathens or 54.33 per cent of the Population,  
 50,000,000 Mohammedans, or 31.64 per cent of the population,  
22,000,000 Christians, or 14.03 per cent of the population,  
 157,000,000 total population.

While according to Statistics quoted in a Report presented to a Conference of The World Reformed Churches held at Potchefstroom, Transvaal, in August, 1958, the number of Mohammedans in the Continent of Africa was estimated at 85,000,000, or 41 per cent of the whole Population, 83,000,000 Heathens, or 40 per cent of the Population, 52,000,000 Christians, or 19 per cent of a total population of 220,000,000.

On the presumption that much Progress has since been made we shall not be far from the mark in assuming that there are up to 1962:

90,000,000 Mohammedans or 40% of the population, an increase of  
 5 million in the last 4 years,

80,000,000 Heathens, or 30%, a decrease of 3,000,000

80,000,000 Christians, or 30%, an increase of 28 million, the total population being 250,000,000, an increase of 30,000,000 for the period

of four years. This position gives an indication that there are 170,000,000 Non-Christians in the Continent as against 80,000,000 Christians which represents one-third of the population. From this we should realize that the task before the Christian Church is still enormous. Now, the Challenge that was thrown to a Prophet of old comes to you, "Son of man, can these bones live?" "Thou, Lord knoweth. Prophecy, son of man unto these bones, and say unto them, 'o, ye, dry bones hear the word of the Lord'". Brethren, this huge army of Non-Christians must be reduced to the lowest denomination, or to a figure



below that of the Heathens. Even as Europe is to-day a Christian land, so must Africa be a Christian country, or at least, Africa South of the Equator.

Now, across this Area, the Continent of Africa, the Macmillan 'Wind of Change' has been blowing, and it is still blowing, and that, with shattering force, with terrific speed, and with ferocious velocity, and has already effected CHANGES that would certainly amaze generations of former centuries, Changes and Transformations which have completely made of Africa 'A New Continent', which, viewed from all aspects, from all angles, in all respects, a changed land, culturally, economically, ethnologically, geographically, geologically, politically, religiously, sociologically. This transformation has been carried out so mercilessly, so ruthlessly, as has rendered the appearance of the surface of the land changed beyond all recognition, a changed country-side, changed land formations, changed men and women, changed modes of thought, changed outlook on life, a new look.

Permit me to refer to

#### THE CHARACTER OF THE PEOPLE

who inhabited Africa before the civilized people of Europe discovered it, namely, The AFRICANS. They were a primarily primitive people, a Pastoral people, a Nomadic race, who boasted of no fixed places of Abode, nor of any Homelands, who lived mainly in the open veldt, who perhaps had no time nor inclination, nor incentive to make Homesteads, or build Villages or Cities or permanent settlements or even to evolve stable forms of governments, nor even to organize themselves into Tribal Units, Nationalities or ordered Communities. The country itself was still in a state of Unsettlement, a veritable state of Confusion, the people still groping in the dark, while also a grim struggle for Existence, for Survival, and for a 'Lebensraum' (as the Germans would say) was the order of day.

The Discovery of the Continent by David Livingstone and other Explorers opened the way for European Fortune-seekers to come over. The Advent of these adventurers during the 17th and 18th Centuries was immediately followed by the Discovery of precious minerals, Diamonds, Gold, Coal deposits, and other natural resources of the Soil. These Discoveries brought in their train the Establishments of Industries of various kinds, which, as a natural corollary, necessitated the Building-Up of Villages, Hamlets, Townships, and Cities all over the Continent, more especially in the Southern Hemisphere of the Continent. This was, in turn, followed up by the Cutting-Up of the country-side into Farms, Farm Lands and Plots, as well as the erection of Farm Homesteads of various shapes and designs, some of which are veritable Mansions. This Process, almost at the twinkling of the eye, brought about

#### INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN THE CONTINENT

on a spectacular scale. The whole country changed FACE, geologically and ideologically. As an immediate result a Townward trend of population developed almost overnight. In 1910, there were, according to an Article written in preparation for The UNION JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS of 1960, only about 500,000 Africans living in the Urban Areas of the Union. According to a recent Survey made by the South African Bureau of African Affairs (SABRA), the number of Africans in Urban Areas had increased by 50 per cent. during the decade, 1951 to 1960, from 2,323,000 to



3,343,000, and the conclusion arrived at by those who compiled the Survey is:

That is quite clear from all this that for the African the future will be dictated, not by ideals and visions and theories, but by the hard facts of Economics.

Moreover, the African population is growing fast, bringing with it all the attendant PROBLEMS, social, economic, moral, and Religious. On the one hand the African people are introduced to the various Amenities of civilized existence, and other civilizing Agencies and Influences, counter-balanced on the other hand demoralizing factors, such as the Weakening of Parental Control, Juvenile Delinquency, criminal tendencies, Disintegration of Family life, The Drink Evil, which has been aggravated by the passing of The Liquor Amendment Act of 1961 (Act No. 72 of 1961), which removes all Restrictions on the Supply of the White man's Liquor to Non-Whites. Does this factor not constitute a CALL to the present generation of Preachers of the Holy Word of God to listen to God's Challenge:

Whom shall I send, who will go for Us? Who will respond to the Call of duty, duty to rescue the race? Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the House of Israel, therefore, thou shalt hear the word at My mouth, and warn them from Me.

When you are confronted with the Problem of the Town population you will not forget the African population who live as Farm Labourers on European-Owned Farms which are spread all over the whole length and breadth of the Republic, besides the African people domiciled in the African Territories of Herschel, the Ciskei, the Transkei, Zululand, Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, in South West Africa, in the Portuguese Colonies of Mozambique and Angola, in the Central African Federation (The Rhodesias and Nyasaland), etc., etc.

This is a Challenge to the Preachers of the present world, the present Age, to engage in all kinds of Redemptive effort, of Liberatory Mission, Healing in all its forms, Social Service, the care of The Blind and the Deaf and Dumb, the Crippled Members of Society, the mentally defective child, the Maimed, the bodily deformed Child.

In other words, the present world situation demands a Gospel that is all-inclusive in its content, comprehensive in its intent, taking into its consideration the whole complex nature of man, body, mind and soul, taking into its scope all his needs, physical, mental and spiritual. There is great significance in the phrase, 'A sound mind in a sound body', or in the warning of General Booth, 'You can't preach to an empty stomach'.

I think I should make only a passing reference to the subject of  
LITERACY OR EDUCATION,

just reminding you that in this respect great strides have been made. While in 1910, there were no Africans in the Learned Professions, nor in the staffs of the Universities or University Colleges of the land, nor in the Secondary and High Schools, not a single Lawyer or College Lecturers or University Professors, now, in 1962, according to a statement made by the Honourable the Minister of Bantu Education in the House of Assembly on the 9th February, 1960, there were 288 Secondary and High Schools or 318 including Roman Catholic Secondary and High Schools. A Departmental Official stated that there were in 1962,



2000 African Graduates, 15,200 Matriculants, 67 African Medical Practitioners, 7,500 African Nurses. From other reliable sources there is a large number of African men and women in the Learned Professions, such as Lawyers, etc., while there are over 202,042 Africans employed in State Establishments, the Railways, Post Office and other Public Services. Although we are not in a position to give an accurate figure, yet we can say that in 1951 there were 2,064,842 Africans or 23.9 per cent of Africans who could read and write. This figure must have doubled itself now in 1962, and we may safely say that 50 per cent. of the African population of Southern Africa can read and write. If this be near the truth, then the African Preacher of this present world faces every Sunday a fairly literate Congregation.

This review of the world of your Ministerial Labours will not be complete without a word or two about

#### THE MOVEMENTS OF THE TIMES.

The world appears to be in a state of motion, and to be moving toward a certain climax.

In the political Field movements are swift in the direction of throwing off the old traditional forms of Government, such as the Monarchy, Dictatorships to Republicanism. The prediction made by ex-King Farouk of Egypt on the occasion of his forced Abdication of the Throne ten years ago is becoming true. The deposed Monarch then said:

Soon there will be only five Kings left in the world, the Kings of England and the kings of diamonds, hearts, spades and clubs. (Sunday Times of London, July 27, 1952)

This trend appears to be reaching realization. The world is clamouring for FREEDOM, for Self-Determination of Nations, great and small, for Independence. At the same time man realizes that no man can live unto himself, that inter-dependence cannot be ruled out. Consequently there are such international Organizations as The UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION (UNO.), with Headquarters at New York in the U.S.A., etc.

In the ecclesiastical sphere we have what is known as The ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT, which is moved to bring about fulfillment of the DIVINE Ideal given expression to in Christ's High Priestly Prayer:

That they be ONE, even as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they may also be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.

There is at present a mighty movement towards Church Union, or Re-Union of Christendom, epitomized in the present world-wide organization known as 'THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES', with Head-quarters at Geneva in Switzerland, and THE ALL AFRICA CHURCH CONFERENCE with Head-quarters at Kitwe, in Northern Rhodesia, The Christian Council of S. A. with Head-quarters at Cape Town, the recently-formed amalgamation of the N. G. Churches of S. A. into one ecclesiastical Body under one general Synod under one General Moderator. There is also afoot proposals for the Re-Unification of The Anglican and Methodist Churches. The N. G. Sending Kerke of S. A. has also followed suit, and on the 7th May, 1963, there was a Conference held at Kroonstad to decide upon a scheme for the Amalgamation of all N. G. Sending Kerke into one General Synod, although the existing Provincial or Territorial Synods will continue to exist and function as Provincial Bodies. You should count it a matter of the highest privilege to have been called



to your high position at such an Hour in the history of mankind, a changed world, with changed outlook and changed attitudes to Religious matters, at a time when even modes of Travel have changed, when the Motor car, the Railway, the Aeroplane and the Scooter have replaced the Horse, the Ox wagon, the Spider, the Cape Cart, when the Tractor has superceded the Plough.

Now, just a glance at

#### THE PULPIT AND THE PEW, THE PREACHER AND PEOPLE

of the present world. We have to take cognizance of the fact that the Preacher and People of this Age are not a replica of those of a generation or two ago, of the fact both the Preacher and People of to-day were born in a new world set-up, that although the Gospel Message has not changed, the Pulpit of the present world is a different thing to that of half-a-century ago. The Pew also of this Space Age, an Age when a human being can fly at the rate of 170,000 miles an hour is quite a different phenomenon from that of three decades ago. The Preacher or Minister of to-day has been called upon to preach to and minister to and shepherd a flock of a different psychic make-up and a different temperament.

In the Congregations of the present world will be found a variety of types of Listers. They consist of

- (a) Messrs, **FACING-BOTH WAYS**, the Peters'es, who, when the weather is calm and mild, when the waters of the spiritual seas are still and warm, they make great Confession of their faith in the Divine Sonship of Jesus and of his Messiahship, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' but who, when the religious climate is unfavourable, or when faced with heavy, fearful and hostile odds, will unashamedly make a threefold denial of Him,'
- (b) **SECRET DISCIPLES** of the type of Nicodemus, who make confession of their faith in their Divine Appointment of Jesus, 'Rabbi, we believe that Thou art a Teacher sent from God, for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him'. He came to Jesus under cover of the night to avoid possible public censure,
- (c) **DOUBTING THOMASES**, who cannot believe Gospel Truth unless that can be proved by some mathematical calculation or a result of scientific investigation, who exclaim, 'Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, thrust my hand in His side, put my finger into the print of the nails, I will not believe.' These Believers can only be convinced if they see by their naked eyes, or if their 'senses of sight and hearing and touch' can be satisfied,
- (d) **SKEPTICS** and **CRITICS**, who can only be convinced by those who have had actual experience of Salvation, and who, like the blind man of old can say, 'Whether the man who opened my eyes is a prophet or not, I know not, one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see,'
- (e) **THE UNBELIEVERS AND PAGANS** inside Church Membership, who have been taken off their feet-hold by 'False Prophecies' of the Age, or those who cry, 'Away with the gods in the skies', or those who imagine, 'There is one God for the White people and another for Black people,'
- (f) **ATHEISTS**, among whom are some educated people and some Unsophisticated people, as well as those who have been misled to some unfortunate conclusions as of the Fool spoken of by the Psalmist who says,



'There is no God', or those who have come to the conclusion,  
'There is no heaven, no hell, no Resurrection of the dead, no  
life hereafter.'

Let me mention a new WORLD PHENOMENON that has come upon the scene. New kinds of Entertainment have been introduced, the Bioscope, the Cinema, Television, Beauty Competitions, Singing Competitions, Sports Tournament, Boxing Bouts, Broadcasting Services, Horse Racing, Sermon Broadcasts, casts.

These new forms of social Entertainments attract huge crowds. These are indications of the Tastes of the present world. While the Pulpit should not be made artistically attractive, yet a successful Preacher or Minister or Clergyman will be wise to take a leaf out of the book of a SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS Man. Gospel truth should be presented in language that is best understood by the Audience of the day. A well-dressed Squire will get a hat and shoes to 'match his suit'.

THIS PANORAMA presents A CHALLENGE  
to the Christian Church in general and the Christian Church in South Africa in particular.

There are two or three rival Religious Forces that are contending for the soul of Africa, viz: Christianity, Islam and Paganism. The former is strongest in the Southern Hemisphere of the Continent, while the second is strongest in the Northern Hemisphere, the last named being prevalent in both Hemispheres. You have come to the scene of the Battle Field in this spiritual Warfare at a critical time in the History of Religion and of the World. God Himself has accomplished His share of 'the proverbial lion's burden.' St. Paul in the Epistles to the Phillipians declares:

God has also so highly exalted Him (Jesus), and given Him a Name that is above every name, and that at the Name of Jesus every knee shall bow and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord to the glory of God the Father (Phil. 2, V.9,10,11)

What part will the Preachers of the present world play? It is your duty to so labour that Christ shall be crowned King, that the symbol of spiritual authority in Africa shall be 'The Cross of Jesus and not the Crescent.

Gentlemen:

The world of your day appears to be on the verge of Destruction. It appears to be crying aloud, "Oh, wretched world that I am, who will deliver me from body of this death", or "Lord, save me, I perish."

It yearns for Peace, and there is no Peace. The United Nations Organization is striving hard for peaceful co-existence among the Nations of the world. Instead of Peace, there is a state of 'Confusion worse confused.'

It strikes me that the world of the present generation appears to be calling for PREACHERS of

- (a) The type of St. Paul, who cries, Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, and I have nothing to do, but to preach Christ and Him Crucified,
- (b) The type of Ezekiel, who caught the vision of perishing humanity, in the form of "Dry bones, and who will hear the Challenge, Son of man, can these bones live?" "Can Africa be saved? Prophecy,

son of man, and say to these dry African bones, O ye dry bones of Africa, Hear the word of the Lord."

- (c) The type of John Wesley, who was possessed of the passion for the salvation of souls, and who admonished his Helpers, "You have nothing to do but to save souls, and in this you must spend and be spent until you have brought every soul to Christ."
- (d) The Evangelistic Fervour of Charles Pamla, a Billy Graham, a Martin Luther.

Men who have heard the CALL to PREACH anywhere in Africa, who can declare like John Wesley, "Africa is my Parish," or "Africa South of the Equator is my Parish," are wanted. There is CRYING NEED for a Religious Leader, in whom the passion, not only for the Salvation of souls, but also for the Capture of Africa or Africa South of the Equator for Christ, for the Cross, is strong, a Leader who is possessed with the Vision of Cecil John Rhodes, who died with a Vision of a Continent or Sub-Continent won for his King and country, who perished with the dream in his soul of a land somewhere beyond the Limpopo, won not for himself but for his country. Rhodes was a great Imperialist VISIONARY. He died, pointing his finger to land somewhere in the North, with the rallying words, "Your hinterland is there".

Dr. Nkrumah, President of Ghana, told his countrymen at a Summer Seminar at Accra somewhere in 1956, "I desire to see Ghana develop as a Christian Country". The glorious, the priceless opportunity is yours. Preachers whose priceless privilege is to have been called to exercise your Ministry in the world of to-day, the twentieth Century, the Space Age, and the Age of great Movements, the Ecumenical Age, the Age of Africa's Destiny. Cannot this be your Battle-cry "Africa for Christ in our generation"?

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## Appendix I

### OBJECTS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (as found in the 1919 Constitution of the South African Native National Congress, subsequently renamed the African National Congress)

The objects for which the Association is established are: --

(Association as used in this section of the 1919 Constitution signifies the South African Native National Congress.)

1. To form a National Vigilant Association and a deliberative Assembly or Council without legislative pretensions;
2. To unite, absorb, consolidate and preserve under its aegis existing political and educational Associations, Vigilance Committees and other public and private bodies whose aims are the promotion and safeguarding of the interests of the aboriginal races.
3. To be the medium of expression of representative opinion and to formulate a standard policy on Native Affairs for the benefit and guidance of the Union Government and Parliament;
4. To educate Parliament and Provincial Councils, Municipalities, other bodies and the public generally regarding the requirements and aspirations of the Native people; and to enlist the sympathy and support of such European societies, leagues or unions as might be willing to espouse the cause of right and fair treatment of colored races.
5. To educate Bantu people on their rights, duties and obligations to the state and to themselves individually and collectively; and to promote mutual help, feeling of fellowship and a spirit of brotherhood among them.
6. To encourage mutual understanding and to bring together into common action as one political people all tribes and clans of various tribes or races and by means of combines effort and united political organization to defend their freedom, rights and privileges;
7. To discourage and contend against racialism and tribal feuds or to secure the elimination of racialism and tribal feuds; jealousy and petty quarrels by economic combination, education, goodwill and by other means;
8. To recommend, propose and lay before the Government for consideration and adoption laws for the benefit and protection of the native races. And also to watch bills introduced in parliament for proposed legislation as well as in other bodies for legislation affecting natives and to draft and present amendments thereto.
9. To agitate and advocate by just means for the removal of the "color bar" in political education and industrial fields and for equitable representation of natives in parliament or in those public bodies that are vested with legislative powers or in those charged with the duty of administering matters affecting the colored races;
10. To promote and advocate the establishment in Parliament and other public bodies of representatives to be under the control of and for the purpose of the Association;

## Appendix II

### POLICY OF THE ALL AFRICAN CONVENTION

(As found in the Minutes of the All-African Convention, December, 1937)

1. Segregation: (a) Segregation in all its forms is to be opposed.  
(b) All Colour-Bar laws are to be fought.  
(c) Africans demand the freedom to organize trade-unions, unemployed councils, the right to strike, the abolition of racial barriers in existing trade-unions and in industry, as well as race prejudice generally; the stoppage of police terrorism against African workers.  
(d) Opposition must be organized against those sections of the Urban Areas Act and the Native Laws Amendment Act that provide for the compulsory removal of Natives from towns merely by reason of unemployment and of being "redundant." The position of those Africans whose homes are in the towns and have never been in touch with rural areas must be safeguarded.
2. Political Rights: A vigorous agitation must be conducted for (a) the right to the franchise for the Africans; (b) representation by indigenous Africans in all State councils, particularly the House of Assembly; (c) the appointment of an African member on the Native Affairs Commission as well as other commissions that are periodically appointed to inquire into various aspects of Native affairs.
3. Land Rights: (i) The allocation of land sufficient for the needs of an ever-growing African population.  
(ii) Acceleration of the acquisition of the "released areas" and of the economic development of existing reserves.  
(iii) Opposition to the eviction of Africans who are called "squatters" or who are dwellers on lands outside of reserves and released areas.  
(iv) The settlement of Africans on the land under such favourable conditions as will obviate the necessity to leave their land and seek employment on unjust terms.  
(v) Maintenance of the right to purchase land on free-hold title for those African individuals or communities that desire so to do.  
(vi) The abolition of all restrictions placed in the way of Africans in purchasing land anywhere.  
(vii) The multiplication of agricultural schools for Africans in order to foster adaptability to make a success of rural life.  
(viii) That the appointment of a Native member to the Land Board for the released Areas be made legally compulsory instead of being left optional as at present in the Native Land Trust Act.
4. Unemployment: Government financial relief, freedom from Poll Tax and abolition from rent dues for all unemployed Africans must be pressed for.
5. Wages: The All African Convention demands  
(a) equal pay for equal work irrespective of race or colour.  
(b) an eight-hour day in all industries;  
(c) a more liberal wage-scale for African labourers in all classes of urban and rural employment;



11. To record all grievances and wants of native people and to seek by constitutional means the redress thereof, and to obtain legal advice and assistance for members of the Association and its branches and to render financial where necessary with the objects hereof;
  12. To encourage and promote union of churches free from all sectarian and denominational anomalies;
  13. To establish or to assist the establishment of National Colleges or public institutions free from denominationalism or state control;
  14. To originate and expound the right system of education in all schools and colleges and to advocate for its adoption by state and churches and by all other independent bodies in respect thereto;
  15. To encourage inculcation and practice of habits of industry, thrift and cleanliness among the people and propagate the gospel of the dignity of labor;
  16. To acquire land by purchase, lease, exchange, gift or otherwise for erection of halls and other public buildings for the use and purposes of the Association;
  17. To sell, dispose, manage, develop, let and deal in any way with all or any part of the property of the Association;
  18. To borrow or raise money by mortgage or charge of all or any part of the property of the Association; and also to grant loans on security of mortgages in the manner hereinafter provided;
  19. To establish a National Fund for the purposes of the Association either by means of voluntary contributions, periodical subscriptions, levies, contributions charges or other payments; and to hold and manage all funds raised for the objects of the Association;
  20. To do all and everything directly or indirectly to maintain and uplift the standard of the race morally and spiritually, mentally and materially, socially and politically.
  21. AND GENERALLY, to do all such things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects or any of them.
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### Appendix III

Ten-Point Program of the Non-European Unity Movement  
(Taken from the Third Non-European Unity Movement  
Report, 1945, p. 34)

- I The Franchise, i.e., the right of every man and woman over the age of 21 to elect and be elected to Parliament, Provincial Council and all other Divisional and Municipal Councils.
- II Compulsory, free and uniform education for all children up to the age of 16, with free meals, free books and school equipment for the needy.
- III Inviolability of person, of one's house and privacy.
- IV Freedom of speech, press, meetings, and association.
- V Freedom of movement and occupation
- VI Full equality of rights for all citizens without distinction of race, color and sex.
- VII Revision of the land question in accordance with the above.
- VIII Revision of the civil and criminal code in accordance with the above.
- IX Revision of the system of taxation in accordance with the above.
- X Revision of the labor legislation and its application to the mines.



(b) As a natural sequence to this conclusion, IDAMASA, at its conference held at Vereeniging in August, 1959, resolved to call upon all Christian churches of South Africa to launch a drive for the evangelization or Christianization of Africa south of the Sahara,

(c) Solicitous, as guardian of the religious liberties, the civil liberties, religious toleration, the principles of freedom of worship, all of which have been guaranteed to all believers after the religious wars of the first century of the Christian Era, IDAMASA took up the cudgels on behalf of the non-recognized churches of the land, and freedom of which was threatened by the issue of government circular no. 540/313(!) of the 3rd September, 1954, which was repeated in February, 1959. IDAMASA made strong representations to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development to stay the implementation of the terms of the circular, which would have taken effect on the 31st December, 1960.

Further, IDAMASA sent a deputation to interview the authorities of the Department of Bantu Education to make representations in regard to the disciplinary provisions of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, and also to urge upon them to consider the advisability of establishing a system of a Bantu Education Council for the whole country, which would serve as a coordinating body for the several school boards in the republic.

At the time of the national crisis of 1960, when the government deemed it expedient, in the interests of public safety, to promulgate emergency regulations, which resulted in the mass arrests of leaders, IDAMASA felt impelled to approach the authorities. A deputation was sent to Pretoria in April, 1960, to plead for the suspension of the arrests, and instead, to urge the powers that be, to consider some "Modus Operandi", such as some arrangement for consultation with the political leaders of the people.

Recognition having been accorded IDAMASA as a body that had proved to be worthy of a place among organizations that are playing a useful part and a responsible role in the religious, social and temporal life of the country, it was given a seat at the General Assembly of the International Missionary Council held at Accra in Ghana in December, 1957, and which devoted a very great part of its time and energy to the consideration of the question of proposed integration between this body and the World Council of Churches. IDAMASA was represented at this Assembly by its president.

It was at this gathering that the move for integration took definite shape. This move reached consummation at the Third General Assembly of the World Council of Churches held at New Delhi, India, in November, 1961.

Further, the president of IDAMASA was one of those invited to attend what was called "The Ecumenical Conference of South African Church Leaders," held at the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, on the 7th to the 10th November, 1959, to consider Christian responsibility in areas of rapid change. This conference was attended by over 160 delegates representing over 20 protestant churches in South Africa, and was presided over by Dr. the Hon. William Nicol, former Administrator of the Transvaal. The president of IDAMASA acted as one of the alternate chairmen of sections of the conference, and as substitute for the archbishop of Cape Town, who, by reason of indifferent health, could not attend.

Standing as it does, for racial tolerance among the racial groups that make up the population structure of the Republic of South Africa, IDAMASA has sought to foster the spirit of "peaceful co-existence" between the black and white races of this land.



(d) that Native workers be brought legally within the protective scope of the Wage Act and Industrial Conciliation Act because much of the prevailing poverty, under-nourishment and low degree of health is directly traceable to the deplorable low rates of wages obtaining universally among African employees.

6. Taxation: (a) The abolition of the Native Poll Tax.

(b) The reduction of the Poll Tax as a first step towards its abolition.

(c) The substitution of a tax based on a reasonable proportion of a man's income in place of the Poll Tax.

7. Pass Laws: The radical abolition of all Pass Laws and of the substitution thereof of an income tax receipt as proposed in 6 (c) above.

8. Education: The All African Convention endorses the resolutions and statements issued by the South African Native Teachers' Federation in December 1936, and specially stresses the axiomatic fact that the education of the African is essential to his efficiency in employment and his progress in agriculture.

The first step towards improving the present inadequate system of Native education is to put into force the recommendations made in the Inter-Departmental Report on Native Education (1936) as analyzed and criticized by the South African Native Teachers' Federation, especially the points suggesting

(a) that Native education be financed on a per caput basis, instead of the present fixed and inadequate subsidy;

(b) equal pay for African and European teachers in Native schools or colleges whenever qualifications are equal;

(c) and a general improvement in the salary scales of African teachers.

9. Health: (a) The widest publicity and inquiry into the present appalling state of malnutrition and incidence of disease among Africans generally;

(b) the employment of more nurses in urban areas and reserves;

(c) scholarship facilities to enable promising young Africans to enter the medical profession and improve the health of their people;

(d) the establishment in the Union of South Africa of a fully equipped medical school for Africans granting a recognized and registrable medical certificate.

10. Chiefs: The improvement of status and financial allowances for African chiefs and headmen in view of their serious responsibilities in maintaining law and discipline in extensive and populous districts.

11. Protectorates: In re-affirming Minute 29 of its 1936 session, the All-African Convention decisively opposes all proposals to incorporate the Protectorates of Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland into the Union of South Africa on the ground that such incorporation will not be in the best interests of the Africans in those Protectorates, especially while the Native policy of the Union Government continues to be that of Segregation, Colour Bars and all sorts of political and economic discriminations at the expense of the Natives.

12. Economic Policy: The Convention stands for:--

(a) The advancement of the economic interests of Africans in the belief that this is the key to all progress;

(b) encouraging Africans to serve Africans in mutual exchange of living stock and agricultural products by means of central depot links that will bring producers and consumers into touch with one another.



(c) developing associations of farmers, credit societies and cooperative systems of buying and selling agricultural products;

(d) inculcating individual thrift and frugality in every community, especially by means of deposits in Saving Banks accounts;

(e) training Africans in founding trading shops, grain stores, and factories to supply goods to African centres and communities or reserves, thus incidentally widening the scope of the employment of Africans by Africans in all phases of work;

(f) stressing the need of an education on the lines of book-keeping and business methods, thereby promoting economic uplift, initiative, and efficiency;

(g) and urging successful business men and women to provide frequent public lectures calculated to rouse the national conscience and to stimulate African latent gifts in trading and business capacity.

13. Representation: (a) All the candidates returned as members at the elections held during June 1937 under the 1936 Representation of Natives Act are hereby recognized as the accepted mouthpiece of Africans in their various representative State Chambers of the (i) Senate; (ii) House of Assembly, (iii) Provincial Council, and (iv) Native Representative Council.

(b) These representatives will be expected to attend the plenary sessions of the All African Convention at Bloemfontein for the purpose of ascertaining the opinion of African views on various questions, securing a mandate for expressing African views on matters arising from time to time, and of giving an account of their stewardship.

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## Appendix IV

### THE INTER-DENOMINATIONAL AFRICAN MINISTERS' ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

#### WHAT IT IS, WHAT IT HAS ACHIEVED, WHAT ITS AIMS ARE

The Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Association of Southern Africa (IDAMASA) is an association of African ministers of religion of all denominations of the Christian religion, the one religious system that has, to a certain extent, established itself as the religion of African territories south of the Sahara, and more particularly of South Africa.

The organization was established about 1945 at Bloemfontein, the city of congresses, with the Rev. Canon James A. Calata, an Anglican priest as president, and with the late Rev. Henry M. Mpitso, B.A., as general secretary.

The aims and objects of the organization are as set forth in the constitution, as follows: --

- (a) Promotion of the spirit of fellowship and goodwill among African Ministers of religion, and thus, the creation of an atmosphere of mutual confidence and respect,
- (b) Coordination of all the African forces with a view to more affective propagation of the gospel among African people, etc.

It should be mentioned that one of the objects is that it stands for racial toleration.

IDAMASA (formerly known as IDAME) is made up of provincial organizations and/or fraternals in the four provinces of the Republic of South Africa. It has 6 such provincial associations or fraternals in the Cape Province including the Transkei. One, in Natal, "the garden colony", one in the O.F.S., "the center province", one in the Transvaal, "the industrial hub" of the Republic and the strongest, numerically and financially.

IDAMASA is the African counterpart of the Christian Council of South Africa with which it is affiliated, while the Christian Council is affiliated to the World Council of Churches, which is the embodiment of the Ecumenical Movement of the present age.

IDAMASA seeks to establish contact with the Christian churches operating in the central territories of the continent of Africa, which sponsored the formation of what is known as "the All Africa Church Conference", with headquarters at Kitwe in Northern Rhodesia, and whose general secretary was Dr. Donald L. Mtimkulu, M.A., Ph.D., formerly a lecturer at the Fort Hare University College, South Africa.

In pursuance of its aims and objects IDAMASA has

- (a) made a study (not from a scientific approach) of the religion founded by Jesus the Christ and also of the great religions of the world, viz: Buddhism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Islam, etc., all of which are contending for the soul of Africa, and has come to the conclusion, as reflected in its resolution adopted at the Kimberley Conference of August, 1958, "that Christianity has, to a certain extent, established itself as the religion of African territories south of the Sahara,"



Believing also, as it does, that the church is the conscience of the nation, IDAMASA sponsored the National Conference of African Leaders of Thought that was held at Bloemfontein in October, 1956, to consider the Tomlinson Commission Report on the Socio-Economic Development of the Bantu Reserves of the Union of South Africa.

This was followed by the multi-racial conference held at the Witwatersrand University, Johannesburg, on the 8th December, 1957, and presided over by the President of IDAMASA, the Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, and was attended by representative leaders of the four racial groups of the population of the country, among whom were some of the leading European churchmen of the country, notably, two archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church, a bishop of the Anglican Church, moderator of the Presbyterian Church, President of the Methodist Church of South Africa, etc. The theme of the conference was "Human Relations in a Multi-Racial Society."

Last, but not least, IDAMASA, with the spontaneous cooperation of the mine management, organized and conducted the memorable memorial service in honor of the 436 European and African Miners who were entombed in the Coalbrook Mine Disaster of January 21, 1960.

The solemn service was attended by thousands of European and African people from the O.F.S., the Transvaal and Basutoland, and was ably conducted by the general secretary of IDAMASA, the Rev. B.S. Rajuili, B.A., the sermon being preached by the president, the Rev. Z.R. Mahabane. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Kroonstad, assisted by Bishop Mabathoana of Leribe, conducted the first part of the service. Among the speakers on this solemn occasion were the Hon. the Minister of Mines and the paramount Chief of Basutoland, Prince Bereng, now known as Matlotlehi Moshoeshe the second. The service was graced by the presence of eminent dignitaries of the other Christian churches, those of Episcopalian and non-Episcopalian traditions, Europeans and non-Europeans.

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