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THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF SEGREGATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

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A.J. ABRAHAMSE MEMORIAL LECTURE – 1951

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"The Origin and Development of Segregation in South Africa" - A REVIEW

It is now almost four decades ago that W.P. van Schoor's "The Origin and Development of Segregation in South Africa" was first published. And looking back at this distance the work undoubtedly ranks as one of the most explicit analyses of the origin and nature of segregation in this country.

The particular merit of Mr. Van Schoor's work lies in two directions, viz., (a) the clear and unequivocal manner in which he demonstrates that the colour-bar in this country is not accidental, but forms an inseparable part of the system of Capitalist-Imperialism; and (b) the effective key he provides to the understanding of South African history in terms of labour, land and the struggle for liberty.

There is implicit in his approach a recognition that segregation or the colour-bar has always been and continues to be the specific manner in which Capitalism/Imperialism expresses and maintains itself in South Africa. This view in no way denies the existence of deeper social cleavages. But it does raise fundamental questions of perspective in regard to the harnessing of the political energies of the oppressed and the directing of such energies towards the simultaneous removal of the twin-evils of oppression and exploitation.

The relevance of Mr. Van Schoor's viewpoint becomes immediately apparent when one recalls the spurious debates on reform presently emanating from 'enlightened' capitalists and 'liberal' nationalists of all shapes and persuasions. Mr. Van Schoor's exposition of the socio-economic and ideological structures which underpin the colour-bar system permits no reformist measures. For in the context of his analysis, accommodation at any level serves merely to reinforce the myth of an accidental colour-bar system and this distorts the goals of the struggle.

Throughout his work Mr. Van Schoor places great importance on land, labour and the unity of the oppressed as key factors in the understanding of the colour-bar. He recognises the roots of colour prejudice in the slave-based society of the Cape and in the development of large-scale farming, but sees the fashioning of the colour-bar as an instrument to secure labour, landlessness and division among the oppressed from the beginning of the mining revolution onwards. Coupled with the amassing of wealth and exploitation of labour went the dispossession of the mass of the people. The patterns of conquest and rule that were evolved also created the essential disunity of the oppressed.

Mr. Van Schoor identifies the historical and social origins of this division amongst the oppressed, and situates the problem within the patterns of conquest and the
modus operandi of colonialism itself. The importance of his observations in this regard must not be overlooked, for he is not simply listing the machinations of those who were pastmasters in the art of dividing and deceiving the people. More pertinently, he warns against the continued enslavement of the oppressed to the prevailing ideas of the dominant classes and their apologists in whatever guise-neo-liberal, missionary or official.

The extent of his concern is graphically demonstrated in his reference to the participation of the ANC and the SACP together with the liberals in the N.R.C. and the Bunga, and also as Dummy Representatives in Parliament and the Provincial Council during the period of the 50's. For Mr. Van Schoor there could be no such temporising on the question of unity in struggle. In fact, the entire substance of his work underlines again and again the necessity of organisational and ideological independence for the liberatory organisations.

Mr. Van Schoor opened his address with the now celebrated dictum: "A people desiring to emancipate itself must understand the process of its enslavement." With this maxim he also concluded his work. The relevance of his injunction has not diminished, for the process of understanding constantly needs to be re-sharpened and redefined at the points of engagement in the struggle.

The re-issue of "The Origin and Development of Segregation" calls for such a commitment.

A.F. Slingers

Cape Town: September, 1986.
FOREWORD

At its Annual Conference held in Cape Town in 1948, the Teachers' League of South Africa resolved to honour the memory of the late A.J. Abrahamse by instituting a triennial Memorial Lecture upon some important sociological problem or subject.

The form of commemoration was in itself intended as a tribute to the deceased's scholarship, to the weight of his intellectual contribution to the development of the T.L.S.A. and to his indefatigable labours in the classroom. The purpose was to encourage research into, and a rethinking of, educational and social problems with particular reference to the South African scene and struggle. In brief, the Memorial Lectures were to do honour to a colleague who had died at a tragically early age, by continuing the tradition of functional scholarship that he himself had helped to build for the achievement of the cardinal aim of the T.L.S.A.: a democratic system of education within a democratic South Africa.

The first Memorial Lecture, "The Origin and Development of Segregation in South Africa", was delivered by Mr. W.P. van Schoor in the Cathedral Hall, Cape Town, on October 5th, 1950. Mr. W.P. van Schoor, a prominent member of the T.L.S.A., was closely associated with the late A.J. Abrahamse while they were colleagues on the staff of the Sohinge Training College, Worcester, and this is one reason why he was given the honour of presenting the inaugural lecture. The other reasons are manifest in the lecture itself.

Mr. W.P. van Schoor's approach to his subject and, indeed, his philosophy of history, are succinctly and strikingly formulated in his opening sentence: "A people desiring to emancipate itself must understand the process of its enslavement." It is with this sentence, too, that he closes, and no one is left in any doubt as to his standpoint. All serious students of history will immediately recognise that, as far as the academic study of South African history is concerned: Mr. W.P. van Schoor is breaking new ground. He is presenting an interpretation of this history which, to the best of our knowledge, has not been so extensively presented before. If for no reason other than its unorthodoxy, its departure from the official historians, it will excite comment, provoke discussion and, we hope, inspire further thinking, research and chronicling.

The Teachers' League of South Africa considers it a privilege to be able to place the lecture at the service of a wider public, and commends it for the serious study of all those who are working for the achievement of a truly democratic South Africa.

B.M. KIES, Editor, "Educational Journal", T.L.S.A.
Trafalgar High School, Cape Town, February, 1951.
A people desiring to emancipate itself must understand the process of its enslavement. In South Africa this process begins far back, but it is in the last 80 years that the history of centuries has been condensed. During this period, the systematic exploitation and oppression of the Non-European people on a deliberate and highly organised basis has been developed to a degree of near-perfection.

In "Rhodes", S.G. Millin says:

"If no white man had come to South Africa before 1870, the South Africa of today would have been materially little different . . . . South Africa did not exist for the world, and hardly for itself until its gold and diamonds were discovered.”

The real foundations of the modern colour bar system in South Africa began to be laid with the development of the sugar plantations in Natal where large-scale wage problems confronted the ruling class for the first time - the opening up of the Kimberley diamond mines and, later, of the Rand gold mines. Into this foundation were thrown the methods of exploitation and the traditions which had previously existed. Only in this context is the history of 1652 to 1870 significant for us.

**The Period of Slavery in South Africa**

The slaves were brought to the Cape by Dutch commercial capital which tore them away from West Africa, the Malay Archipelago, and Mozambique. During the first five years of European settlement at the Cape, there were hardly any slaves. "During the first few years of the settlement's existence, the manual labour was all done by Europeans, with only a negligible amount of assistance from hired native labour."\(^1\) Within 70 years such a change had come about that Baron van Imhoff, Batavian Governor, could castigate the local regime in 1743 by saying:

"The majority of the farmers in this colony. . . consider it a shame to work with their own hands,"

and, that the European workers at the Cape:

"does not do as much as a half-trained artisan in Europe . . . But having imported slaves, every common or garden ordinary European becomes a gentleman."

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\(^1\) J.H. Hofmeyr: "South Africa".
This slave-owning attitude to labour has persisted, and the Industrial Revolution in South Africa, far from abolishing it, intensified it. The 1925 "Civilized" Labour Policy enshrined this attitude as a law of the land. This transformation within 70 years was brought about by the exploitation of imported slave labour.

The negro slaves, demoralised by their mode of capture, and enslaved with little resistance, developed a fatalistic acceptance of slavery as a permanent institution. Through the years, this attitude has had an extremely bad effect in retarding the Non-European struggle for liberation, and it is beginning to die out only now among the oppressed Non-European people of South Africa.

The imported Malay slaves, many of whom were sent here to serve sentences for resisting the Dutch in the East Indies, did not forget their resistance to enslavement. On the other hand, their relatively privileged position as artisan slaves, with the right to work for wages, developed an attitude of aloofness which likewise has been an obstacle in our struggle for liberation. It is only because of the growing idea of Non-European unity over the past 10 years that this bad heritage is crumbling.

The intermediate position of the "Hottentots" as household servants and farm help also left a bad heritage of subservience and inferiority to the ruling class, together with an isolation from the black worker. These attitudes, arising out of the conditions of the slave system, were intensified and fully exploited by the British in the period which began in 1870.

Fundamentally, the slave system at the Cape was, at first, not dissimilar from the slavery of the Malay Archipelago, except that at first it was domestic slavery rather than plantation slavery. Miscegenation took place freely. The Mixed Marriages Commission reported in 1937 that:

"there does not seem to have been any colour feeling on the part of the Europeans at the Cape in the early days, the distinction being rather between Christians and heathen than between white and coloured."²

This position began to change within a quarter of a century from Van Riebeeck’s landing. The laws of the Cape, including matrimonial laws, were based on the Statutes of Batavia, which rested on the Politique Ordonnantie of 1580.

"In law, as in the economic system, Van Riebeeck made of the Cape an appendage of the East Indies…"³

Early Cape Law, including the Matrimonial Court of December 28th, 1676, drew no colour distinctions, but distinguished between free persons and slaves. The system was not colour conscious! Miscegenation and the conversion of slaves to Christianity after manumission gradually blurred the boundary between slave and non-slave. This naturally endangered the status quo, so that in 1671 Isbrand Goske warned against this danger to the slave system. In 1686 Baron van Rheede introduced the first colour discriminatory laws in the Cape. These laws were "to prohibit Europeans from marrying freed slaves of full colour, although they still were allowed to marry freed slaves of mixed blood. Illicit intercourse between European males and female slaves or natives was wholly forbidden."⁴ In passing, we note that the Mixed Marriages Act and its corollary, the Immorality Act of 1948-49, are far more vicious than Van Rheede's laws, and this 116 years after the abolition of slavery. Van Rheede's laws, however, only worsened the position for the ruling class, because the border between slave and non-slave was crossed again and again by miscegenation through the intermediate layers of light-skinned slaves and non-slaves with whom intercourse had not been forbidden.

The Dutch tried to compensate for Van Rheede's omission by means of direct anti-slave legislation. In this, Ryk Tulbagh, the "good Governor", was outstanding. His placaat of 1754, in terms of which slaves were forbidden to whistle or sing on the street at night, or bump against a master, or answer back, is a good example. Punishment for striking a master for any reason whatsoever was the death penalty. In the closing years of the Dutch East India Company's rule, vicious crusades were launched against the "Hottentots" and the Xhosa tribes on the Eastern frontier. The Dutch occupation of the Cape amounted to a century-and-a-half of untold misery for the slaves, freed slaves and indigenous tribalists. The "Hottentot" was practically exterminated after the failure of Gonnema's revolt, and the "Bushmen", always regarded more as part of the fauna of the colony than as human beings, were steadily hunted into extinction. All that remains to be said is that the stubborn resistance of the Xhosas, under the leadership of Ndlambe against Van Plettenberg and Maynier, saved the Xhosas during the regime of the Dutch.

The Coming of the British and the Decline of Slavery

The landing of the British changed practically nothing at the Cape. The 1796 instruction to McCartney ordered the abolition of certain tortures and stressed the


⁴ Mixed Marriages Commission Report (1937)
need to build fortifications against "the natives of the interior". At the same time, this instruction hinted at a new method of exploitation by ordering the Governor to investigate the possibilities of trade with the "natives". The first British occupation was noteworthy for a merciless war against Ndlambe, with the assistance of the missionaries. The Xhosas, however, still remained undefeated.

During the short interval of the Batavian regime, De Mist and Janssens, under the cloak of liberalism and, like Maynier, using the slogans of the French Revolution, did their utmost to bribe Ndlambe and Ngqika (Gaika). These early liberals, however, preserved the slave system intact.

The second British Occupation continued from where the Dutch had left off. In 1807 the Slave Trade was abolished (legally, at any rate) in order, among other things, to keep up the price of slaves and to prevent the devaluation of Britain's slave empire in the West Indies, Africa and the East, on the basis of which the wealth of England accumulated. England's Industrial Revolution, which led to the abolition of slavery, would have been utterly impossible had England not practised slavery for two centuries before. In 1809 a Caledon proclamation was issued which introduced pass and vagrancy laws, and the regulation of labour contracts. In away, this proclamation was a crude and mild forerunner of present-day pass laws, the Masters and Servants Act and the so-called Native Labour Service Contracts. This proclamation of 1809 paved the way for the transition from chattel slavery to wage slavery. The same trend was continued in the 1811 Circuit Courts, Ordinance 50 of 1828, and completed in the Emancipation Ordinance of 1834. The much-boosted Ordinance 50 amounted to nothing other than a labour ordinance to regularise and legalise wage labour for "Hottentots and other free persons of colour at the Cape of Good Hope." It did not abolish apprenticeship, but merely limited it - the slaves remained slaves, and the freed slaves were haltered by Ordinance 50 to a new form of slavery under legal trappings of pseudo-equality. The 1834 Ordinance emancipated the British Government and the slave owners from the burdens of an expensive slave economy. Thus the final period of slavery from 1806 to 1834 may be summed up as I have already summed it up, viz., the transition from chattel slavery to wage slavery.

**The Period of Cape "Liberalism," 1834-1872.**

In order to introduce a system of free wage-labour in the towns and on the farms the British followed their age-old policy of first depriving the indigenous people of an independent source of livelihood - above all, of their land and cattle. The land wars of 1799, 1811, 1819 1834 and in the forties against the Xhosas, opened the way for

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5 Ordinance 50, 1828.
their dispossession by the British. In the middle of this series of brutal aggression, robbery and rapine, the frontier boer took fright and fled from his protector and defender, the British Government, and its hand-maidens, John Philip and Co. This event has gone down into our history books under the official designation of "The Great Trek". The heroes of this period of land robbery known as the "Kafir Wars", were not the pathetic and small-minded Retiefs, Maritzes and Pretorius, but the great defenders of the common property of the Africans, viz., Ndlambe and Makanda, who thwarted for half a century the unholy combination of Briton and Boer. This they did despite treachery from within, and the demoralising conversions to Christianity by the missionaries whose creed was summed up by Dr. Philip in 1828 as follows:

"All that is wanted for the Hottentots, more correctly for the natives of South Africa, is liberty to bring their labour to the best market."

This be it noted, was the essential contribution of the missionaries to the history of South Africa during the period of expropriation of the African. The military defeat of the Ama-Xhosa tribes was incomplete after 70 years of merciless warfare by the invaders. The African resisted every effort to enslave him by depriving him of the land: The 1820 Settlers sent out as "soldiers" to crush the African resistance, were forced to throw away their muskets and become soldiers of fortune in safer fields: "The primary motive in colonising the Eastern Province with settlers of British nationality was to establish a permanent outpost against the aggression of the native tribes."6 The tragedy of the Nonquase mass-suicide coincided almost miraculously with the interests of Grey's policy: "The self-destruction of the natives helped Grey to carry out his policy... enabled him to fill up the empty and confiscated reserves with European settlers."7 Tragedy, duplicity and cunning finally succeeded in bringing the Xhosa to his knees within a few years, when the might of arms had failed for three-quarters of a century.

The period 1834-1872 is usually thought of as the period during which, in 1854, the Cape achieved representative government and finally reached the pinnacle of colour-blind democracy with the granting of responsible government in 1872. The meaning of this legal equality has been analysed earlier as the equality of the oppressed with the oppressor. Severe property, income and educational qualifications effectively debared the mass of the population from the enjoyment of the full franchise. This class and caste political segregation made it easy for the rulers later on to introduce their colour segregation. Actually, this much-vaunted period of early Cape "liberalism" was really a period of the land robbery of the African, carried out by a

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6 Selborne Memorandum on the Union of South Africa (1908)

7 S. van der Horst: "Native Labour in South Africa".
series of colonial wars which wrought havoc upon the lives and institutions of the African pastoralists. This period was the first serious period of military conquest.

While the Xhosa was being expropriated, the Zulu, under Dingaan, was tragically defeated by the Boers, abetted by British settlers from Natal. The work of Dingiswayo and Chaka was not completely undone by this defeat. After their miserable vassalage under Mpanda, the Zulu people were to rise in defence of their land under Cetewayo and, later, Bambatta. The final military destruction of the Zulu was not achieved by the Boer, but by the British after the discovery of diamonds. The same applies to the Basuto, the Bechuana, Matabele, Swazi and Mashona.

It is a significant fact that the major military conquest of the African, with the exception of the Xhosas, was achieved only after the opening of the sugar plantations and the mines. "Between 1872 and 1894, the Cape annexed more Bantu territory than during the whole preceding century," according to J.S. Marais. In 1871 Basutoland was annexed and the terms of annexation excluded the Basuto from the enjoyment of Cape democracy:

"The said tribe of the Basutos are not yet sufficiently advanced in civilization and social progress to be admitted to the full enjoyment" of the "general law of this colony."

During the years 1877 to 1895 the Transkeian territories, Griqualand West, Pondoland, Bechuanaland and Matabele-Mashonaland were annexed. Without these annexations by the British in the "liberal" Cape, the gold mines of the North would never have been able to get their cheap labour. The military conquest by the Cape cleared the way for the recruitment of cheap labour and for the building up of the whole colour bar system which arose on the foundation of cheap labour on the mines. The "liberal" Cape made a most substantial military contribution to the colour bar structure of South Africa, which is said by liberal historians to be the work of the Boer Republics. The theory that the complex colour-bar system was forced on the Cape by the Transvaal in 1909 is designed to cover up the contribution which the Cape made to set Colour-Bar South Africa on its feet. Economically, likewise, the Northern Colour-Bar System around the gold mines was based upon the practices of Rhodes in the Kimberley mines of the Cape. The Cape laid the military and economic foundation of the modern Colour-Bar System, and this in the heyday of Cape "liberalism".

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9 Eybers: Select Documents.
The Voortrekker Republics

The late Dr. A. Abdurahman, in the course of a speech in Kimberley on September 29th, 1913, said:

"The Northward march of the Voortrekkers was a gigantic plundering raid. They swept like a desolating pestilence through the land, blasting everything in their path, and pitilessly laughing at the ravages from which the native races have not yet recovered."

It is difficult to paint a more graphic and more accurate picture of the Trek in fewer words. It is impossible to remember the Voortrekkers for any contribution they are supposed to have made to the progress of South Africa. But they will always be remembered for their attitude of simple and barbarous brutality towards the African. This attitude has become an integral part of the present-day colour psychology of the South African Herrenvolk. The Voortrekker attitude to colour and religion was the central feature of their conception of the universe and life. Their attitude towards the Non-European was that of a master (baas), this attitude being partly a heritage from slavery, arising partly out of the military subjugation of the African and in part from their employment of conquered labour on their farms. In the constitutions of their republics, the Non-European was not considered as a member of the community. In line with the fear-complex of Retief's Manifesto, the Grondwet of 1858 laid down, as one of its basic principles that "the people desire to permit no equality between coloured people and the white inhabitants of the country, either in church or state". Only a handful of chiefs were granted burger rights. This primitive colour outlook was based more on the military factor than on a system of large-scale labour, as is the case to-day. Labour itself was often a form of tribute, like cattle and ivory. In February, 1842, the early Transvaal Republic passed anti-gun-carrying laws. In 1846 anti-vagrancy laws enabled farmers to disarm Africans on their farms and to shoot them if they tried to escape, or indenture them if they refused to surrender. Labour was a punishment to intimidate the African. The crude Voortrekker farmer did not from the beginning see the African as a source of cheap labour, but continued for a long time to regard him as an enemy. Gradually, however, the labour requirements of the farmers grew. Labour tax was introduced in return for the use of ground occupied by the Africans in the country which the Voortrekkers had taken from them. The effect was to convert the conquered African into a labour serf. On his own farm the Voortrekker farmer was employer, judge, jury and policeman, as had been the case in the Cape prior to the trek Northward. Based on labour serfdom, this amounted to a crude reproduction of an undeveloped feudal system. In the Transvaal and Free State this narrow feudalism caused large scale squatting which has continued until recent times' despite the 1913 Land Act. Under the
Voortrekker land and labour system the African became shackled to the land of which, ironically, he had been dispossessed.

The Transvaal Republic was quite incapable of completely subjugating the unconquered African. In 1877, when Shepstone annexed the Transvaal for Britain, he said that:

"the Sekukuni war. . . has shown itself to be a culminating point in the history of South Africa in that a Makatee or Basuto tribe, unwarlike and of no account in Zulu estimation, successfully withstood the strength of the state. . . That this disturbance at once shook the prestige of the white man in South Africa. . . that this common danger. . . has imposed the duty upon those who have the power to shield the enfeebled civilization from the encroachments of barbarism and inhumanity.'

The phrase "enfeebled civilization" in reference to the Voortrekker Republic seems to me not to be without merit. 'Just as the British had saved the frontier farmers in the Cape Colony again and again against the Xhosa, so once more they came to the rescue of the Voortrekkers in the Transvaal. Without British intervention less might have been known of "Voortrekker civilization" than is to-day known about Zimbabwe. Shepstone, the Natal-born Britisher, laid down policy for the Transvaal. This policy was in effect the Grondwet of Kruger's Republic. The "native policy" of the Transvaal Republic after the Pretoria Convention of 1881, was the continuation of the policy of the British in Natal. The so-called Boer policy was in reality a British policy. Under the British in Natal there was at first no legal discrimination. But in 1865, nine years after the granting of Representative Government for Natal, the growth of the sugar plantations made political segregation necessary. A black labourer could not have the same vote as his white overlord. Only exempted Africans could vote. Shepstone introduced in Natal the reserve and location system and began to regard African territories as reserves of cheap labour. This Natal British policy was applied to the Boer Transvaal, and was not repealed when the Boers regained their independence. Shepstone granted legal equality to person and property of all, "but the adoption of this principle does not and should not involve the granting of equal civil rights such as the exercise of the right of voting by savages or their becoming members of a legislative body, or their being entitled to other civil privileges which are incompatible with their uncivilized condition. The native tribes. . . must be taught due obedience to the paramount authority."

The Pretoria Convention, blessed by the British, reaffirmed the Pass Laws. Shepstone's son, H.C. Shepstone, while Secretary for Native Affairs during the first British occupation of the Transvaal, "evolved a policy which was taken over by the

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Eybers: Select Documents
restored republic in its Law 4 of 1885. Shepstone created a Department of Native Affairs. The law of 1885 accepted in its preamble the principle of differentiation, gave recognition to native law, appointed the President as paramount chief, created the office of Superintendent of Natives and provided for Native Commissioners. This British-made policy was openly' taken over by the Republic after retrocession. '

We can see that the anti-African legislation of the Boer Republics was not so much the work of the Boer as of the British and that the so-called policy of the North was fundamentally a British policy. The Union of 191? amounted to a fusion of British policy as developed in the Cape, with British policy as developed in Natal and the Transvaal.

The Industrial Revolution in South Africa

In 1870 the diamond pipes of Kimberley began to transform South Africa. In order to obtain and preserve a constant supply of cheap African labour, Cecil John Rhodes introduced into Kimberley features of the British Native Administration in Natal. Around the De Beers diggings, he erected locations for the African miners. This was the beginning of real residential segregation in South Africa, and of the vast network of labour concentration camps which are to-day to be found in every town, village and farm in South Africa. To crush the spirit of these African labourers, Rhodes introduced rigorous liquor measures.

"I ran De Beers on ginger beer, and in the Transkei I established the most stringent laws in regard to the drink traffic."

Rhodes' reference to the Transkei is important because, learning from the experience of the Natal sugar plantations, he regarded the Transkei as a labour reserve. The Kimberley diamond mines gave rise directly to the vast system of migratory labour, flowing between reserves and locations, which is the king-pin of the cheap labour system of South Africa.

"From the Limpopo to Kaffraria the tribal system began to crumble" after the discovery of diamonds, says Eric Walker. In Kimberley, Rhodes and his associates developed a "civilized" labour policy for imported Europeans, and maintained African wages at the lowest level.


\[11\] J. S. Marais in "The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa". Edited by I. Schapera.

\[12\] J. H. Hofmeyr: "South Africa ".

\[13\] Sir LG. MacDonald: "Rhodes - A Heritage".

\[14\] E. Walker: "Lord de Villiers and His Times".
Out of this arose the high ratio between skilled and unskilled rates of pay in South Africa, unique in the world. Rhodes disarmed the African. In his annexation of Pondoland (1894) his troops machine-gunned a field of mealies, and he told Sigeau "This is what will happen to you people if you give any further trouble".15

To prevent traffic in diamonds from the locations, and to control his supply of cheap labour, Rhodes introduced a stringent curfew and a pass. With Kimberley as its industrial hub, the troops of the British Chartered Company radiated out in all directions to conquer the indigenous people, to rob them of their land and, having rendered them propertyless and impoverished, to recruit them as cheap labour for the mines. In his conquest of Rhodesia Rhodes appointed Native Commissioners as "eyes of the Queen" to guard the newly-won reserves of cheap labour. These were later to become the District Magistrates who today preserve "law and order" in the Territories. Realising that the British Empire required a local European population to manage its affairs in South Africa, Rhodes developed the idea of converting the Boer into the policeman and foreman of Britain, a role which has been assiduously and conscientiously fulfilled by each and every government in South Africa up to the present day. "People born and bred in this colony," said Rhodes, "are much better capable of dealing with the various matters that arise than people who have to dictate from some thousands of miles away."16 From Rhodes' labour needs in Kimberley he realised that the African had to be rendered voteless, rightless and voiceless, and became the father of the policy of trusteeship. This great brigand, brandishing his guns all over Southern Africa, declared of the Africans:

"At present they are children only and must be treated patiently and sympathetically".17

This man is remembered for his "equal rights for all civilized men South of the Zambesi" slogan of 1899, made in Kimberley to a Coloured electorate after his disgrace by Jameson. The following was the real creed of Rhodes and this is the creed of modern South Africa, laid down by a true-blue Britisher:

"I will lay down my own policy on this native question. Either you have to receive them on an equal footing as citizens or to call them a subject race. I have made up my mind that there must be class legislation, that there must be pass laws and peace preservation Acts, and that we have to treat natives where

15 Sir LG. MacDonald: "Rhodes - A Heritage".

16 S.G. Millin: "Rhodes".

17 Ibid
they are in a state of barbarism in a different way to ourselves. We are to be lords over them.\(^\text{18}\)

The policy of "baasskap" is as much a British as an Afrikaner policy.

Rhodes went on in this speech of 1887 to say:

"These are my politics on native affairs, and these are the politics of South Africa. If I cannot keep my position in the country as an Englishman on the European vote, I wish to be cleared out. We must adopt a system of despotism such as works so well in India in our relations with the barbarians of South Africa."\(^{19}\)

Kimberley was the birthplace of ideas and practices which were later to become the law and policy of the land. The present-day system of colour bars, 'segregation and discrimination is basically the product of the Industrial Revolution in South Africa which began in 1870 with the opening of the diamond mines.

With the opening up of the diamond mines the railways began to spread throughout the country. Up to 1870 there were 69 miles of railway in South Africa. From 1870-1886, £14,000,000 were spent on railways. In 12 years after 1870, diamond mines exported more value than all agricultural and pastoral industries together in the 36 years before 1870. Whereas 12 per cent was a common rate of interest in the Cape before 1870, capital was readily obtainable at 4 per cent after this date. The fact that Kimberley diamonds were not alluvial made the importation of vast sums of capital necessary. South Africa became a market for the export of capital from Britain. The deep mining operations needed to unearth the gold of the Rand, also required an enormous combine of capital to operate the diggings with heavy equipment. Only monopoly capitalism, concentrated in the hands of the vast concern now known as the Chamber of Mines, could dig out the gold thousands of feet below the surface of the earth and organise its shipment to every corner of the world. The Spaniards who worked the great mines of the 16th and 17th centuries would have stood helplessly before the gold deposits of the Witwatersrand."\(^{20}\) The gold mines of the Rand continued the industrial revolution begun by the diamond mines of Kimberley. A network of railways radiated out of Delagoa, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth, Natal and the Cape. By 1896, 97 percent of Transvaal exports were gold. Rhodes' policy of the Kimberley diamond mines was applied in detail to the Rand. The gold mines consolidated the foundation of the colour system which had been laid in Kimberley. The modern colour bar travelled from the Cape to the North.

\(^{18}\) Ibid

\(^{19}\) Ibid

\(^{20}\) C.W. de Kiewiet: "History of South Africa, Social and Economic".
The rise of the diamond and gold mines caused a network of recruiting corporations which stretched their tentacles to all parts of the country. The search for cheap African labour was the driving force behind the various measures to drive the African off the land of which he had been robbed by the wars of conquest which I have mentioned. The first important land Act to render the African landless was the Glen Grey Act of 1894:

"The endeavour to secure local Union labour for the mines was one of the dominant factors in the policy underlying the Glen Grey Act of 1894..."

This Act was not designed to create a small African peasantry nor was it designed to give local government to Ciskei Africans. Its aim was the destruction of the African peasant, to deprive him of land and cattle and to smoke him out to the mines to work. "The principles of the Act necessarily involve the creation of purely native reserves. ..we shall in time be compelled to create more of such areas as reservoirs of labour." The effect of Rhodes' Glen Grey Act, which was rapidly applied throughout the Transkei, can be gauged from the following:

"The resident magistrate of Butterworth in his report for 1902 to the Government says that he estimates 3 out of every 4 able-bodied men throughout his district have gone out to work in one way or another."

The labour tax was Rhodes' method of smoking the African out of the reserves.

With the opening of the mines in Kimberley the idea of Union was put forward as practical policy by Lord Carnarvon. The basis of his Confederation Scheme, as of the Act of Union, was the unity of the Europeans of the four provinces in order to subjugate the African completely. Lord Carnarvon said in 1875 . . .

"The most immediate urgent reason for general union is the formidable character of the native question and the importance of a uniform, wise and strong policy in dealing with it."

The mining revolution, based on cheap African labour, paved the way for a united white South Africa. There are few laws to-day which were not common practice in the running of the sugar plantations, diamond mines and gold mines. The financial magnates of the mines drew up regulations for their black workers which were later consolidated into nation-wide colour laws. The colour-bar system, as I have stated earlier, is essentially a British product. The colour prejudice of the Boer was to

21 Hailey: "An African Survey"
22 Rose Innes: "The Glen Grey Act and the Native Question"
23 Ibid
24 C.W. de Kiewiet: "History of South Africa, Social and Economic".
become the psychology of the system. The British contribution was material; the Boer contribution emotional.

Union had a secure economic foundation in the diamond and gold mines. The idea of Union was essentially developed by the British statesmen Carnarvon, Shepstone, Selborne and Milner. The Boer statesmen Hofmeyer, Botha and Smuts carried the idea further and put it into effect under the watchful eye of Westminster. Britishers like Patrick Duncan, Phillip Kerr and Lionel Curtis, were organised by Smuts to work out the details of Union. Hertzog, who once regarded the British as:

“dung against a kraal wall that the next fall of rain would wash away”,

was later to become His Majesty's Prime Minister in South Africa. It is often claimed that the Act of Union was a compromise between the "liberal" Cape and the Boer North. Actually it was the union of British-controlled Kimberley with British-controlled Johannesburg. The infamous clause of Union that debars Non-Europeans from sitting in Parliament was discussed as far back as October, 1908, between Lord de Villiers and Selborne. De Villiers said to Selborne:

"It is very important I should know whether the Home Government would agree to a provision that only persons of European descent shall be eligible as members of either House of the Union Parliament."

And Selbourne replied:

"I do not think that His Majesty's Government would object to such a provision."

In 1901 Lord Milner wrote:

"A political equality of Whit!; and Black is impossible, though I do think that in any South African parliament the interests of the Blacks should be specially represented. Perhaps this can be done by white men."

Notice that here we have the corner-stone of the idea of special Native Representation of the notorious 1936 Bills. Smuts in particular received his political education from Milner:

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25 H.C. Armstrong: "Grey Steel".

26 E. Walker: "Lord de Villiers and His Times".

27 Ibid

"One hour's talk with Balfour or Milner was more of an education than a month of reading alone in Irene."\textsuperscript{29}

The Act of Union, 1910, was the gravestone of Non-European political rights, fashioned by Carnarvon, Selborne and Milner, and put into position by Botha and Smuts. The Afrikaner victims of the British in the Anglo-Boer War became beneficiaries of the British estate handed over to their care, first in the Treaty of Vereeniging, later in the Act of Union, and still later in the Statute of Westminster.

The period 1870 to 1910 saw the construction of the economic and political foundations of the Colour-Bar system and the final destruction of the independence of the indigenous peoples. While segregation had existed in South Africa in various forms before 1870, it was the Industrial Revolution which elaborated it into a system and gave it its character as the expression of the Colour-Bar in South Africa. From 1910 onwards the superstructure of the Colour-Bar was built up systematically; weaknesses in the foundation were reinforced and the system of modern exploitation and oppression consolidated by means of a series of colour laws unique and unparalleled in the whole history of mankind.

**The Economic Consolidation of the Colour Bar, 1910-1950**

Apart from the Immigration Act of 1913 and the secondary legislation affecting Coloureds and Indians, the major legislation from 1910 to 1940 was directed against the African. Fundamentally, all Non-Europeans had been enslaved politically by the Act of Union. But having done this, the Herrenvolk first concentrated their attention on the African and then, applying the "divide and rule" policy of crushing the oppressed people group by group, found it easy to mop up the remaining rights of the Coloureds and Indians.

In the Botha-Smuts Government of 1910 to the outbreak of the first World War, three major laws were passed. These dealt with mine labour, the migratory labour system and the land question. In 1911 the Mines and Works Act was passed which, amended in 1925, shut the Non-European out of skilled occupations; it applied not only to mines and works, but to railways, roads and buildings. The Chamber of Mines had by this time a sufficient control of a vast supply of African labour. In the mines these Africans did skilled work for unskilled rates of pay. In the mines, particularly, this Act operated as a law to exclude the African from skilled pay rather than to shut him out from skilled work. African wages on the mines have remained practically stationary since the opening of the gold mines. At the same time the skill and productivity of the African miners have grown by leaps and bounds. Technical

\textsuperscript{29}H.C. Armstrong: "Grey Steel".
improvements increased the efficiency of production. Up to 1890, with the mercury process of recovering gold, 60 per cent. had been extracted. After 1890 the cyanide process recovered 90 per cent.\textsuperscript{30} The greater productivity of African labour - and the intensification of his exploitation made it possible for the Chamber of Mines to bribe off the white labour aristocracy without materially affecting its profits. This trend continued after 1911. In 1914 an African miner could unearth 250 tons in six months. After the introduction of the light jack-hammer drill his output rose to 800 tons in six months by 1930. The super-exploitation of the African miner was increased by the very technical development which should lighten labour in any civilized country. Improved technique, more intense sweating of labour, and a freezing of African wages permanently, made the white labour policy possible. "The great majority of wage earners in South African industry," said J.H. Hofmeyr, "are Native or Asiatic or Coloured. They are the proletariat upon whose shoulders are borne the South African white aristocracy of labour."\textsuperscript{31} However, even the greatest technical development and the harshest exploitation of African labour have not sufficed to support the uneconomic burden of this white aristocracy of labour. The Chamber of Mines itself has more and more felt the pressure of this burden and has been able to relieve it of late only through artificial measures such as devaluation, at the expense of other sections of the exploited classes.

The 1911 Mines and Works Act created a major economic problem for the rulers of this country, viz., the burden of an expensively paid but comparatively unproductive white labour aristocracy. This system of privileged white labour was later to extend to secondary Industry as well.

The second major legislation was the Labour Regulation Act of 1911. Having tied down the African miner as an "unskilled" worker, the Botha-Smuts Government set out to continue building up the labour recruiting network which Rhodes had established. The African, who had previously been rendered landless, was now prevented from becoming a settled worker in the town. The effect of this Act was to keep the African in a constant state of movement between the reserves and the mine compounds. The migratory labour system received the stamp of law. It serves a threefold purpose. In the first place, it prevents the settling down of a propertied peasantry. Secondly, it prevents the settling down of a permanent urban working class. Thirdly, the migratory labour system is bound up with the system of low wages.

In any other country an industry paying high wages would attract a great supply of labour. With the mining industry in South Africa it is the opposite as far as the African is concerned, since an increase in wages would enable him to stay in the

\textsuperscript{30}C.W. de Kiewiet: "History of South Africa, Social and Economic".

\textsuperscript{31}J.H. Hofmeyr: "South Africa".
reserves for a longer time. In order to preserve a steady supply of labour and to prolong his stay in the mines low wages are paid. "The increase of native wages would . . . tend to some extent to a decrease rather than an increase in the supply of native labour and this consideration has undoubtedly helped to keep wages down." The migratory labour system is essential for the policy of cheap labour. If the migratory labour system were to break down it would at once polarise into a landed peasantry in the country and an organised working-class in the town, thereby sounding the death-knell of the cheap labour system whose foundation is the landless worker.

The 1911 Labour Regulation Act gave an impetus to the Chamber of Mines labour recruiting agencies to recruit for labour from the Transkei to the Belgian Congo. One-third of African mine labour is recruited from outside the Union, and the Rand mines have ramifications throughout Southern Africa. One hundred thousand recruited workers are supplied annually by the Portuguese Government in accordance with the Mozambique Convention of 1928 (revised 1934). After November 1937, the Government gave the Chamber of Mines authority to recruit an unlimited number of "tropical natives". Fifty per cent of migratory labour for the mines, industries and farms comes from South Africa; 20 per cent from the British Protectorates and 30 per cent from the rest of Southern Africa. By 1948 the migratory labour system had expanded to such an extent that 100 per cent of the African miners were migratory labourers; 180,000 factory workers came from the reserves; 120,000 municipal, railway and road workers were migratory. It has been estimated that approximately 70 per cent of the urban African workers are migratory labourers; the corresponding figure for African farm labour is nearly 20 per cent. Of the entire African population, less than one-quarter is settled permanently in towns, on farms, on privately-owned land or on Crown Lands.

The Mines and Works Act and the recruiting Act of 1911 were supplemented in 1913 by the infamous Land Act. This Act prohibited Africans from purchasing land, renting land, squatting in return for money rent, or share-cropping. Farmers could evict squatters who refused to become labourers or servants. Farmers were forbidden to draw up new leases with Africans. There was a fine of £100 and £5 for each day that the stock was left on the farm. This Act was clearly designed to keep the African landless, to deprive him of his cattle and to convert him into a labour serf or a labourer. Sol T. Plaatje has recorded the terrible plight of the African who was thus forced off the land. But the plight, immediately after the Act, of thousands who were rendered homeless on lands once their own was but the beginning of a series of miseries which attended the various Land Acts which followed. The Glen Grey Act, the 1913 Land Act, the 1936 Native Land and Trust Act were part of a series of laws to deprive the African of his ~dependent means of

32 Ibid
33 Sol T. Plaatje: "Native Life in South Africa"
subsistence, his cattle and his land, and to strip him of every possession except his labour power. Farm wages after the 1913 Land Act dropped suddenly, and to-day the farm labourer earns from £5 to £18 a year. The rural squalor, aggravated in the Western Cape by the "tot system", is better imagined than described.

The presence of a large, cheap farm labour supply has preserved the ignorance and sloth of the white farmer. Technical progress has been slow and methods of production have remained as primitive as in any other backward country in the world. In 1931 the average cost of irrigation in India was £3 an acre compared with a corresponding cost of £20 per acre in South Africa. The value of the agricultural output per person occupied was one-fifth of what it is in Australia and not much more than one-quarter of what it is in Canada.\(^\text{34}\) The present position is probably much worse. The rural population has decreased relatively. Almost the whole of farming is subsidised by the labour of the African mine worker. The Segregationist Land Acts have kept South African agriculture in a state of abysmal backwardness. This has thrown almost the whole of South Africa into the clutches of the Chamber of Mines which is not only the largest employer in the world - of workers concentrated together - but completely dominates every other enterprise in the country. Steel in America is a monopoly but there are other monopolies in America equally strong. The Chamber of Mines is the dominant monopoly to which secondary industry and agriculture, commerce and transport are subservient. If in general we can say that the system of segregation has retarded the free development of technical progress by confining 80 percent of the population to unskilled work, this is particularly true of farming. This is the real meaning, the real effect of the policy of Milner, who said of the gold-mining industry:

"The great industry . . . upon the continued progress of which the welfare of the Transvaal and indeed of all South Africa for at least a century will mainly depend."\(^\text{35}\) The wealth of the Chamber of Mines magnates, the farmers and secondary industrialists is what Milner refers to when he says:

"Directly or indirectly, all South Africa, including the agricultural population, owes its prosperity to the mines."\(^\text{36}\)

This prosperity the Non-Europeans still have to enjoy.

The First World War, as far as the Non-Europeans were concerned, ended where it had begun, viz., with the consolidation of segregation.

\(^{34}\)J.H. Hofmeyr: "South Africa".

\(^{35}\)Milner Papers.

\(^{36}\)ibid
In 1918 the Factories Act, subsequently amended in 1941, introduced segregation into the factories, culminating in the maximum "apartheid" inside the factory. Work-benches, rest-rooms, entrances, etc., made the South African factory unique in the world. Of late, separate factories for Europeans and Non-Europeans have been built. Segregation is more rigorous in the factory than in the mines! Secondary industry, the pride and hope of the Liberals, flourishes on the basis of segregation and encourages colour discrimination as much as farming or mining. Like agriculture, secondary industry is heavily subsidised.

The development of the mines eventually led to the growth of manufacturing industries. "Until after 1914 very little manufacture was carried on in South Africa." In 1911 only 53,000 Non-Europeans were employed in factories. In 1917 there were 73,000. Rapid development of secondary industry in South Africa took place when South Africa left the gold standard in 1933. By 1948 there were two and a quarter times as many factory workers as in 1935. The power used increased two and a half times. The volume of the output doubled from 1934 to 1939 and is to-day three and a half times as much as when South Africa left the gold standard. The heavy sector of industry, steel, iron and engineering, increased its output three and a half times between 1936 and 1948. Heavy engineering, directly connected with the gold and coal mines, is the greatest single section of so-called secondary industry. This section has compounds and even labour recruiting like the gold mines. Although secondary industry to-day employs 150,000 more workers than mining, it is less monopolised, less concentrated and copies the labour policy of the Chamber of Mines.

The factories of South Africa have been built on the basis of segregation, for the 1918 Factories Act coincided with the rapid growth of secondary industry. At the same time, segregation has shut the Non-European factory workers, who form two-thirds of the workers in secondary industry, out of skilled employment. This has retarded the natural progress of technique and modern methods of production in industry. The result of segregation in secondary industry is that the productivity of the average industrial worker in England is three times that of the industrial worker in South Africa. This is due to two factors directly connected with the segregation policy of White South Africa.

The first factor I have mentioned, viz., the exclusion of Non-Europeans from skilled work. When 80 percent of the population is forbidden to handle modern machinery,
technical progress must necessarily be slow. When the bulk of the remaining 20 percent is engaged more in the role of overseers, clerks, managers, directors, coupon clippers, etc., technical progress must be slower still. This is the second factor which retards technical progress, viz., the fact that the average white worker in South Africa produces less than he receives. This important fact is illustrated by the following:

One of the few industries in South Africa which has productivity equal to the same industry in England is the coal-mining industry. In South Africa's coal mines there is only one European for every 18 Non-Europeans.43

On the gold mines the average worker produces £1.06 of new value every year. The white worker receives four times this value in salary! He receives four times as much as he produces! He costs the country at least £300 a year. The average Non-European worker on the mines produces three times as much as he earns. The wealth of South Africa is created by its Non-European labour which has to support on its back the European employers as well as the European workers. In secondary industry the average white wage is equal to the average value added per year by the worker. Economically the European worker in secondary industry is dead weight. According to the figures, it would make no difference if he were there or not. In secondary industry the average Non-European worker earns less than £100 per year and produces £350 per year - three and a half times as much as he earns! Segregation has thrown the entire burden of production on the shoulders of Non-European labour. The Non-European receives for this labour the most oppressive, humiliating and degrading treatment that is possible, and is left to pick up a living while the white worker lives off the luxury of the colour bar. In secondary industry the European worker receives three and a half times as much as the Non-European worker. On the mines the white worker gets 12 times as much as the black worker. Sixty years ago the white worker earned seven times as much as the black miner who then earned exactly as much as he earns to-day, viz., £3 per month plus food.44 On the farms the ratio has still to be worked out.

There is no evidence that the ratio of white to non-white wages in secondary industry is decreasing. Secondary industry houses its Non-European workers in compounds, locations and townships, working together with municipal authorities. The segregation housing schemes and locations preserve the poverty of the worker and keep wages down.

On the mines and in some heavy engineering enterprises, company and concession stores provide a minimum calorie diet as cheaply as possible to depress wages. The migratory labour system further depresses the living standards and wages of the Non-

43Ibid.

44S. van der Horst: "Native in South Africa"
European. These low living standards of Non-European labour are at present the basis for the high standard of living and wages of the European workers. The Economic and Wage Commission of 1926 reported, inter alia, that:

"the relatively high wages of white artisans are due to and dependent on the employment of large numbers of unskilled native labourers; in this the artisan is typical of the whole white community... solely because they have at their disposal these masses of docile, lowly paid native labourers."\(^{45}\)

While in depression the employers will squeeze every ounce they can out of Non-European labour before they attack the living standards and wages of European workers, there is no doubt that this heavy cost structure o~ the white worker will not be permanently tolerated by the employing classes. In depression the low wages of the Non-European will fall still lower and eventually will act like a magnet on the wages of the whites. Poor whiteism was a product of these low wage levels of the Non-European. All the "apartheid" in the world will not save the white worker in the long run from crashing headlong into the abyss of poverty which is the lot of the Non-Europeans in South Africa: As long as the economic and political structure is stable and can withstand the great stresses and strains which segregation imposes on it, this fate will not overtake the white worker. But nothing is permanent, not even, and least of all, the elaborate segregationist economic structure of white South Africa.

The 1911 Mines and Works Act and the 1918 Factories Act formed the corner-stone of the 1922 Apprenticeship Act, the 1924 Industrial Labour Conciliation Act, the 1925 "Civilised" Labour Policy and the 1925 Wage Act. The Apprenticeship Act further debarred Non-Europeans from becoming skilled workers. The Industrial Conciliation Act prevented the free organisation into recognised unions of African labour. The Wage Act regulated wages and excluded the majority of Non-European workers - those in mining, agriculture and domestic service.

The "civilized" labour policy regarded the Non-European labour on which white civilization was built up as uncivilized. "Uncivilized labour," says the Union Year Book (1926) "is to be regarded as the labour rendered by persons whose aim is restricted to the bare requirements of the necessities of life as understood among barbarous and undeveloped peoples."\(^{46}\) The effect of the "civilized" labour policy and of the Wage Acts was ultimately to abolish what is known as "poor whiteism" in South Africa. In 1892 John X. Merriman pointed to the numerous poor whites of the Eastern Province. Kruger's volksraad debated "the poor burgers of the Transvaal

\(^{45}\)Economic and Wage Commission: U.G., 1926.

\(^{46}\)Year Book of the Union of South Africa, 1926.
Republic. The Anglo-Boer war had ruined many transport riders, small farmers, etc., and separated thousands of Europeans from the land. The First World War continued this process. The rural European "bywoner" and labourer could not compete with the African, Coloured and Indian farm worker. They migrated in thousands to the towns where, faced with the only work of which they were capable, unskilled labour, they once again failed against the Non-European industrial worker. This inability to compete with Non-European labour in country and town was not simply due to lack of training; it was due to an attitude of contempt for labour, which was regarded as "Kaffir work". It was due to a long separation from, and an almost lost acquaintance with, the process of labour - a fact about which Baron van Imhoff complained so strongly in the early days. The Wage Acts and the "civilized" labour policy were designed to drive out enough Non-Europeans from unskilled occupations to make room for the so-called poor whites. Two years before the "civilized" labour policy, these numbered 160,000 according to official figures. The Carnegie Commission Report, published after the "civilized" labour policy, estimated the number at 300,000.

Within 15 years of the "civilized" labour policy almost all the 'poor whites were absorbed on the railways, roads, transport, defence and public works. The Non-European had to pay the bill for the elimination of poor whiteism from South Africa, which was achieved by means of the segregationist "civilized" labour policy. Today, the former poor white earns about twice as much as the average Non-European industrial worker. To-day the former rural poor white is mainly an urban dweller who receives compulsory education, first-class housing, and all the other amenities of an urban civilization, whereas less than one generation ago his forebears were living under conditions in many ways as bad as those of the average Non-European of to-day. The offspring of the erstwhile poor white has become a pillar of support for the policy of white supremacy. Twenty-five years ago "the poor whites were the frontier between the European and the native"; to-day the former poor white has been converted by the "civilized" labour policy into a full-blooded European. The 1935 Workmen's Compensation Act and the amendments to the Factories Act, the 1937 Amended Wage Act - these further consolidated the legislation, binding the economic colour bar dealt with in the Acts described up to now.

The Social and Political Consolidation of Segregation

Having laid a secure economic foundation in the legislation of the Mines Act, the Labour Recruiting Act, the Land Act, the Factories Act, the Wage Act and the "civilized" labour policy, the oppressors built up a complicated system of social and political segregation on the legislative foundation of the 1910 Act. The major

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47C.W. de Kiewiet: "Social and Economic History of South Africa".
48Ibid
49C.W. de Kiewiet: "Social and Economic History of South Africa".
political segregation laws after 1910 flowed from the Native Affairs Act of 1920. This Act made room for local African councils under European control, formed a Native Affairs Commission and segregated the Africans administratively. The 1920 Act was the forerunner of the 1936 Representation of Natives Act which removed the remaining Cape Africans from the common roll, created the Native Representative Council and segregated the African politically by means of separate European representation in Parliament and Provincial Council. It also extended the local Advisory Boards.

In general it completed the political segregation of the African. This was the logical result of having rendered the African landless and, on the basis of this landlessness, having enslaved him on farm, in factory and on the mines. The Herrenvolk could not allow the labour which created its wealth to have a say in the affairs of the country and, thereby, in the distribution of this wealth for the benefit of all. Milner and Selborne had long before indicated the general plan for the Native Affairs Act. The Liberals fully approved of these measures. Hofmeyr himself said: "In the main this and other similar legislation has been sound and progressive."50 To-day the Liberals work the Slave Acts, continuing in the tradition of John Philip who regarded the African only as cheap labour. Not a single European party disagreed with the policy of political segregation and white supremacy. "There are certain things about which all South Africans are agreed, all parties and all sections except those who are quite mad. The first is that it is a fixed policy to maintain white supremacy in South Africa. "51 Unfortunately, the Liberals, working through African quislings of the Native Representative Council and the African National Congress, dragged so-called organisations of the people, including the late Communist Party, into collaboration with the 1936 slave bills. The British and their "Liberal" hand-maidens had for long conceived of the political segregation embodied in the 1920 and 1936 Acts. In 1892 in the Cape, under the Liberals, income qualifications were raised from £25 to £75, and property qualifications also from £25 to £75 an educational qualification was also introduced. In 1887, 30,000 Africans lost the vote as a result of Sprigge's Parliamentary Registration Bill. The 1920 and 1936 Bills consummated this process. With the African emasculated politically, the rulers proceeded to segregate the Coloured and Indian politically.

The first serious step in this direction was the introduction of the Coloured Advisory Council in 1943. After being rendered unworkable by the boycott movement initiated by the anti-C.A.D., the C.A.C. collapsed, but the idea of working through a quisling Coloured Council was continued by the present Nationalist Government. The administrative segregation of the Coloured people is to-day practically complete with

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50 J.H. Hofmeyr: "South Africa"

the provision, recently, for the establishment of a Coloured Affairs Department. The pre-Union Coloured male franchise was rendered worthless in the 1910 Colour Bar Act of Union. The Coloured vote was further emasculated when European women were given the vote about 20 years ago. It was still further reduced when the Cape African voters were removed on to a separate voters' roll. To-day the pathetic remnants of the Coloured man's vote is on the threshold of removal from the common roll. The administrative and political segregation of the Coloured people is rapidly nearing final perfection.

The Cape Indian vote falls into the same category as the Coloured vote in the Cape. The Natal Indians were disfranchised as far back as 1896 when the Natal African was likewise disfranchised for the second time after the decision in 1865 that "it is deemed inexpedient that Africans should vote". The British in Natal, copying the example of Mauritius, imported Indian labour for the sugar plantations in 1860 and again after 1874. This was done because the African had not as yet been rendered completely landless, and therefore did not need to work for wages on the sugar plantations. After their period of indenture was completed, after they had laid the foundation for the great wealth of the sugar plantations, the majority of labourers settled in the country as workers in the towns or as peasants or business men. The vast majority of Indians were born and bred in South Africa.

Yet from 1894 the Natal jingoes, echoed to-day by the Nationalist Party, have demanded their repatriation. In 1894 a £3 tax was imposed on every free Indian. In 1897, entry of free Indians was prohibited, but indentured immigration continued: they wanted the Indian labourer, but not the Indian business man. In the O.F.S., Indians were completely excluded, and an old O.F.S. law prevents "Asiatics and other Coloured persons from trading or carrying on any business whatsoever". Law 3 of 1885 excluded all Asiatics from the Transvaal franchise and demarcated areas for residence and property acquisition.

In 1902 the Cape Colony imposed immigration restrictions which affected the Indians. By 1904 the Herrenvolk regarded the Indian as an alien. The very Indians whom they had imported to build up the sugar plantations became the victims of the prejudice and policy", which Milner put into words. The same Milner who imported 60,000 Chinese mine workers said in 1904:

"The Asiatics are strangers forcing themselves on a community reluctant to receive them".

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52 Eybers: Select Documents.

53 J.H. Hofmeyr: "South Africa".

54 J.H. Hofmeyr: "South Africa", 27
In 1906 the "Liberal" Cape introduced yet another immigration Act prohibiting the entry of male Asiatics over 16 years of age from overseas. This process of vicious discrimination was continued in Malan's Cape Town Agreement of 1927, the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, the Pegging Act, the 1950 Group Areas Act, and the Indian Advisory Boards. This series of legislative measures is reaching a climax with fanatical schemes for repatriation. In the case of the Indians, two policies can be discerned, one affecting the Indian plantation labourer the other the Indian merchant class. Useful though this merchant class 'is to the Herrenvolk in preventing the Indian from coming into the Non-European Unity Movement, at the same time the wealth of this class is being coveted by the European businessman. Today the Indian businessman cannot invest freely, cannot acquire property freely, cannot trade freely and is facing expropriation, ruin and repatriation. The dispossession of the Indian merchant class would bring new wealth to the Herrenvolk of South Africa and enable them to continue the policy of bribing off the white workers. This is the economic content of the anti-Indian segregation policy. Political enslavement of the African, Coloured and Indian is practically complete. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, smashing the few remaining rights of free speech, assembly and organisation which had previously been undermined by the Riotous Assemblies Act, brings the system of dictatorship to a point of completion and makes South Africa the perfect totalitarian state in relation to the Non-European. 

I have outlined the process of the consolidation of the colour bar and segregation, economically and politically. Together with this process went the consolidation of segregation in the social sphere. The 1920 Native Affairs Act, by appointing a Native Affairs Commission to advise the Government on pass laws and urban areas control, prepared the way for the 1923 Urban Areas Act. This entrenched and developed "the whole system of urban compounds, locations, townships, registered service contracts, control of ingress and residence, control of beer-brewing and the extensive pass law system". The 1937 amendment to the Urban Areas Act "provided for the eviction of Africans from urban areas; for compulsory residence in 'compounds, locations, villages or hostels'; control of 'foreign' Africans; prohibition of entry of 'surplus Africans'. It carried, too a vital land clause, prohibiting Africans from buying land in any urban area without the consent of the Governor-General". In 1934 the old Transvaal and O.F.S. laws were consolidated by proclamation. Further tightening up proclamations were issued in 1935, 1936, 1939 and 1940. The entire pass law system shackles the African to misery and humiliation in reserves, compounds and "bombela" trains. Its purpose is the control, regulation and perpetuation of the cheap-labour system. The annual average of Africans imprisoned for pass law offences alone is 100,000, and it is well-
nigh impossible for any African to avoid imprisonment for a pass offence at least once during his life. The vast majority of prosecutions in South Africa are for contravention of pass laws, liquor laws and the Urban Areas Act. The prisons of the Union are chock-full of Africans convicted for the contravention of these special laws that apply only to them. Segregation reaches from the top to the bottom of every sphere of life, including the law courts.

Even Donald Molteno, who "worked" the 1936 Bills, was forced to admit that "after a life of toil, poverty and the laws of their country had reduced them to straits in which they were, there was not a square inch of soil of their native land on which they could lawfully set foot." The social segregation of the Non-Europeans and their coarse humiliation was further entrenched by the 1949 Mixed Marriages Act and the 1950 Immorality Act - race laws bred in a miasma of race hatred, and more vicious than any conceived by the blood-thinkers of Nazi Germany. Segregated economically, socially, politically, and sexually, the Non-European is segregated in education as well. Shepstone said before the Milner Commission in 1903:

"I do not think they (the Africans) are fitted for it"

i.e. education. The Langham Dale plan of superior education for whites and inferior education for non-whites is well known. This policy, enunciated after the mining revolution, was deliberately designed to preserve the Non-European as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water.

The effect of the Langham Dale policy is that to-day every European N child receives compulsory education. We can say quite safely that J the majority of Coloured and Indian children either do not reach school at all or have to leave after Std. II or III and that 80 per cent. of the Africans are kept in a state of illiteracy. Ignorance and illiteracy are the direct products of segregation in education.

From 1910 to 1950 the system of segregation in every walk of life was consolidated on the foundation of the industrial revolution in South Africa. This period of the basic reconstruction of South Africa was preceded by the period of the wars of conquest and the dispossession of the African peasant. Into this economic foundation were thrown all the prejudice and oppressive practices of two centuries of slavery at the Cape. This is the history of South Africa.

We have had a long struggle against tyranny. Hundreds of thousands of Non-Europeans perished as the heroes of this struggle. Gonnema, Stuurman, Ndlambe, Makanda, Dingaan, Mosesh, Cetawayo, Bambatta, resisted their military conquest and the expropriation of their land.

Hundreds of Non-Europeans perished in the struggle against tyranny at Bulhoek, Bundelswarts, Marabastad and on the Rand. But in all these struggles the Non-

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58E.Roux: “Time Longer Than Rope.”
European people have been defeated, and the history of South Africa has been the history of blood and tears. Yet this system of unparalleled despotism has unified the Non-European on the basis of a terrible common oppression. Out of the common interests of the oppressed people of South Africa have arisen new cries, new ideas, and new methods of struggle. The ideas of Non-European unity, non-collaboration with the oppressor and full democratic rights have become deeply rooted in the minds of thousands of the oppressed.

Out of these new ideas the struggle for freedom will grow into a reality. We, who have thus far been the victims of South African history, will play the major role in the shaping of a new history. In order to make that history, we must understand history. A people desiring to emancipate itself must understand the process of its enslavement.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

William Peter van Schoor was born in Salt River, Cape, on December 19, 1913. He trained as a teacher and after graduating through private study, lectured at Sohng Training College, Worcester in the Cape. A contemporary of B.M. Kies, Walter Parry, Hosea Jaffe, Goolam Gool and LB. Tabata, he helped to found in 1937 the New Era Fellowship.

He was, in fact, the principal speaker at its inaugural meeting. Significantly the subject of his lecture was "Imperialism" - an indication of the new political consciousness that was to flower in the next few decades. A.J. (Dick) Abrahamse was a colleague on the Training College staff. They, together with their co-workers, were to place an indelible stamp upon the political and educational life of the Worcester region. Elected as president of the Teachers' League of South Africa in 1951, he led the republic-wide campaign against the introduction of Christian-National Education with its tribalised divisions. He coined the epithet 'bush college' to describe the ethnic colleges set up in the period 196063. His presidential addresses delivered during his term of office in the TLSA are a landmark in the first phase of the struggles against what was to become known as "gutter education ", disfranchisement and the complete locationising of South African society. With Leo Sihlali he shared the honour of forming in 1952 the powerful Cape Teachers' Federal Council - with the TLSA and the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA) as its principal components. In 1956, 'Willem' as he was known to all his colleagues, and Ben Kies, then editor of the "Educational Journal" were summarily dismissed by the authorities.

His slashing condemnation of the Eiselen-deVos Malan gutter education system in his 1955 presidential address was the immediate reason for his dismissal, which was part of a nation-wide war upon teachers and parents who opposed tribalised schooling. In 1955 more than 55 members of CATA had been sacked, including its entire executive. In 1956 Isaac Matlare (editor), Ezekiel Mphahlele (the writer, president) and Zeph Motopheng (secretary) of the Transvaal African Teachers' Association were also dismissed. Motopheng is still a prisoner on Robben Island in 1986. Such were the times when 'The Origin and Development of Segregation' was written...

W.P. van Schoor served on the National Anti-CAD Committee and the Head Committee of the Unity Movement. There can be no question regarding the weighty and seminal contribution he and his colleagues made to the philosophy, politics and praxis of liberation and education for liberation. Driven by poor health and the pressures of the violent repression of the late 1960's, W.P. van Schoor left to live in England where he died on March 17, 1971.

CAPE TOWN, SEPTEMBER, 1986.