

women in their demand for the vote for women. And Olive Schreiner lost interest in the women's movement in South Africa. "We have here in our little movement, only slaves, clanking their little chains as they go along, asking for their little franchise." Nor was it likely that Olive Schreiner could identify herself with a woman's movement, functioning on racial lines, with a colour bar demand for the enfranchisement of women, she who wrote so unequivocally on the adult franchise, with no discrimination of race, sex, creed or colour. And so the women's movement lost its most gallant fighter. Indeed it is probable that the later development of women's organisations in South Africa might have been on truly national instead of the present racial lines, had the movement followed the lead of the clear sighted champion of women.

Throughout the first world war, as during the Anglo Boer war, Olive Schreiner strove passionately for peace, for non-violence. But her life was nearly over; her physical suffering had become intense and she had become bodily weak although her spiritual strength remained invincible. In 1918 she wrote to a women's meeting in London — "The freedom of all human creatures is essential to the full development of human life on earth. We shall have to labour, not merely for a larger freedom for ourselves, but for every subject race and class, and for all suppressed individuals."

Two years later she died in Cape Town, alone in a boarding house, her body finally broken by age and sickness. But her spirit still lives in the struggle for freedom, for peace and racial harmony. Hers was a voice crying in the wilderness, crying for the freedom of the oppressed, for the end of racial hatred. Today it is the voice of South Africa that cries. And as the cry swells to a mighty chorus, let the voice of Olive Schreiner be heard again.

"Where I lie down worn out other men will stand young and fresh. By the steps that I have cut they will climb, by the stairs that I have built they will mount At the clumsy work they will laugh, when the stones roll they will curse me. But they will mount, and on my work, they will climb and by my stair. And no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself." (Story of a South African Farm).

CALVINISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

By PAUL MONOGHAN

IN SOUTH AFRICA, the ruling Nationalist section of the white people have advanced many arguments in support of their claim to govern. So far has this claim gone, that to-day they are demanding that the whole of the country be subject to the complete dictatorship of the nationally minded Afrikaners. This dictatorship they say is in the interests of the country with all its

national groups and races white and black, privileged or otherwise.

In utilising various views to justify this claim they have borrowed other ideas variously from nazis, from the pseudo-scientific race theorists and from religion. It is of the last that this article will concern itself — by making a few observations which arise out of the teachings of the spiritual father of the Dutch Reformed Church John Calvin, (1506-1655) and the man whose ideas no doubt have exercised a weighty influence on the mind of Dr. Malan, himself a clergyman of Calvin's church.

Calvin believed that "Each man" must understand the duties of his position." To this must be added Calvin's idea of man's predestination, which was central to his whole system of theology. Man's life was predetermined by God and from that it followed that he must not feel rebellious against his status if he occupied an inferior position in society. All that was demanded of him was that he should make the best of whatever trade or occupation he held. It was man's duty to serve God with fanatical zeal and this meant to worship God and to obey the rulers of the State. "Even the individual of the worst character . . . if invested with public authority . . . is to be held in the same honour . . . as the best kings" Calvin believed that the only people who were entitled to remove unjust rulers from office were those who themselves by their life's calling were destined to govern, and in fact held positions in some existing organ of government. This presupposes that the vast majority of the people are properly debarred from the right of political action.

Calvin favoured an aristocratic form of government and had an abhorrence for anything democratic which gave political authority to the masses of the people.

He described the Anabaptists as "those who live like rats in the straw" because they advocated and practised an equalitarian form of life. Such harsh language recalls to mind many a platteland speech of the nationalist M.P.'s who describe the non-white peoples as "Kaffirs and Coolies."

The South African variety of Calvinism has favoured the most reactionary and intolerant survivals of the teachings of its master. Dr. Malan and his cohorts have accepted the view that the Afrikaner nation has been ordained by God to fulfill his will in the Southern part of the African continent. Calvin knew nothing of the problems which rise out of racial distinctions though he took for granted the stratification of society into classes in which some were suited to govern and would pursue that end, some to trade and some to labour. It would be quite consistent to disallow the non-European the right to participate in government if he were not suited to the purpose. The problem arises; are all non-Europeans unsuited to govern? The affirmation of this perhaps demands more than the mere

belief that because they are labourers they are unsuited to govern. What of those who may rise and who have actually risen above the level of labourers? Dutch Reformed Church theologians attempt to solve the problem by "discovering" that people of dark complexion were the descendants of the biblical figure Ham. Ham had a curse laid upon his head by God and his children have all been destined to do penance for the wicked deed of their ancestor. Thus the doctrine of predestination places a double disadvantage on the already overburdened shoulders of the non-Europeans; it justifies their oppression both as an unfavoured economic group and as a race. Conversely it justifies the claims of the European, particularly the Afrikaner, to the sole right to govern the country.

Calvinism however is not satisfied to stop at the mere justification of the rule of a privileged group: it goes further, it claims that as it is man's duty to serve God, it is necessary that the Church and State see to it that their members live in accordance with God's will. To live in accordance with God's will for Calvin meant that every detail of a person's life must be subject to the scrutiny of the State and that no group of people or association within the State shall be permitted to exercise its freedom of will in connection with its own affairs. Calvin, who settled in Geneva after having been exiled from France for his efforts to establish his Christian State in France, was more successful in Geneva where his consistory (the Governing body of the Calvinist Church) eventually established virtual control over the government of the City. Every type of crime, and many new ones added, were subject to the severest of punishment. In sixty years one hundred and fifty people were burned to death for heresy. As the historian Tawny puts it: "Geneva" became "a city of glass, in which every household lived a life under the supervision of a spiritual police." There was no such thing as freedom of thought, speech and association nor was the individual's home his castle. The type of authoritarian state which Calvinism favoured resembles in many details the modern fascist state. The Nationalist Government seeks to establish a Christian National Republic in South Africa. The idea of the Republic has perhaps more to do with their bitterness against the English than Calvin's verdict that to acknowledge an earthly monarch is to commit treason against the heavenly one. Nevertheless it is in the Christian National side, in its Calvinistic form, that perhaps, in the ideological sense, the most pernicious aspects make their appearance. For it is in this that we see the whole moral justification of the violently oppressive measures being taken against the lives and liberties of the peoples of this country, the constant invasions by sleuths of the homes of private people, the restrictions of freedom of speech and movement, the banning of newspapers, and literature.

The restriction of people's right to enter certain trades and occupations because of their colour, and the threatened introduction of a

spurious Christian National education which will be different for each race, the reduction of the trade union movement to a mere appendage of the state, all go to prove the direction of events in this country. To be sure, Calvinism is not the cause of this unfortunate state of affairs. Calvinism is rather the ideology which, modified by the rulers to suit South African conditions, gives them that spiritual vigour and tranquility of conscience which disguises the basest of motives under the name of morality.

NATIVE, BANTU & AFRICAN

By R. K. COPE

DISCUSSION with African friends and a study of opinion among them long ago convinced me of the great importance attached to correct forms of politeness, the use of names and terms of address and of respect. This, of course, goes direct to the cultural background of the Africans where such customs as *hlonipha* in tribal life are elaborately developed and govern an intricate system of respect and reverence between related people. Strong traces of the old order are carried into urbanised life and an outsider will always be struck by the dignity or poise of our fellow African citizens, without perhaps being able to explain it.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that with people who have so acute a sense of correctness in speech an insult or a slight, even if it is not deliberately intended, is deeply and bitterly resented. There are many fine shades of conveying a rebuke or a snub in the African languages, but these are verbal weapons for use among equals and a man can give as good as he takes if he has the wit. When it comes to the use of insults, curses and terms of abuse between ruler and oppressed we have an altogether different situation. Here one finds an evil reflection of the swarming passions that beset our country, the anger and hatred and fear and uncertainty all round.

It is an old saying that politeness costs nothing. In fact a polite and correct bearing is the only way by which a man can truly express his civilisation and culture in his relations with others. With this thought in mind, I recently wrote to one of our national daily papers with a plea for ordinary courtesy towards the African people. The result was quite surprising and proved that I had touched on a point that is exercising people's minds.

The letter was prominently displayed and, from the response, was obviously widely read and studied. People wrote to me from distant places. Others whom I chanced to meet in the ordinary way of life made a point of mentioning the letter, thanking me and