

## FOREWORD

**T**HE white minority-rule policy of segregation and more so its virulent form, Apartheid, have screened off from each other black and white in South Africa. Our knowledge of each other is scanty and most superficial. But worse, what there is of it is tainted with prejudice and wishful thinking. This makes it easy for Government policy and the lying propaganda that boosts it to push us further and further apart.

What a tragedy that so many should thus be made to live blissfully in a world of fantasy. When Rome is on fire many seem oblivious to how much our thinking and actions are a flight from reality, which makes us "build castles in the air." Many thus become victims of complacency. Among whites one gets some day-dreaming of a white South Africa that is not, and can never be. When such whites suddenly discover that "Kaffirs are Lively" and challenging in earnest, they become an easy prey to unnerving fears that throw them off balance in their thinking and actions.

Non-whites on the other hand are prone to indulge in dangerous speculative airy talk about Freedom, such as speaking about it as being "round the corner" when they are doing nothing for the Freedom cause. This makes such non-whites sooner or later become victims of frustration, or an easy prey to fraudulent and dangerous Government plans whose end result is nothing but more and more cruel and insulting serfdom.

This South African Congress of Democrats publication to which I have the honour to write a Foreword provides a much needed brief factual presentation of our situation in the Union. It confronts us with challenges we can only evade to the harm of our country and ourselves. To honest and serious citizens it provides an impetus and a basis for making a much-needed agonising re-appraisal.

No one who reads the book with an open and searching mind can sink into complacency or become panicky, for the book is constructive in its approach. I trust it will disturb and shock many to realistic thinking and action. There is much at stake. There is no time nor room for cowardly thinking and action. Too many of us ignore the signs of the times. This justifies the note of urgency and disaster the book strikes.

But more importantly, the author points a realistic way out. A hard way, yes. It has to be so for us too, for at no time, and nowhere in history has Freedom come without much sacrifice by both the oppressor and the oppressed; it seems never to come without "tears and blood". There is still enough goodwill among non-whites to avoid a bloody struggle being a sine qua non to Freedom. But the situation can no longer be met by giving too little of Freedom at a time, and most certainly not by ordering Africans even at the point of a bayonet to march back to tribalism, as is the aim of Apartheid.

Non-whites reject with the contempt it deserves the Nationalist Party Government policy of separate development. They see it for what it is: an attempt to delay their march to Freedom. They will have no truck with adulterated pseudo forms of democracy; no caricatures, but only the genuine article will do. No amount of jackbooting will halt them from making and striving for their demands. Jackbooting will only embitter them against the whites, and thus make it difficult to build our multi-racial society and non-racial democracy.

The book is mainly a charge to white South Africa. Non-whites should not, however, derive much comfort from its laudatory references to them. As a group

we are taking *too long* to wake up. The rest of Africa is up and doing. It is distressing to find some of our people who should know better being false prophets, counselling people to compromise with Apartheid. What is there to compromise with in Apartheid? Compromise with death! This would be a voluntary acceptance of oppression. What a counsel of despair which makes its authors guilty of national suicide!

I use the opportunity afforded me by this Foreword to thank those whites who have taken a stand to make common cause with us in our struggle. They are doing this at great cost to themselves. This is an index of how they value right as against "might is right". These friendly whites are to be found in the Congress of Democrats, the Liberal Party and other progressive groups and individuals. They have truly become our comrades-in-arms. Together we mirror the South Africa of tomorrow we are striving for—a truly non-racial democratic South Africa in which as countrymen, equals and friends, we shall be comrades in Freedom.

I plead with white South Africa to swell the ranks of these progressives. What a glorious prospect awaits us! Let us all work sacrificially to make its speedy realisation possible.

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8th November, 1960.

## FACE THE FUTURE

**W**E South Africans are becoming inured to shock. A few months ago, in a two minute burst of police firing, sixty-seven Africans were killed at Sharpeville, over three hundred grievously wounded. For a moment we were stunned with the shocked realisation of the state to which government baasskap policy had brought us. A few days later a general strike of African workers paralysed the economic life of Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. 30,000 men marched through the streets of Cape Town; thousands poured down into West Street, Durban. Langa was sealed off by a police and military cordon for over a week. For a short moment we were shocked again by the sudden revelation of the ferment which has grown up to flash-point amongst the African men and women who live amongst and around us.

But shock wears off. The routine of daily life catches up with us again, absorbing all our time and interest. We return so easily to normal. We console ourselves—when we think about these things at all—with the comforting thought that they are over, and will not happen again, at least not for a long, long time. We convince ourselves, somehow, that the storm has passed over; and in that conviction, we return to the blinkered, unseeing complacency of former days.

The State of Emergency, we are officially assured, is over. Police are no longer free to arrest at will without charge; army units no longer stand guard around locations; the press is no longer censored by decree. On the surface at least, we are back to normal.

But are we? Can we ever be?

It is no longer good enough to try to convince ourselves that, after these last five months, everything is back where it used to be. Businessmen at least are acutely aware of the change. Export markets, built up arduously over the past ten years, are suddenly closed to us by boycotts. Foreign investors, with the new wealth needed to keep industry expanding and developing in new fields, have lost confidence in our future and look elsewhere for security. Stock exchange prices, the barometer of business confidence in the future, have plummeted to the depths, and do not return to pre-Emergency levels. Every news report from abroad tells of new demonstrations of hostility towards South Africa and its traditional policies. The air is heavy with talk of international oil sanctions, trade embargoes, boycotts.

These are the signs of the change that has come in the past five months. The world in which we lived before the Emergency has changed. No matter how we try to shutter ourselves off from the fact, nothing can alter it. Its signs are all around us.

## FROM CAPE TO CONGO

For us, perhaps, the most profound sign is in what has happened in the Congo. A year or two ago, most of us believed that European rule in the Congo was as stable, as sure to live for generations, as it was in South Africa. The Belgians, we told ourselves, had found the answers to the black-white conflict of Africa—no political organisation; opportunity for the Congolese to advance in industry and commerce; stern meting out of white-man's justice, and strict white political control.

Our beliefs were a myth. The white settlers from the Congo are today



refugees, displaced persons with their belongings packed into the suitcases they could carry. The once stable economy seems threatened with chaos and breakdown; the surface-deep peace has erupted into alarming violence and counter-violence; opposing armies stand poised on the brink of war, amidst the restraining presence of a United Nations military force; separatist movements threaten to dismember the state into a series of splintered tribal communities.

This is one of the signs; but only one. Southwards lies the Portuguese colony of Angola. The Portuguese, many of us assured each other, had solved the problem of Africa—no politics and no political organisation; severe police control and forced labour for Africans; no colour bar, but a 'Civilisation' bar which the best educated, wealthiest Africans could pass and become "Evolues", "assimilados". Also a myth, as yet unexploded. News of a mass uprising in Angola early this year has filtered through the heavy curtain of censorship; troops have been rushed from Portugal; men and women have been tried before a military tribunal and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for stirring up disaffection. In Portuguese East Africa a military force for internal use is being rapidly assembled. Even here, in this most backward of African territories, change is stirring.

Rhodesia had the answer—or so many of us imagined. A colour-bar slowly being lowered as educational standards advanced; an aim of 'partnership', to be achieved under strict white control and direction; no excesses of 'apartheid', but no surrender of white supremacy until some time in the barely imaginable future. Also a myth. A storm of political upheaval has burst without warning, slightly more than a year after their 'State of Emergency' has ended. Political demonstrations, strikes and rioting have shaken Salisbury and Bulawayo; police have fired on political demonstrators for the first time in history, killing some, wounding others; army units have taken up positions in urban locations; new African political organisations have sprung up—more bitter, more militant—to replace those suppressed by law last year; the four-year old dream of Federation dissolves, with Nyasaland poised to burst out to independence, and British Commissions recommending sweeping changes to allow African majorities to gain political power.

## FLOODTIDE 1960

Accidents? Freaks? Far from it. This is the authentic trend of Africa in 1960. Everywhere the continent's states move to independence and self rule; everywhere the days of white supremacy are ending, and the majority of the people—people, just people—are taking the control of their future into their own hands. Ghana was the first, in 1957; then Guinea. But the procession has become a flood. Nigeria, 30 million people, largest of the African states, reached independence in October; Tanganyika, led by the remarkable Mr. Nyerere at the head of an alliance of Africans, Indians and whites, a month later. Chad, Senegal, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast—for all of them this year of 1960 is the year of independence.

Look closer home. The future of South West Africa hangs in the balance, a testing case for the authority of UN, where the leaders of all the indigenous peoples of the territory—Namas, Hereros and Ovambos, are striking a powerful claim for the ending of the South African mandate, and its replacement by UN trusteeship. In short, preparation for independence and self rule. On our

eastern seaboard, colonial Madagascar has become the free, independent Malagasy Republic. On our Western frontiers, Bechuanaland is negotiating with Britain for formal self-rule. And within the heart of our own country, Basutoland is, for the first time, ruled by an elected assembly of the Basuto people, while still a British Protectorate. Africa is in step. And only we in Southern Africa are out of step.

Sometimes we look at what is happening in these countries to the North, and we console ourselves with the thought that they pay a heavy price for their new independence. Nowhere has the passage been easy. Strife, civil commotion, economic dislocation—these are some of the payments that have had to be made. But what price are we prepared to pay for our right to keep out of step? This is now the question of the day. Once we could believe that we reaped no losses, only gains from our way of life. Trade and industry boomed; life—at least for those of us born white—was comfortable and comparatively easy; the future appeared secure, and an air of peace prevailed. But those days have gone. We are beginning to pay the price for being out of step. It is time we looked at ourselves more, and pointed the accusing finger inwards more sharply.

## THE BILL OF COSTS

For five months we have lived in a state of virtual martial law—the first time since the Rand strike of 1922. Army units have been mobilised for police operations against our own countrymen. Active citizen forces, formed for defence against foreign attack have been blooded in skirmishes of civil war. Jails have been filled to overflowing with political prisoners of all races, held without charge or explanation. For the first time since the South African war, women have been held in concentration camp conditions. Effective general strikes of African workers have paralysed industry in all the main centres, continuing for a week in Cape Town. Meetings have been prohibited; newspapers suppressed, or frightened into self-censorship by the threat of heavy reprisals, correspondents jailed and deported. Two of the largest political organisations in the country—and the only two that count in any way amongst the African majority—the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress—have been outlawed. Underground political organisations have emerged to take over where suppression has ended the open, above-board activities of non-white politics. This is the national scene.

Internationally the position is as bad, or worse. For the first time ever in our history—and also for the first time in UNO's history—a unanimous world-wide vote of condemnation of our policies has been passed without a single dissenting voice in our favour. Our embassies in foreign lands have been stoned or picketed by hostile demonstrators. Our diplomatic representatives have been left out of important international ceremonies, or politely asked not to participate. A trade war has grown up against us; it started with a consumers' refusal to buy our goods; it has grown to include trade union decisions not to handle our exports at the docks or the rail-heads; states, where formerly our export trade was expanding, have declared official embargoes on trade with us; airports and harbours in parts of Africa are closed to us and to all goods to or from our shores. And still the campaign grows. There is talk of an embargo on the supply of oil to us from all centres of the Afro-Asian group of nations; there

is a call for strong UN action, and for international sanctions on a governmental level with UN backing.

How long can we go on like this?

There are some who say that to ask such a question is a sign of panic. Our cabinet ministers are amongst them. They refuse to look reality in the face. When they are warned by Britain's Prime Minister that the "winds of change" are blowing strongly through the country, they answer with the old South African adage: 'We know the blacks. You don't.' When, none the less, the warning is reinforced by the turmoil of the events immediately after Sharpeville, still they stick to their blindness, proclaiming—as did Mr. de Wet Nel in the midst of the Emergency "Race relations in the country have never been better."

To most of us this appears clearly as blind idiocy in the face of a crisis. Unlike our cabinet ministers, we at least are not able to bury our heads in the sand, ostrich like, and convince ourselves that all is well. Perhaps there is no need to panic. But there is certainly need for clear thinking, for facing reality, for courageous reappraisal of our own future.

## THE FUTURE IS NOW

Many of us, somewhere in our homes, have long realised that somehow, someday the situation in South Africa would have to change: that someday, somehow, black men would achieve equality with white. Last year or the year before we were able to convince ourselves that the problem would not arise in our time; not for our generation; perhaps not even for our children. We were able to tuck the problem aside, leave it for history to settle after we are all dead and gone. It is no longer possible for us to do so today. The Emergency lifted a veil, and enabled us to see what faces us, in our time—this year, next year or the year after.

This is 1960. Our good intentions are no longer enough. The world, and the non-white majority of our fellow South Africans, expect of us deeds—not good intentions. We are no longer surrounded by strong friendly nations, wedded to us by ties of trade and finance, to bolster us against our critics. We are surrounded by hostile critics, who see our pattern of white domination as a menace to the world's peace and future. We are encompassed by newly independent states, where the majorities have taken on the task of ruling themselves, where the pride and wonder of their own national emancipation imbues men with a hatred of racial subservience and of the injustice of minority rule.

We are three million white people, perched precariously on the seat of power over eleven million non-whites. Once we imagined we were a bastion of the so-called 'Western World.' No longer. We are now an outpost, a garrison left over from a past period of history; we have cut ourselves off from world support, and are being isolated from the world's commerce. Once we relied on Britain and America as our supporting props. Self-interest, and their own traditions bind them now to the awakening states of independence and self-rule in Africa. A new force is sweeping like a veld fire across the continent. Those who commit themselves to our support, lose all influence and standing in the rest of the continent. No 20th Century Canutes come forward to stand with us against the tides of history. We are now back on our own resources. For better or for worse, we white people of the Union, have nothing save our own ability to meet the crisis which faces us now, in our own lifetime. If 1960 is



the year of Africa's destiny, it is surely ours as well. How are we going to meet it?

First, it is necessary for us to know what we are up against. We are fond of telling the world and its hostile critics that 'we know the natives'. But do we? This is no time for idle chatter. It is time to face facts before the sands of time run out. It is no longer good enough to rely on our old shibboleths, on our experiences with 'kitchen boys', farm servants and nannies to understand the aims and outlooks and capacities of non-white South Africans. It is necessary—hard as it may be—to look behind the iron-curtain of the colour bar which we have built between us; to see what we are faced with.

## VIEW WITHOUT BLINKERS

Once we had a picture of Africans as simple, child-like beings, incapable of action except under the white man's leadership, needing always to be led by our hand and example. The picture was never real; it is now dangerously false. Perhaps we had the first appreciation of its falsity in 1957 during the great Alexandra Bus Boycott. Here we saw a whole community of 80,000 people carrying on a united, determined struggle against what they conceived to be injustice. We saw Africans deciding for themselves, democratically, how to cope with and conquer a difficult problem. We saw a picture of calm confidence, of heroism, of readiness to sacrifice; we saw discipline, self-imposed, defying all the dire predictions of the European wise-acres. For a moment—if we dared to look without blinkers—we saw Africans as they really are today, in the towns and cities of South Africa. People! Capable of doing everything to which they set their minds. Perhaps the lesson was lost on us; we needed another reminder.

In March this year we had a dramatic reminder. Calmly, confidently, in a disciplined manner, 30,000 Africans marched from Langa location through the heart of Cape Town to Caledon Square where their leaders were imprisoned. No violence, no recklessness, no disorder. Can anyone look on that event—on the pictures of the streets jammed from shopfront to shopfront as far as the eye can see—and not revise the old ideas of African incompetence and childishness. Is it possible to ignore the discipline and united confidence of such a crowd, or its orderly dispersal at the request of Philip Kgosana, 24 years old and already a spokesman and a leader? These are the African people of the towns—as they are. Not as we imagine them to be. Not as the state information office pictures them for our own and overseas consumption. People! Sober, serious, determined, capable people. Capable of organising themselves; capable of acting for themselves; capable of leadership for themselves.

But perhaps—as we are so fond of telling an unimpressed world—it is not such things but in the arts of politics, of democracy and of government that Africans are still backward, child-like, incapable, needing years, perhaps generations of "education". This picture, too, was never real; it is now also dangerously false. In 1950, we saw how false. That was the year of the campaign of Defiance of Unjust Laws. We saw some 8,000 volunteers in disciplined, organised teams, deliberately break apartheid regulations and go to jail as a means of protest at unjust laws. We saw here not only confidence but a real political awareness and understanding. We saw again the capacity of Africans, this time coupled with Indians, to organise for themselves, to act for themselves, to think for themselves; in the field of politics. We saw—if we cared to look—

their statesmanlike approach to the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, asking for negotiations; we saw competent and responsible political leadership, which avoided the ever present risk of sparking off a racial clash while yet pursuing their goal to the end.

But more significant than this; we have had the collected speeches and writings of the political figures amongst the Africans read and reported over the last three and a half years at the Treason Trial. If we had cared to look, here there was a record of statesmanship, political awareness and understanding which any South African political group—any white group—would find it difficult to surpass. From 1955, at a nation-wide delegate assembly held at Kliptown, has come the Freedom Charter, drawn up by and accepted by the foremost African politicians and political organisations—a programme and blueprint of *their* aims for South Africa, of a breadth of vision which no South African political group has emulated.

## BLACK-WHITE UNITY

But yet further than this. African politicians have managed the most formidable task in South Africa; they have welded together into a single alliance of organisations their own people, through the African National Congress, the Indian people through the S.A. Indian Congress, a part of the Coloured people through the S.A. Coloured People's Congress and a section at least of the white population through the Congress of Democrats. This task of uniting the people of South Africa into a single bloc of united outlook has thus far defied every white political group; for white politicians the problems have been insuperable; our political parties have been unable or unwilling to find a meeting place for all racial groups and make of them a fraternal alliance; for us politics has always been a matter of racial division, of disunity, of playing on the race and colour prejudices of the population. It is in this tremendous achievement that the African people—and above all African political leaders—show their real maturity, ability and fitness for political office. It is no longer possible for us, looking at the disastrous pass to which a series of small-calibre politicians like Strydom and Verwoerd have brought us, to ask "Where are the South African statesmen of our former days—the figures of world stature, like Botha, Smuts, Hofmeyr?" If we seek such figures in South Africa today, we must look to the ranks of those who have coped with and mastered the great problem of creating unity out of our racial diversity; we must look to the leaders of the non-white people, to the really great statesmen of our time, who live across the colour line—Chief Albert Luthuli, Dr. Yussuf Dadoo, Oliver Tambo. These are the men in whom the whole world today sees signs of greatness, of leadership, of real South African statesmanship.

Why can we not see it too? Are we blind? Is the whole world crazy and are only we sane? Or is it that, traditionally, we have closed our minds and our eyes to what goes on amongst the non-white people, smug in our own confidence that they are still backward, children.

## EXCEPTIONS PROVE RULES

How often have we told ourselves that Luthuli, or Professor Mathews or Dr. Dadoo are the exceptions. Of course they are. Leaders—whether in the field



of politics, sport, art or intellectual achievement—are always the exceptions. Is Einstein not an exception? Or Bertrand Russell? Is every white South African a Churchill, or even a Smuts? Does what we choose to call 'Western Civilization' produce more than one Shaw or Dylan Thomas? It is time for us to finish with such childish thinking; it is one of the myths that only we cling to. Everywhere else men face reality unafraid, undistorted by colour prejudice which lead us alone to childish, idiotic conclusions. Everywhere else men realise that the great statesmen, artists, thinkers, diplomats are the exceptions. But everywhere those exceptions are the living proof that the nations from which they spring are capable of reaching the pinnacles of human achievement.

Why not here? In truth, if we look squarely at the matter, Africans have produced their own Professors and doctors, advocates and concert artists, composers and jazz trumpeters, professional cricketers and title-winning boxers. They do, and have done, every job that the whites can do—where such jobs are open to them. They are bus-drivers and machine operators, policemen and office clerks, typists and carpenters, teachers, shop-keepers, surgeons, radio-announcers, dressmakers, nurses, farmers, tractor-drivers, mechanics, butchers. People. Just people. They think, read, write, paint, compose music.

This is what we are up against—people; just people. People like ourselves; people capable of doing everything we can do. Whether we realise it or not, Africans themselves realise it. They make no exceptions; neither government nor international diplomacy is beyond their capabilities. All that stands in their way is South Africa's social, political and economic conditions.

But conditions can be changed. Men create conditions; they legislate, regulate and operate conditions. What some men do, other men can undo and change. Everyone of us realises this. Let it be no surprise that Africans realise it too, and are determined to make the change. They know they can do it. In the Freedom Charter they have described minutely the change they want to make. In the events of March this year they have shown that they are in earnest—not sometime in the distant future, but now, in our own lifetime. This is the reality we white South Africans must now face.

## THE PACE IS SET

Perhaps in the back of our minds, every one of us has realised that this time would come. We have somehow managed to convince ourselves that, if pressure for change grew too great for us to resist, we would be able to give way slowly, piecemeal; we would, perhaps, concede a municipal franchise here, a few white M.P.'s there; we would perhaps extend exemption certificates from the pass laws to a few thousand, or even a few hundred thousand, respectable African citizens; we would open up freehold townships, skilled jobs, senior civil service posts as the necessity arose.

Such ideas no longer fit the real scene. Rhodesia advances to 'partnership', conceding more rapidly and more sweepingly than ever we contemplated. Kenya concedes direct African representation in Parliament, then African cabinet posts, now even an elected African majority—faster, bolder and more far reaching than ever we in South Africa have dreamed of. In years gone by the rate of their concession would have seemed dizzy, breathtaking; but in 1960 it is proving—as events in both countries show—too little and too slow. History no longer waits on the white man in Africa. The pace of change is being made by

Africans. The actuality of change is no longer a prospect for a later generation to face; it is ours—today and in the next few months and years.

How are we white South Africans going to meet the challenge which Africa's ferment now throws in our faces? Every thinking South African realises that we can no longer go on as before, unthinking, unchanging, hoping for the best to happen. The events of the State of Emergency changed all that. We can no longer live on in the blind hope that somehow the old structure of the country will hold together long enough for the Bantustan policy to pay off; we can no longer live on in the eager unfounded hope that some miraculous U.P. victory at the polls will turn aside a head-on clash by the slow granting of insignificant concessions to outraged African feelings. What then? We can not even delude ourselves that by some mystical process, a Republic will achieve all the wonders that have so far eluded us.

Can we sit, fatalistically, hands folded, lips sealed, insulating ourselves in our family and business concerns, and leaving the issue to be decided by politicians as though the South African way of life was the concern only of politicians and not ours? No doubt this was the attitude of most of the white settlers of the Belgian Congo. They buried themselves in their own private affairs; they meddled neither in the attempts to maintain strong Belgian authority, nor in the clamour for rapid African advancement to citizenship. The sorry stream of white refugees from the Congo in recent months points a moral. In this moment of crisis, there is no space on the sidelines.

Here, as in the Congo, the pattern of life and society—however one views its merits—has been made by white men. It is immaterial whether our motives were good or bad, liberal or oppressive. When Africans burn with dissatisfaction at the pattern of our society, is it to be wondered at that they should hold the white population—its makers—responsible? Can anyone really expect that, in their minds and attitudes, they will separate out those white people who deliberately created the pattern of society from those who sat on the sidelines or turned their backs on the whole business? Is there in fact such a gap between the two groups?

## RESPONSIBILITY IS OURS

Our law does not distinguish between the jewel thief and his accomplice who sat calmly in the get-away car outside. In our legal code, both active desperado and passive accomplice are equally responsible and guilty. Why should a different view be taken of our political responsibilities? Have we not voices? Political rights to speak, protest and dissuade? Have we not voting rights to change unjust or oppressive laws? Or at least to try to the fullness of our strength to change them?

It may be argued that he who merely turns aside in disgust from the actions of his political representatives, and refuses to assist them in any way, is no accomplice. Maybe not. It is a good issue for lawyers to debate in the calm atmosphere of a court of law. Maybe he was of good heart; maybe his feelings were kindly and sincere; maybe his innermost longings were for a peaceful solution to the country's problems. But at moments of crisis—as in time of war—who is going to stop to probe, analyse and reveal the mental state of others? Those who have not shown themselves as opponents of the old order,

have—willy-nilly—acquiesced in and submitted to the old order and its ruling politicians. So it has been in the Congo. So it will surely be in South Africa, unless we act to prevent it. This is what we are up against.

Some white South Africans have learnt this at least from the history of recent years and have left for England, for Australia or Canada before the storm. Especially in recent months, families have packed up and left. Theirs is the way of despair. They regard their country as a lost cause; or perhaps only the white man's future in it as a lost cause. But what of the rest of us? Do we still believe we can live out our lives here, raise children to call this country home, and give them a future? If so how?

## THE PHILOSOPHY OF FORCE

There are many of us who think we will hold on by force. Whenever there is debate on the merits of getting out while one still can, there is bold talk of "Making a stand!", of "Fighting it out!" Nowhere is this policy more clearly seen than in the statements and actions of the most extreme Nationalists. At the height of the emergency situation in April, Nationalist cabinet ministers followed the path of preparing for war—letting loose martial law on the country and simultaneously declaring that—come hell or high water—no concessions would be made to African protests or grievances. The momentary glimmerings of sanity from Sauer, promising a 'new deal' for urban Africans, were immediately slapped back by the diehard line of Verwoerd and the party majority.

And now, immediately after the State of Emergency, the government prepares for civil war; a new semi-civilian military force is being prepared for use in internal armed conflict only! From the terms of its announcement it is clear that members of the Red Cross and the Noodhulpliga, of the Skiet Commandoes and the prison staff will not be enrolled; they are already regarded as part of the military machine for the 'shooting-it-out' process which is being prepared. This mentality has been called both the 'laager' and the 'bunker' mentality. Correctly so. It is the mentality of a beleaguered garrison, surrounded and outnumbered, incapable of any action for its own salvation, so bankrupt of leadership and ideas that it can do no more than fight, back to back in ever narrowing rings, until the whole fortress is reduced to ashes, its last defenders perished and its last bullet spent.

Do we really want to live like this—or rather to survive like this if we can? We like to think that there is something unique, special and new about our situation; we dramatise our position, an outnumbered white community with a foothold on the extreme toe of a continent. But, in fact, there is nothing unique about it nor is the idea of 'shooting it out' new and original. It has been tried, and is still being tried, at the other end of our own continent, in a country not unlike ours, with ten million inhabitants, one in eight of whom is white. That country is Algeria.

## A. WARNING TO WAR-MAKERS

In Algeria, whites controlled the administration, they dominated its economy; they owned two thirds of the land, including most of the fertile and arable portions; they owned the banks, the base metal mines, the oil refineries and



almost all the industrial plants; they draw strength from French military garrisons, French industrial resources and French capital. By contrast, the non-white population—Algerians—were largely peasants, poverty stricken and illiterate, wage labourers, petty traders and street hawkers—backward even by our standards. Yet for us in South Africa, Algeria is a signal lesson. Its development in recent years tells a knell for those who talk of 'shooing it out'.

At first—for many years—non-white Algeria campaigned by peaceful political means, by parliamentary means to redress their grievances and to win equality. They achieved little worth recording; the blank refusal which meets African claims here, met theirs. But there too the winds of change swept up ferment. By 1954, a point of crisis had been reached; white authority would make no concessions. What it held, it held by force. In 1954—six years ago—non-white Algeria moved to redress its grievances too by force. There was no dramatic declaration of war; you read no banner headlines in your daily papers. A few isolated attacks by ill-armed Algerian guerillas against a few isolated police posts; that was the start. Imperceptibly it has grown to a full fledged war. On the Algerian side, those first irregular bands have grown to an army of over 100,000 men, organised, disciplined, and able to dissolve into the country's working population and reappear again at will. On the French side, the few police garrisons have grown to a massive army, of not less than 600,000, drawn not only from the local white population, but conscripted from France itself. Six years of war. And still the end is not in sight. 300,000 dead, brown and white, mark the passage of those years. 125,000 more in concentration camps; the local economy has ground to a standstill; a deep financial crisis casts a blight not only over urban Algeria but even over the metropolitan base of France itself. There are no front lines; bombs are thrown in crowded city stores; machine guns spray crowded city streets from a speeding car window; every civilian is in the front line of a war which has reached a military stalemate, and from which there will be no military victory for either side.

To this long war of bloody attrition there can be only one end. The 'rebels', once isolated in the hills, are now encircled by friendly supporting states, who assist with arms, supplies and moral support. The 'rebel' representatives abroad have come to be a government in exile, representing the broadest sections of the Algerian people, and already recognised by nineteen other states as the legitimate government of Algeria. To this there can be only one end; France—and the white settlers will, ultimately, give way; either gracefully now, or more painfully later. They have tried 'shooting-it-out'; and the course of these six years proclaim that they have failed—and suffered grievously in their failing.

This is experience we South Africans need to face. We are no longer in the happy days of Empire building, where a Dr. Jameson with a few score rifles could tame and conquer colonial peoples living in the age of the assegai and of tribalism. The year is 1960. Neither 'knowhow' nor armaments are the monopoly of whites. We can prepare to 'shoot it out'; but shooting, in the modern world, is a two way process. We white South Africans have had notice from the world outside; we can expect neither military nor economic aid from anywhere to sustain us in civil war as France has sustained white Algerians. Only the lunatic minorities of vicious reaction, like Oswald Moseley and the British Union of Fascists are on our side. We have had notice served on us by our African population; the wheels of our industry and commerce can be brought to a standstill, suddenly and effectively, by a stoppage of African labour.

We have had notice served on us by the newly independent states of Africa; all the aid in their power will be given to bring about the downfall of white supremacists who hold their power only by force of arms. It is time for us to face the facts. If 'shooting it out' is the only path that our superior, white political ability shows us for the future—we have no future here. Not one which is worth contemplating, anyway. Yet this is exactly the path along which the Nationalist government is leading, and the future for which it now prepares.

## NO COMFORT HERE

It is too easy in situations like this to flee from reason, to think with the blood instead of the brain. It is too easy to repeat—as tub thumping politicians repeat so monotonously at every Stryddag—'This is our fatherland! We have nowhere else to go where we can be at home.' True. True but irrelevant to the issue. It is too easy to assure ourselves that, after all, three million people *cannot* be moved out of this country, from reasons of sheer bulk or inertia. It will be difficult, true; painful, true. But not impossible. There is precedent for our dilemma.

There is the case of the Sudeten Germans, who throughout the Nazi regime, formed a part of the settled, indigenous population of Czechoslovakia. But in the end, there was no alternative. Guilty or innocent, justly or unjustly, they had to go so that life in Czechoslovakia could be worth living for the Czech majority. It would be ridiculous to suggest that every Sudeten German had committed crimes against the Czech people. They had not. But as a community, they had—either by acts or by silence in the face of those acts—so embittered the Czechs, and drawn to themselves such a racial hatred, that it was no longer possible for both communities to live side by side. Guilty and innocent together were forced to go—whether they wanted to or not, whether their fathers and their forefathers had made their fatherland in Czechoslovakia or not. There are moments in history when consideration of justice and tolerance give way to the necessity to root out a canker which poisons the whole society. It can happen to us too, of this let there be no doubt. By our actions we will be judged; and in the not too distant future.

Even now, even amongst those who perceive the stark reality of our situation, there is still unfounded optimism. There is a belief, widely held, that without the white population, this country's industrial and economic operation would grate to a standstill, that administrative chaos and breakdown would be inevitable; and that, within a short space of time Africans would plead, humbly, for our return to put the house in order. It is an old illusion of a governing aristocracy. The same was said of Egypt, when the Suez canal was nationalised after 50 years of Anglo-French administration. But the facts have proved otherwise; the despised backward Egyptians run the Canal and develop it without undue trouble.

But now Suez is forgotten; the hopeful proponents of this theory look to what is happening in the Congo, and predict even greater chaos and disorder here because our economy is more developed and complex. Perhaps they will be proved right. But on matters of such gravity there is no room for illusions. Many, many Africans—sober, clear-thinking, responsible people amongst them—are prepared, if necessary, to face economic chaos, if that is the only way. They

are prepared if needs be to tighten their belts in the face of economic dislocation, rather than surrender their claims for a new way of life, and for equality in all fields of life. Poverty, unemployment—these are not new experiences for Africans. Regrettable yes; to be avoided if possible, certainly. But if necessary to be faced, for however long it may be, while matters are put right, and the wheels set running again under helmsmen of their own choosing. If one seeks moral lessons from the Congo, this is it.

There is no room for unfounded optimism about our future in this country. We are on the edge of a crisis, which may burst with explosive violence at any moment. A ferment of protest, of clamour for change and of assertion of their rights as human beings has grown up amongst the African population. Every oppressive measure of the Nationalist government, every new attempt to beat them back to tribalism, every police campaign of terrorization serves only to fan the flames of ferment higher. What is now at stake is no longer just the peacefulness and docility of South African daily life. What is now at stake is the future of the white community in South Africa.

## IN OUR OWN HANDS

Thus far, it has seemed, South Africa might be different from Algeria, or Kenya or the Congo. There has been, as yet, no African terrorist movement against the whites; there have been, so far, only rare and isolated cases of race violence on a mass scale; there has been, so far, no strong popular movement to throw the white population out of the country. For this happy situation, the white community as a whole can claim no credit; still less can any South African government, past or present. The debt which South Africans owe for this happy position—which makes the past twenty years here so different from those of Kenya, Algeria, Nyasaland or the Congo—is payable to two groups of South Africans. In the first place it is payable to that small group of white South Africans who have the courage and the vision to campaign publicly for full equal rights and opportunities for all racial groups in the country. They have swum against the main stream of white South African racialism; they have been taunted, persecuted, harried and imprisoned for their daring; but they have succeeded thus far in one thing: they have made thinking Africans conscious of the fact that the white community is not a homogeneous whole of solid reaction and racialism; that the white community here has in it good people and bad, people who could fit into the new South Africa of the Freedom Charter and people who cannot or will not; that therefore the struggle to win that new South Africa is a struggle against white people as white people, but against the system of white supremacy and autocracy, a non-racial struggle in which white people can and do join with black for the common good of all.

But more important is the second group to whom tribute is payable. That group is the group of leaders of the African people themselves, and above all the African National Congress, who have fought amongst their own people for their beliefs that the new South Africa must be a multi-racial South Africa, a South Africa where white domination of blacks is not reversed into black domination of whites, but changed into a state of equal rights for all racial groups, living side by side in peace and fraternity. Theirs has not been an easy course. Conditions of life for the non-white people breed bitterness and resentment; midnight police raids; incessant pass arrests, indignities of apartheid



legislation, acts of brutality. Naturally, where the state, its parliament, its voters, its police force and its foremen and overseers are white, that bitterness comes to be directed against the white population. Naturally, where undisguised racialism is used to preserve all those conditions, where calls are made to 'keep South Africa white', bitterness against conditions turns easily into anti-white racialism.

It is in this position that the ANC leaders and members have revealed their real qualities, their statesmanship and their principled faith. While politicians of the main white parties have relied on racialism and racial passions for their stock-in-trade, the ANC leadership has relied on its democratic convictions and its principles. For years it has fought to convince the African people, that, despite present appearances, black and white could live together in peace in a democratic country; it has fought to convince its people that the answer to white racialism and reaction is a multi-racial state where all groups have equal rights; it has fought for its belief that white South Africans are not the enemy; the enemy is the system of white supremacy. It has campaigned for and fought out its battle along lines of peaceful, non-violent political action. It has not been an easy task. The ANC and its policy have been assailed from every side. The politicians of the main white parties have attacked them as subversive, and, in March of this year, conspired together to proclaim the ANC an outlaw organisation. The racialists of the non-white people have attacked them for their principles, called them traitors to the cause of Africa.

But the ANC has never wavered in its beliefs, or its willingness to fight for them. Thus far they have fought successfully. Their policy, thus far, has prevailed amongst thinking Africans; their aim of a multi-racial society has become the aim of the articulate and the conscious Africans. While white politicians have sought to cling to power by inciting anti-African racialism, the ANC has fought the real battle for the future—the battle to convince the African majority that a way can and must be found where white and black can live together, peaceably, as citizens in mutual self-respect. While white political leadership has brought the white minority to a pitch where it can see no salvation save in racial civil war, the ANC leadership has reasoned, debated, fought with and convinced the African majority that the future lies in a multi-racial society granting equal rights to all.

We white South Africans have developed a complacent belief that what has happened in Kenya, and in the Congo cannot happen here. Perhaps not. But let us be in no doubt about it; if it does not happen here it will be because the ANC has stood as the shield of the future. In the continuation and strength of its policy and authority amongst the African people lies the guarantee not only that black men will find their place in the South African sun, but also that there is any future here at all for white men. The Freedom Charter, which the ANC fathered, starts off with the proclamation:

## THE FREEDOM CHARTER

**We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country  
and the world to know:**

**that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;**

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

(For the Freedom Charter in full see page 18)

In the fulfilment of this declaration lies the only hope of white South Africans. For its fulfilment, the Congress Alliance has been built, and campaigns amongst all racial groups of South Africans.

## NEW CURRENTS

It would be nice for us to imagine that the battle is thus won, that the ANC has fought for us and won out. But it would not be true. *Thus far* the ANC has won out amongst the African population. But at the time of the emergency in March, suddenly for the first time a new organisation sprung into prominence—the Pan Africanist Congress. PAC is fairly new, a product of the last eighteen months. It is an African counter to white racist politics. It challenges the multi-racial concept of the ANC and the Freedom Charter with the slogan: Africa for the Africans..

South African life aids PAC's appeal to non-white racial passions. An African is assaulted by a white policeman, African women are told by a white government to carry passes, African farm labourers are beaten by a white farmer or foreman, an African advocate is refused a permit to practice in town by a white City Council, a whole African tribe is deported from its homeplace by order of a white Group Areas Board—the list is endless. South African daily life shows the African in a thousand different ways that white authority is the persecutor and the tyrant.

## THE DECISION IS OURS

Racial thinking is *our* particular contribution to African attitudes. *Our* political parties have been built and conquered state power with the easy racials appeal to indiscriminate passion against the 'black danger'. *Our* votes, in their thousands, have been cast in response to the unthinking racial appeals of United Party and Nationalist alike. Only the minority, the tiny handful of whites here and there, have drawn the fine distinction between black people and black racialism; only the minority have joined in or voted for the parties whose appeal is not to our blood but to our thinking, the Liberal and Progressive Parties. Can it be expected that Africans will be different, more rational, more mature in their political attitudes?

Racial tension is mounting at an alarming pace. To the world outside, the prospects of imminent clash are clear and frightening. But here, we South Africans have to seek the truth through a smokescreen of race prejudices, of misleading political slogans about 'unity' and confusing manoeuvres around Bantustans, national homes, 'our republic'. It is now time for us to look reality

in the face before it is too late.

We can no longer delude ourselves that Bantustans will be accepted by Africans in lieu of democratic participation in the government.

We can no longer carry on in our racialism without reaping the whirlwind of counter-racialism against us.

## COURAGE AGAINST THE CRISIS

It is time for white men and women to act with courage for their own future in this country. There is no choice of paths. Only one way is open to us—and we must take it or be engulfed. We must speak out for a multi-racial South Africa, for citizenship rights for all South Africans, for a new South African constitution with all its racial discrimination abolished. Now, while there is still a moment of time! It is still possible for us to show to Africans that we too are determined to live in peace here in our country and theirs. Our actions can still be timely enough to sway the thinking and the articulate and the peace-loving Africans that there is room here for white men and black. It is still possible to drive home the practical lesson that the enemy is not the white community as a whole, but the tenacious clinging to white supremacy, baasskap, privilege and domination.

The keynote is courage. For such a path is not easy in South Africa, nor comfortable. The Government, hell-bent on shooting it out in the atmosphere of the laager, comes down heavily on every man and woman who breaks their step. Opponents who speak and clamour and organise for race equality are detained without trial, harried, banned from gatherings, refused passports, raided, charged with treason. It takes courage to face such a prospect.

But for those white South Africans who call this country home, for those who really love this country, not as a slab of soil but as a living place for people, for those who want to live here, bring up children, spend out their days in peace, this is the price which needs to be paid. It is a small price, reckoned against the fearful cost of the dark night of civil war into which the Government leads us. It is the price we must pay for our own future. So be it. Men and women of courage will not shrink back now, at the 11th hour of crisis.

In their hands, in their deeds hangs the future of us all.

## THE FREEDOM CHARTER

### THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

### ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop



their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

### **THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!**

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

### **THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!**

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

### **ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!**

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

### **ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!**

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

### **THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!**

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

## **THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!**

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

## **THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!**

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

## **THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!**

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

**"THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGH-  
OUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."**

Adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown South Africa, on 26th June, 1955.

**Collection Number: A3299**

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***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:*       **Historical Papers Research Archive**  
*Collection Funder:* **Bernstein family**  
*Location:*       **Johannesburg**  
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