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## South Africa: Is Racial Separation Possible?

**This is the second of a series of articles on Africa. It seeks to outline some of the major aspects of the grave problems facing South Africa today. Can Afrikaners, those of British descent, Africans, Colored, and Asians find a way to cooperate? This is the crux of the problem.**

By 1700 the main elements in South Africa's population were already present—European, African, and Colored.<sup>1</sup> Gradually the settlers began to move inland in search of more land and more freedom—but at the cost of much fighting with the Africans. The history of South Africa is in many ways like that of the United States. In both countries white men drove back the natives in order to have the land. South Africa was, however, much more heavily populated than the United States when the white man began to settle inland. Intertribal warfare had, to be sure, considerably reduced the numbers in certain areas, so that there seemed to be fewer inhabitants than there were as soon as these wars ceased. South Africa has had a history of bitter strife: wars between the different tribes; between white men and Africans, and between Boer and Britain; civil war over the decision to enter World War I on the side of the allies; labor strife; and, always, the struggle for white supremacy.

When the Europeans bought land or made treaties to secure it, "two different conceptions of landownership"—the tribal and the individual—"conflicted, and neither side knew or recognized the conflict." The Great Trek from 1836 to 1846, when about a quarter of the Dutch population left Cape Colony to go beyond British rule, "split the European population of South Africa." "The Boer War," Mr. Marquard comments, "is still an active principle in South African politics." "For one fifth of its life the Union has been involved in two world wars. . . ." In neither one "was the European population united." Between the wars industrialization developed very rapidly.

### The Non-European Population

The non-European population is mainly African — 8,500,000 in a total population of just over 12,600,000. They are grouped in "some hundreds of tribes." About

<sup>1</sup> The term "African" is used for the most part, instead of "Native." An Afrikaner is a South African of European descent, usually Dutch or Huguenot, whose mother tongue is Afrikaans, the language of the Boers. "Bantu" refers to the linguistic group to which most of the Africans south of the Sahara belong. The term "Colored" in South Africa denotes a person of mixed racial descent. Unless otherwise noted, quotations are from *Peoples and Policies of South Africa*, by Leo Marquard. New York, Oxford University Press, 1952.

3,000,000 live in the Native Reserves where only Africans may own land; "the vast majority" of the others are employed by Europeans in mines, in industry and on European-owned farms. The Reserves cover about 9.7 per cent of the area of the Union. The Native Trust and Land Act of 1936 provides for the purchase of an additional 3.3 per cent of the total area, or 13 per cent of the land for about two-thirds of the population. But Europeans are very unwilling to have the purchases made.<sup>2</sup> Even when the Reserves in Natal were first allocated in 1847, it was difficult to secure land to which some white settler did not have a claim and to set apart anything but the poorest land.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the Africans in the Reserves depend on agriculture for their living. There is "a constant flow" between the Reserves and the European areas since the African must earn some cash and he is essential to the European economy. The Reserves are, in fact, says Mr. Marquard, "vast rural slums whose chief export is their manpower, which goes to the mines and factories and farms to earn enough money to pay taxes and to support the families in the Reserves." The Africans demand more land for the Reserves, the Nationalist Party calls the Reserves the "national home" of the Africans where they can develop self-government. Other parties regard the Reserves as "vaguely different." Mr. Marquard believes, however, that a gradual abolition of the Reserves with careful provisions for housing, and the extension of civil and political rights to Africans afford "the only real alternative to racial strife."

By 1950 about 25 per cent of the total African population was living in the cities. They cannot buy land outside of the Reserves. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 empowered local authorities to establish "locations" for the Africans, to make regulations governing them, and to take responsibility for housing. About half the African urban population lives in locations controlled by the municipal authorities; some live with their domestic

<sup>2</sup> Hellman, Ellen, ed. *Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1949. \$10.00, p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley*. By Edwin W. Smith. New York, Library Publishers, 1952, p. 252-267.

employers or in mining or industrial compounds. Others "squat, illegally, on or near municipal land in shanty towns." Racial clashes are most likely to occur in the big cities. "In many of the established locations, as well as in the shanty towns, social and health facilities are almost entirely lacking; 60 per cent of the children, at a conservative estimate, are not at school because there are no facilities for them." Yet "comparatively few Africans become criminals." But Mr. Marquard doubts that "the proverbial African patience and tolerance" can stand the strain much longer.

European skilled labor is used in most of the municipal housing schemes for Africans. Thus, houses are "built by skilled workers earning six times as much as the Africans for whom the houses are intended. . . . The available money does not go very far." There are, to be sure, "a few notable examples of good housing." Rents are high in proportion to income, and the cost of transportation must be added.

In 1944 average monthly family incomes for an African family of five in Johannesburg were estimated at £9.18s.1d.—far below the "barest minimum for subsistence and health under Western conditions"<sup>4</sup> in that city. These are estimated at £12.18s.6d. for such a family.

In Johannesburg more than 70,000 Africans and 22,000 Asians are to be moved to new separate areas; the Africans, at least, fifteen miles beyond the city limits. (*New York Times*, May 23 and June 9.) This is to meet the requirements of the Group Areas Act, requiring separate zones for each race.

Some 2,188,000 Africans live on European farms. There are two main systems of employment: a monthly wage plus payment in kind and labor tenancy with no cash wage. Mr. Marquard estimates that a family of five living under the first system may have a wage of cash and kind of about £48 a year plus free living space. Housing is poor, but the African workers are, in general, kindly treated. "Social amenities and educational facilities are almost entirely lacking. . . ." African labor is "untrained and inefficient," and dear in terms of productivity.

Some 430,000 Africans, mainly bachelor migrants, and about 52,000 Europeans are employed in the mines of South Africa—about 60 per cent of the Africans in the mines are from territories which are not part of the Union, and 36 per cent of those in all types of labor. Africans working in the mines earn about £44 a year, plus free board and lodging, free medical care, and some social service and "amenities." (European miners earn an average wage of £566.) On the whole, the physical health of African miners is well cared for. The Color Bar Act of 1926 prohibits Africans from doing the most skilled work, though Africans do such work in the Belgian Congo. Unions of African miners are illegal.

Over 200,000 Africans work in industry, about half of them live in industrial compounds. Industrial workers are tending to become permanent. Wages are higher than in the mines. Low as wages are, they are high enough to attract Africans from the Reserves and other territories.

### *The Colored People*

The Colored, who are of mixed ancestry, are found mainly in Cape Province. Their cultural and recreational interests are European. They are accepted in some skilled trades where Africans are not employed, notably the

building trades and printing. It is more difficult for them to enter other skilled trades or professions, except medicine and teaching. Many can, and do, pass as whites. Extra-marital relations and mixed marriages between Europeans and Colored are a crime under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act. Actually the number of such marriages was "infinitesimal." The Population Registration Act provides for the issuance of identity certificates which show the race of the holder. The Act "opens the door wide to the common informer or to those who . . . wish to damage a reputation."

In 1951 Parliament enacted a law to put Colored voters in Cape Province on a separate roll by which those who fulfilled the property classifications could vote for four representatives who must be Europeans. Until 1931, when voting qualifications for Europeans were abolished, Colored voters had been on the same footing as Europeans in Cape Province.

Until 1950 a Colored man could buy property where he wished to do so. In poorer districts of some Cape communities Europeans and Colored live side by side. The Group Areas Act of 1950 provides that, after a fixed date, property cannot be transferred between the racial groups in demarcated areas.

The Colored people resent the bars against them but are prejudiced against the Africans, for they have cherished the fact that they were administered on the European side of the line. This is no longer true.

### *The Asians*

The Asians, of whom there are 323,000 mostly Indians, are descended from indentured laborers for British plantations, brought in between 1860 and 1911. Restrictions varied in the different provinces, but the freest was Cape Province. The Group Areas Act of 1950, however, limits Asians to areas demarcated for them. Many of the Asians are shopkeepers serving the Africans. They fear not only "residential segregation but economic segregation as well" under this Act. Indian property and business assets in Johannesburg alone are valued at \$140,000,000. There will be no compensation for those who are forced to move. (*New York Times*, May 23.)

### **The European Population**

The European population, about 2,640,000 is about 70 per cent urban. About 57 per cent have Afrikaans as their mother tongue, and 39 per cent English. The bitterest enmity, according to Mr. Marquard, is "between Afrikaner and Afrikaner." Perhaps a third of the Afrikaner population want to cooperate with English-speaking South Africans. The rest of the Afrikaners regard them as "untrue to their language."

The vast majority of European farmers are Afrikaner. But farming is not "progressive," Mr. Marquard comments. "The internal market is weak because 70 per cent of the population is too poor to be able to buy." Agriculture is subsidized because "the farming vote represents the most powerful single interest in Parliament."

English-speaking South Africans are mainly town and city dwellers. They control most of the invested capital in the country, and were responsible for mining and industrial development, and for the development of education and welfare.

### **Government**

South Africa is an independent state in the British

<sup>4</sup> Hellman, Ellen. *Op. cit.*, p. 268-70.

Commonwealth. The South Africa Act of 1910, passed by the British Parliament at the request of the four South African colonies, is the Constitution of the Union. The Union Parliament is sovereign, except for the "entrenched clauses," which can only be altered by a two-thirds vote of the two Houses of Parliament sitting together. These are the recognition of English and Afrikaans (and, technically, Dutch) as official languages, alterations to the franchise law in the Cape Province relating to race or color only, and the provision for amendments to the Constitution by ordinary bicameral procedure except for these three clauses. But the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951 (applying to the Colored) was adopted by the two Houses of Parliament voting separately, thus violating the "entrenched" clause. The Appeal Court declared it unconstitutional. A new act, creating a High Court of Parliament to set aside the decision of the Appeal Court, has also been declared unconstitutional.

All members of both Houses must be Europeans. In the Assembly six are elected by the European voters of South-west Africa, and three by African voters in Cape Province. Members of the Senate are chosen in a variety of ways. Four, chosen by indirect election, represent the Africans. The 1951 Act provides for an additional Senator to represent the Colored voters.

#### *Local Government*

In municipal areas the local councils are elected. There is a small property qualification for the franchise. "In the Free State and Transvaal, all non-Europeans are excluded; in Natal Colored, but not Africans or Asians, have the vote on the same terms as Europeans. In the Cape, all races may qualify, but only a small number of Africans do. . . ." Colored councillors have served in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth.

The local councils are empowered to provide such services as water supply, removal of rubbish, "sub-economic" housing, slum clearance, public health services, etc. But the local authorities are not *obliged* to provide most of them. "In practice," such services as water supply and sanitation are "for the most part poor," particularly for non-Europeans. Practically every South African community has its European and non-European population.

Total municipal revenue and expenditure in European urban areas in the Union are, respectively, £39,000,000 and £37,000,000. For African urban areas the figures are £1,500,000 and £1,800,000. A few of the larger cities "are beginning . . . to accept responsibility for African locations."

Location managers are in charge of such African areas. They must administer the elaborate regulations that try to control Africans in urban areas and to prevent the illicit sale or brewing of strong drink. These regulations are very difficult to administer and attempts to do so are "bitterly resented" by the Africans. The location managers have Native advisory boards but this system has been a failure, and "few Africans are interested in them." Such boards "have no executive power and no financial authority."

The location, Mr. Marquard points out, "exists almost entirely to serve the needs" of the European half of the city. A few Africans serve their fellow-citizens as teachers, ministers, shopkeepers, etc.; "the rest are all employed by the Europeans in the town as domestic servants, unskilled labor, messengers, and office-cleaners, at wages

that are about one-sixth of those of Europeans. . . . The African sees the European at home; the European hardly knows what the African's home looks like, and does not realize that he has pressing social and domestic problems. He does not even know his surname."

There is some interracial activity through welfare societies. Much of this is initiated and supported by the churches. "But these things do not touch the mass of the European or the African population."

#### *Administration of African Affairs*

The Department of Native Affairs is responsible for all matters affecting Africans. It legislates for and administers the Reserves, except for education. It also has a "general responsibility" for African welfare outside the Reserves. Except in Cape Province chiefs are widely used in the administration of the Reserves and are paid a small salary. In Cape Province councils have been developed in the Reserves. Nationalist Party policy is to restore the power of the chiefs and build up tribalism. But such a system has "no room for the growing class of progressive, educated Africans." Tribalism "has been largely disrupted" in South Africa and there is not enough land on which to base it.

#### *The Restrictions on Nonwhites*

Dr. Z. K. Matthews of Fort Hare University College, an African, recently visiting professor at Union Theological Seminary, New York, summarized the South African legislative and administrative measures affecting nonwhite groups, in part as follows:

"(a) The denial of voting or other political rights at the local, provincial (state) or national levels to all nonwhites side by side with the extension of universal suffrage to all whites. . . .

"(b) The denial of equal rights to the ownership, occupation or use of land. . . .

"(c) The rigid enforcement of compulsory segregation in public services. . . .

"(d) The systematic exclusion of nonwhites from combat services in the armed services. . . .

"(e) The control of freedom of speech through (1) the power of arbitrary arrest and detention. . . . (2) The power to punish any person who says or does anything 'with intent to promote feelings of hostility between Natives and Europeans,' . . . (3) The enactment of the Suppression of Communism Act" under which leaders of nonwhite political organizations are being prosecuted.

"(f) The enforcement of the color bar in industry. . . .

"(g) The denial of the right of collective bargaining to organizations of nonwhite workers. . . .

"(h) The denial of freedom of movement to Africans. . . .

"(i) Discrimination against nonwhites, financially and otherwise, in the provision of educational facilities, health, welfare and other social services."<sup>5</sup>

#### *The Color Bar*

"Color prejudice," Mr. Marquard says, is "strongest against social activities where physical contact is close and intimate." There is, however, no objection to having non-European servants "perform the most intimate domestic duties." South Africans, Mr. Marquard com-

<sup>5</sup> *Christianity and Crisis*, New York, November 10, 1952.

ments, "see the few educated Africans against a background of ignorance and semi-barbarism, and they are afraid to distinguish between them lest the small trickle of friendly association become a river of amalgamation." (The population is about two-thirds African and 29 per cent European.)

Pass laws, restricting the movement of Africans, were developed early in South African history. Mr. Marquard notes: "It has been said that the number of technical offenses of which an African may be guilty is such that any police official could arrest any African at any time and be reasonably sure of getting a conviction against him." In Johannesburg most Africans have to carry four different documents and may be arrested at any time for failure to carry any one of them.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Marquard says that Africans consider the pass laws "badges of inferiority; they resent the constant interference of the police; the fines imposed are out of all proportion to the offense or to the income of the offender; and the conviction stands as a 'previous conviction.'"

Certain classes of Africans, including teachers and ministers of recognized churches are exempt from the pass requirements, but must carry exemption certificates. On March 18, 1953, an African Anglican clergyman, whose documents were at the police headquarters because he had just returned from a journey, was arrested by a policeman, although he was wearing ecclesiastical garb, and handcuffed because he could not produce his certificate. He was, to be sure, promptly released—but the very fact of his garb showed that he was exempt from the pass laws.

The reasons given for these laws are to control the influx of Africans in overcrowded areas, prevent desertion from service, and help the police trace criminals. What the pass laws really achieve, according to Mr. Marquard, is "an interference with the mobility of labor, and an enormous amount of prosecutions and imprisonments for technical offenses." The pass laws have no moral support from African public opinion.

The Color Bar Act of 1926, passed at the demand of European unions, prevents Africans from performing many skilled jobs in the mines. In a number of occupations Africans are not enrolled as apprentices. There is mixed membership in some of the semi-skilled unions. African males cannot belong to a registered union but, apparently, African women can.<sup>7</sup>

The leading South African labor organizations urged in March, 1953, that racial discriminations in industry be given up. (*New York Times*, March 30, 1953.)

One of the forces against the color bar is in industry and business, where the need for more skilled workers and for consumers is recognized. More and more the African industrial worker has lost touch with the Reserves and now regards himself as only an industrial worker. Union organization is growing among Africans even though it is weak.

### Apartheid

The most extreme theory of *apartheid* has been stated by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs at Stellenbosch University, to which the Dutch Reformed Churches belong. In 1948 Professor W. M. Eiselen, then at the University of Stellenbosch and now secretary of the De-

partment for Native Affairs, defined *apartheid* as "separating of the heterogeneous groups . . . into separate socio-economic units, inhabiting separate parts of the country, each enjoying in its own area full citizen rights."<sup>8</sup> He has also stated that *apartheid* rests on "differences which are not man-made."<sup>9</sup> Under this theory the Reserves would be developed into a completely separate non-European state; no African labor of any kind would be allowed in European areas. This, it is said, is a more liberal policy than assimilation. It would translate "the principles of trusteeship into a genuine program of self-sufficiency."<sup>8</sup>

But this does not represent the present position of the Malan government, which wants "residential segregation in the urban areas, social segregation in all public places and transport, the prohibition of sexual intimacy between the races, and the total denial of non-European rights except 'in their own sphere.'"<sup>10</sup> Thus, as Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft of the World Council of Churches pointed out in his report on South Africa,<sup>11</sup> there are "at least three very different conceptions" of *apartheid*: "total territorial separation," "territorial separation" with "migratory labor . . . in white areas," and "the maximum of segregation" possible in industrial areas.

The United Party opposed the application of *apartheid* to the Colored. It would accept social *apartheid* in urban areas. The large majority would probably accept the color bar in industry though a minority see the need for its modification, at least. But the United Party would not accept the abolition of the Cape African franchise or complete territorial separation.

Dr. Z. K. Matthews states the attitude of the political-minded Africans in the *Saturday Review* for May 2: ". . . The white advocates of *apartheid* . . . mean to keep the black in subjection. To this the African will not docilely submit. But carried to its logical conclusion by Africans, non-cooperation would mean absolute division into two wholly independent and unavoidably hostile units. No African State would countenance for long the 'free movement' of Africans to provide migratory labor for the White State. . . . Such an African State would do its best to distance itself from the Union. . . . The ultimate aim of such a movement would be the eventual capture of the whole area for the eight million Africans and the removal of those Europeans who are not prepared to live on terms of equality with Africans."

### The Church and Race Relations

Nearly half the Africans were classed as "heathen" in 1946, according to Mr. Marquard. Figures for the different denominations are given below.

Denomination	European	African	Colored	Total
(to nearest thousand)				
The three Dutch Reformed Churches . . .	1,278,000	267,000	292,000	1,837,000
Anglican . . . . .	375,000	553,000	186,000	1,114,000
Methodist . . . . .	181,000	1,008,000	90,000	1,279,000
Roman Catholic . . . . .	118,000	373,000	56,000	547,000
Presbyterian . . . . .	95,000	164,000	5,000	264,000
Baptist . . . . .	24,000	71,000	5,000	100,000
Lutheran . . . . .	23,000	394,000	48,000	465,000
Congregationalist . . . . .	13,000	113,000	100,000	226,000

<sup>8</sup> Quoted by Hatch, John. *The Dilemma of South Africa*. London, Dennis Dobson, 1952, p. 32, 33, 35.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted by Z. K. Matthews, *Christianity and Crisis*, November 24, 1952, p. 156.

<sup>10</sup> Gell, C. W. M. "Hard Choices in South Africa." *New York, Foreign Affairs*, January, 1953, p. 294.

<sup>11</sup> *Christianity, Race, and South African People*. New York, National Council of Churches and World Council of Churches, 1952.

<sup>6</sup> Kahn, Ellison. In *Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa*. *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

<sup>7</sup> Sachs, E. S. *New Statesman and Nation*, March 21, 1953, p. 329.

Thus, the Dutch Reformed churches have 55 per cent of the European population but only a very small proportion of Africans. The other Protestant churches and the Roman Catholic have far larger numbers of African adherents than of Europeans.

There are more than 800 Separatist African churches. Their chief reasons for existence seem to be independence from white control and nationalism.<sup>12</sup>

### *The Dutch Reformed Churches*

There are three Dutch Reformed churches, the largest the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk, known as N.G.K., which includes nearly half of the total European population. The Nationalist Party gets much support from the Dutch Reformed churches; Prime Minister Malan was formerly a minister. Much of the home missionary work of the Dutch Reformed churches has been among the Colored. They work also in Swaziland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, and the Sudan. The purpose of Dutch Reformed Church mission work "has been for more than a century to build up an indigenous, self-supporting church which can develop on its own lines, according to its own inherent culture. . . . It is not right to say that the concept of an indigenous church is being used to support the broader political theory of 'apartheid,'" according to H. T. Gonin, writing in the *International Review of Missions* (London) for April, 1953.

The Federated Dutch Reformed Churches declared in 1949 that the Church favors "equally valuable education and instruction, in their own sphere, of the colored and native with what the European enjoys. . . . The traditional fear of the Afrikaner of equalization between black and white has its origin in his antipathy to the idea of racial fusion. The Church declares itself unequivocally opposed to this fusion and to all that would give rise to it but, on the other hand, as little begrudges the Native and Colored a social status as honorable as he can reach." "The Church, in its mission policy, therefore declares itself opposed to social equality in the sense of ignoring differences of race and color but favors encouragement and development of social differentiation and spiritual or cultural segregation, to the advantage of both sections. The policy of trusteeship as exercised at the present time must gradually develop into complete independence and self-determination for the Colored and Native in his own community, school and church."<sup>13</sup>

### *Race and Theology in South Africa*

Among the reasons for the Great Trek of the Boers out of Cape Colony were the freeing of the slaves by Great Britain and the attitude of English missionaries toward the Africans. Racial inequality between white and African in all aspects of life was a "cardinal point" from the beginning in Boer doctrine. This they derived from the Old Testament, according to Eugene P. Dvorin.<sup>14</sup> A *Voortrekker's* diary, published years later, noted that the freeing of the slaves put them "on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion."<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Sundkler Bengt. *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*. New York, International Missionary Council, 1948. \$6.50.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in *British Weekly* (London), November 17, 1949.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>15</sup> *The Life and Times of Daniel Lindley*. By Edwin W. Smith. New York, Library Publishers, 1952, p. 165.

In 1951 the Federal Council of N.G.K. issued a statement entitled *Fundamental Principles of Calvinist Christian Political Science*. A portion of Mr. Marquard's summary follows: "The authority of the state over the individual is derived from God; it must be exercised according to God's will; it is not unlimited; . . . and it is indivisible. . . . The Christian does not regard the franchise as qualifying him to make laws, which is a function of the state; the vote, for the Christian, is always a symbol of God's sovereignty and every vote cast must reflect the will of God. . . . The franchise is a treasure which should belong only to those who are of age politically and are able to use it responsibly before God. The African does not fulfill these requirements, and, therefore, will not be able to use this right correctly. . . . In a Christian state, therefore, the necessary qualification is not only that a man should be of age, but that he should be a Christian."

Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, said in his report already quoted, that the often-made statement that the Dutch Reformed churches consider the African "permanently destined to the role of servant" is "not true." There are "different trends of thought." However, Dr. Visser 't Hooft notes that theologians within the Dutch Reformed churches have pointed out that the "strong emphasis on the nation as a divine order amounts to the selection of certain aspects of the biblical witness and the virtual suppression of other even more central elements of that witness."

In 1952 the Christian Council of South Africa, in which the Protestant English-speaking denominations cooperate, issued a pamphlet, *Race—What Does the Bible Say*,<sup>16</sup> in which they study Biblical teachings, from both the Old and the New Testament, concluding that "The Old Testament, and still more the New, opens the Kingdom of God to peoples of all races and thus envisages a religious community on a level higher than that of race or nationality." The "final goal of history," according to the Bible, "is the gathering of people from all races and nations into one community of God. . . ." In the Foreword the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, president of the Council, noted that some people "believe that it is God's will to use a particular race for the working out of his purposes in the world, and that it is a Christian duty that racial purity should be preserved . . . the black races should be educated and encouraged to develop 'along their own lines.' . . . Others, including most of the English-speaking churches," believe that "God's instrument is the Christian Church in which all races are one."

### *The English-Speaking Protestant Churches*

In July, 1949, a Conference on Christian Citizenship in a Multi-Racial Society, called by the Christian Council of South Africa, declared: "we say, in all solemnity, that there are conditions prevailing in South African social life which make it difficult, if not impossible, for many of our brethren to develop fullness of personality." It also declared that "Individuals who have progressed from a primitive social structure to one more advanced should share in the responsibilities and rights of their new status." The "real need of South Africa" is "eendrag," i.e., "unity through teamwork." "The franchise should be accorded to all capable of using it." "Every child" should have the opportunity for the best education for which he has

<sup>16</sup> Roodepoort, Transvaal, South Africa, P. O. Box 81.

the capacity. "Every man" has the right to work where "he can make the best use of his abilities for the common good."<sup>17</sup>

Even before this conference was held, five Protestant denominations had issued statements sharply condemning *apartheid*.<sup>18</sup> The Congregational Union Assembly reiterated its disapproval in 1952. Anglican bishops and other clergy are among the most vigorous defenders of non-European rights.

#### *The Roman Catholic Church*

In September, 1948, Bishop Henneman, Sac., of the Roman Catholic Church, in a pastoral letter to the priests of his vicariate, called *apartheid* "this noxious, un-Christian, and destructive policy."<sup>19</sup> A year ago, in June, 1952, a pastoral letter of the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops of South Africa and the Protectorates issued a joint statement regretting that "the racial problem is so often made the plaything of party politics." Color discrimination is "an offense." Non-Europeans should be allowed to "evolve gradually toward full participation in the political, economic, and cultural life of the country."<sup>20</sup>

#### *Church Practice in Race Relations*

Practice, as separate from theory in regard to race relations, varies in different denominations and, indeed, local churches. Dutch Reformed mission churches are organized separately at all levels under white leadership. Quentin Whyte, director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, states that the Dutch Reformed churches are the only Afrikaans organizations in which there is any personal contact between European and non-European. Welfare societies in non-European churches are racially mixed, usually under white leadership.<sup>21</sup> The Methodist, Congregational, and Anglican churches, at least, meet without segregation at the national level.

The Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town has said "no confirmed member of the Church could be excluded from worship because of race, and that no member of the Church should refuse the ministrations of any priest because of the priest's race." (*Church Times*, London, May 29, 1953.)

The 1952 South African Congregational Union Assembly had "as many Colored and African delegates as European." A Colored national chairman-elect was appointed for 1953-1954—for the first time in South Africa in any denomination. The "chief merit" of the Congregational Union Assembly in South Africa is to demonstrate that "Europeans, Coloreds, and Africans can meet, worship, eat and deliberate together as friendly equals in the sight of God," according to Horton Davies, chairman of the Union for 1952-1953 (*Christian World*, London, November 20, 1952).

In local churches, however, segregation is the normal practice. A few Africans attend European churches in the larger cities. Ralph F. G. Calder, secretary of the Colonial Missionary Society (London), writes in the

same issue of the *Christian World* that "on the whole" the English-speaking churches "exemplify brotherhood more in their councils and on their platforms than in the pew or in the home."

#### **The Courts**

There are Native Commissioners' courts for civil cases, between Africans only, involving African customary law; Native Appeal courts; and a Native Divorce Court. Appeal from the Native Appeal Courts to the Supreme Court depends on the courts and the Minister of Justice; appeal from the Native Divorce Court is "an absolute right."

Mr. Marquard comments that about "half a million Africans a year are arrested for offenses under laws that apply solely or principally to Africans." As a result the African regards the appearance of a policeman as "an omen of evil," while the latter tends to regard "all Africans as potential criminals who will perjure themselves if necessary."

The African is at serious disadvantage in the court, due in part to poor understanding of the language, in part to the type of procedure. Even if the sentence is no more severe than it would be for a European, a fine which may mean a day's pay to a European may be two months' pay for an African farm laborer or a fortnight's cash wages for an urban African. Usually he accepts the alternative of imprisonment. Offenses, by Africans against master-and-servant laws or property are severely punished. "The magistrate," Mr. Marquard says, "is under constant social pressure to maintain 'white prestige.'" In appeals before the Supreme Court, however, any miscarriage of justice is "not related to color." But sentences "passed on Europeans for assaulting Africans are always lighter than those passed on Africans for comparable assaults on Europeans." There is, however, no "lynch law" in South Africa.

In the last few years "serious" crimes by Africans have mounted very rapidly.<sup>22</sup> H. J. Simons, lecturer in Native law and administration, University of Cape Town, points out that this term includes not only what would be considered "serious" crime in this country but vagrancy (differently defined in different provinces), violation of liquor laws, and, apparently contravention of pass laws and Native labor acts.<sup>23</sup> As in other countries, the incidence of crime is much greater in urban than in rural areas. The most important category statistically of "serious" crime is that of statutory offenses.

Since they do not seem anti-social to most people, "the bulk of these offenses can be described as 'technical.'" Mr. Simons concludes that "the deliberate and large-scale violation of the law by African and Colored . . . reveals an attitude of defiance towards the existing structure of society. What appears to the racist as an inherited deficiency in the personalities of Non-Europeans is, in fact, a reaction to deficiencies in the society."

#### **Political Life**

Two factors are very important in South African politics, according to Mr. Marquard. ". . . English-Afrikaans relationships are always present in politics; and . . . the

<sup>17</sup> *The Christian Citizen in a Multi-Racial Society*. Strand, C. P., South Africa, Christian Council of South Africa, 1949, p. 7-8.

<sup>18</sup> *The Churches' Judgment on Apartheid*. Cape Town, Civil Rights League, 1948.

<sup>19</sup> *The Churches' Judgment on Apartheid*. *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> *Pilot*, Boston, July 28, 1952.

<sup>21</sup> *Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa*, p. 665.

<sup>22</sup> C. W. M. Gell. *Foreign Affairs*, January, 1953, p. 287-300.

<sup>23</sup> H. J. Simons. In *Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa*, p. 83-94. Some of this section is not entirely clear to the lay reader.

majority of the population [the non-Europeans] is practically unrepresented in Parliament." Disagreement between the two major political parties—the United Party and the Nationalist Party—is often a matter of degree, or of the way of arriving at a given result, particularly in economic and industrial matters. Policy in regard to the Africans cuts across all of them. The two parties are divided on four main questions: the relationship between English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, African policy, relations between South Africa and Britain and the Commonwealth, and the constitution.

The United Party under the late General Smuts' leadership was divided on the question of policy toward the Africans. One group wanted a much more liberal policy with more freedom for the Africans, better education, better housing and social services. The other group was "fearful of going too fast."

The Nationalist policy of *apartheid* was developed as a campaign policy in 1948. At that time the Nationalist Party was "almost entirely Afrikaans-speaking," with its strength in rural areas. The first steps taken by the Malan government affected the Colored more than the Africans.

Mr. Marquard thinks that about 60 per cent of all European South Africans want to maintain close alliance with the British Commonwealth. About half the Nationalists would favor a republic *within* the Commonwealth and the other half includes the two extremes; those who do not want a republic, and those who want it outside the Commonwealth. "It is tolerably certain" that "the vast mass" of non-Europeans oppose a republic.

Among political pressure groups Mr. Marquard lists three: the Torch Commando under "Sailor" Malan which is anti-Nationalist, the Sons of England, an association of English-speaking South Africans, and the *Afrikaner Broederbond*, "a genuine secret society" of Afrikaners. In 1951 the Dutch Reformed Church Council reported the results of an investigation of the latter. The conclusion was that the *Broederbond* was not political but "merely aimed at serving the best interests of the *Afrikanernasie* (the Afrikaner nation)." Critics of the *Broederbond*, however, recall that in 1935 General Hertzog, then Prime Minister, declared that its members are "sworn not to entertain any cooperation with the English-speaking population and . . . are striving by way of domination on the part of the Afrikaans-speaking section to put their foot on the neck of English-speaking South Africa." Toward the end of World War II General Smuts banned membership in the *Bond* to public servants. Dr. Malan told Cyrus W. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* that he is a member, as are 60 members of Parliament and at least eight Cabinet members.<sup>24</sup>

#### Education

Education for Europeans has been financed by the state since Union in 1910. The problem of language is very important—and highly political. In the Transvaal instruction in the child's mother tongue is now compulsory.

In the 1940's the most conservative Dutch Reformed Church revived an earlier proposal for "Christian National Education." "Extreme fundamentalist doctrines," including "the Afrikaner task to rule South Africa" as "divinely ordained," were proposed as "principles on which to base education." It has not been introduced as

official policy but it is carried out in many Afrikaans country schools, Mr. Marquard says.

#### Non-European Education

The vast majority of schools for the Africans are state-aided mission schools. For a long time the mission schools carried the entire financial burden, even now 12 per cent of expenditures comes from the mission societies. Since 1945 the funds, now over £2,500,000, come from general revenue. Until then a large proportion of the state funds had come from the African poll tax, which now goes into general revenue. More than 50 per cent of African children in school are in the "sub-standard" classes and only about 4 per cent receive post-primary education, as compared with 24 per cent of European children. Education is not compulsory for Africans. African public opinion, Mr. Marquard comments, asks for European education. European public opinion is divided on what education for Africans should be. Nationalist theorists stress tribal traditions as the foundation for African education.

The following table shows the numbers of children in school for each group and the proportion of state funds spent on their education:<sup>25</sup>

	Population	No. in School	Total State Expenditure in Millions
Europeans . . . . .	2,320,000	438,000	£16.5
Africans . . . . .	7,686,000	596,000	2.3
Colored and Asians . . . . .	1,174,000	215,800	2.2

Thus, almost four-fifths of the total goes to the education of Europeans though they are about 35 per cent of all those receiving education. More is allotted to African education in South Africa than in other territories south of the Sahara—but not in proportion to income.

Non-European students are admitted to the Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand (in Johannesburg); about 2 per cent and 4 per cent respectively in 1947. There are Nationalist demands that this be given up. The University of Natal has a separate college for non-Europeans at Durban. South African Native College, Fort Hare, provides university training for African students from all over the Union, and indeed, beyond its boundaries. In all, Mr. Marquard reports, nearly 1,000 non-Europeans were receiving university education.

#### The Passive Resistance Campaign

However much African organizations disagree about other matters, they are "unanimous" in opposing "*apartheid* or segregation or white supremacy or white leadership or trusteeship," according to Dr. Z. K. Matthews in *Christianity and Crisis* for November 24, 1952. He comments that the Africans find themselves in an "intolerable situation . . . with their rights gradually whittled down and all the usual methods ineffectual to terminate the political subjugation, economic exploitation and social degradation to which they are subjected."

In June, 1952, Africans and Asians began a nonviolent civil disobedience campaign of "defiance of unjust laws." This is sponsored by the African National Congress, the leading African political organization (of which Dr. Matthews is an officer), and by the South African Indian Congress. "Thousands" of Africans and Indians have been arrested for taking part in the campaign.

<sup>24</sup> *New York Times*, January 24, 1953.

<sup>25</sup> *Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa*, p. 383.

Dr. Matthews explains that "only persons who are convinced that it is their duty to participate in it are called upon to do so and when accepted are required to undergo a period of training and preparation. A strict discipline code has been adopted." Those who do not participate in the campaign are organized to give it mass support and to aid the volunteers and their dependents.

The sentence to imprisonment of Dr. J. S. Moroka, president-general of the African National Congress, under the Suppression of Communism Act, has been upheld by the Appeal Court within the last few weeks. In August, 1952, at the time of his hearing in the magistrate's court he seemed to A. T. Steele of the *New York Herald Tribune* "worried over the possibility that if the government persisted with its present race policies the effect would be to strengthen the hands of Communist extremists." (*New York Herald Tribune*, August 31, 1952.) Some prominent white men and Mahatma Gandhi's son have also been arrested for participating in it.

An Anglican African priest, former president of the African National Congress and a "moderate leader" who has given the resistance movement moral support, was forbidden in December to exercise his ministry for six months or to attend "any gatherings, including church services, anywhere in the Union for the same length of time." (*Church of England Newspaper*, January 2, 1953.) A leading Congregational African layman in Natal, elected chief of his Reserve and former vice-president of the Christian Council of South Africa, was relieved of his position as chief when he refused to resign from the African National Congress. He has also been forbidden to attend any public meetings for a year or to be in twenty-one districts (mostly suburban areas) during that time. (*New York Times*, June 1, 1953.) Arthur Blaxall, secretary of the South Africa Council of Christian Churches, wrote in the *British Weekly* for January 15, 1953, that the response to the call to participate in the campaign has come "almost entirely" from "the growing number of politically-conscious urbanized Africans." The movement has "grown with the spiritual power of the non-violence which has been maintained."

Bills passed by the Assembly and approved "in principle" by the Senate this year allow the government to rule by decree in "an emergency," and provide up to five years' imprisonment, a fine of not over £500, and whipping for incitement to violation of any law. This has been supported by the United Party as well as by Nationalists. Opposition to them was led by English-speaking churchmen.

The Resistance movement is currently rather inactive. Its future seems to be uncertain. As we go to press, it is reported to be spreading in Northern Rhodesia.

#### The April, 1953, Election

Just before the election the South Africa Institute of Race Relations reported in its *Race Relations News* for April that study groups all over the country, especially among the National Council of Women, were studying race relations.

In the South African election last April the Nationalist Party won 60 per cent of the seats in the Assembly. Alan Paton, author of *Cry the Beloved Country*, wrote in *Life* for May 4, that the result has been "to create a sense of impending tragedy among the losers that is as profound as the undisguised jubilation of the victors. Dr.

Malan and his Afrikaner Nationalists are now more firmly in power than before. . . . This has stunned and dismayed those Afrikaners who supported the policy of cooperation with the British, no less than it has the English-speaking members of the United Party which opposed Malan. Leaders of the nonwhite opposition now must admit that they face government by irreconcilables committed to enforce white supremacy at any price. Thus Dr. Malan's victory feeds the long-present fear that eventually there will be black violence."

Dr. Z. K. Matthews says, however, in the *Saturday Review* article, already quoted, that "it may still be possible, I am convinced, . . . for South Africans to produce a generation and a leadership which will abandon the separatist tradition that has grown, like a cancer, these past forty years. But to bring this about we have to struggle to keep this hope alive. . . ."

#### South Africa's International Relations

Three questions involving South Africa have been discussed in the United Nations. South Africa insists that these are domestic questions which the U.N. is precluded from discussing under the Charter.

India has repeatedly raised the question of the treatment of Asians. Nearly all are South African born. South Africa has offered to pay transportation for their repatriation. The 1952 U.N. General Assembly established a U.N. Good Offices Commission to facilitate negotiations between South Africa, Pakistan, and India.

The 1952 General Assembly also established a commission to study the racial situation in South Africa, and called upon its members to bring their policies into conformity with the Charter obligation to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The third question is that of South-west Africa which, after World War I, South Africa administered as a mandate under the League of Nations. But she has not accepted U.N. trusteeship for the area. European inhabitants, but not Africans of South-west Africa are represented in the South African Parliament. Strategically and emotionally, but not economically, South-west Africa is very important to South Africa. Africans face much the same problems as in South Africa. Rev. Michael Scott, chief advocate of the Herrero tribe, has been barred from South Africa.

South Africans feel, as Dr. Visser 't Hooft noted, "constantly misunderstood and misrepresented." Yet the *Church of England Newspaper* for March 20 reports letters from South Africa saying that "one hears . . . pleas that we should be left to do our own battles, unembarrassed by those outside. But . . . the more [the] fantastic policies of this country can be branded as such by the outside world, the more power to our elbow in the long run."

Basutoland, Swaziland (enclaves within South Africa), and Bechuanaland Protectorate are administered under indirect rule by a British High Commissioner in South Africa. Tribal institutions are important in their government. Mr. Marquard comments that, aside from the fact that they are British territories, "they might quite accurately be described as Native Reserves of the Union." South Africa wants the territories and, so far, Great Britain has refused.