The experience of racism in Bermuda and in its wider context

Reflections of Dr. Eva Hodgson
Scholar, Researcher and Advocate
The Experience of Racism in Bermuda and in Its Wider Context: Reflections of Dr. Eva Hodgson – Scholar, Researcher and Advocate

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to persons who lived in Bermuda for just three years was stopped. And in 1998, the Bermuda Progressive Labour Party won its first election. In 2003, complete universal adult suffrage was finally achieved in Bermuda. For the first time, voting boundaries were drawn outside of physical parish boundaries. As a result, Bermuda had 36 constituencies all of relatively equal size and each voter only having one vote.

The Census of Population and Housing reports that in 2000, Bermuda’s population stood at 62,059 comprising 55% black and 34% white. Of the total population, 78% (48,746) were Bermudian while 71% (44,290) were born in Bermuda. Of the Bermudian population, 66% were black and 25% were white. Of the black population, 90% were born in Bermuda compared to just half that amount (45%) of the white population. And of all those granted Bermudian status (5,534), 63% were white while just 26% were black, almost the complete opposite of the Bermudian population. Twenty-seven per cent of all foreign-born persons came from the United Kingdom, the largest group of foreigners on the island.*

So as one can see, any country’s history of race is not simple. From what appears to be a simple recount of key dates in history, we can quickly move to a discussion on politics, economics and social equity; privilege, power and disemb powerment.

Clearly, Bermuda’s history needs to be understood from the variety of perspectives that made her who she is today; consenting and dissenting opinions about a history and current-day state that is rich with the stories of the racial lives of her people.

CURE, both independently and in collaboration with the Government of Bermuda, has produced many publications on aspects of race in Bermuda, over the last five years: *Exons of Bermuda’s Past* by James Smith, a story of Bermuda’s history with slavery; *Neighbourhood Conversations on Race*, a guide to having frank and genuine discussion on race and a commemoration of the Amistad to Bermuda initiative; the *State of the Races*, a statistical view of social and economic factors and race in Bermuda; and two booklets outlining race terminology. These resources, amongst many others contribute to how Bermuda speaks, thinks and negotiates race.

Lively and current debates on race and racism bring us to the publication of this work.

Dr. Eva Hodgson, scholar, historian and advocate, approached CURE about the possibility of publishing some writing on the history of racism, as opposed to slavery, in Bermuda. A persistent and knowledgeable voice in the ongoing racial dialogues in Bermuda, Dr. Hodgson’s writings would explore thoughts about the Bermudian experience, within the wider context of racism.

Meant to challenge perspectives and ideologies on race, the final product, *The Experience of Racism in Bermuda and Its Wider Context: Reflections of Dr. Eva Hodgson*, reflects on racism in a way that is spirited, frank and challenging.

We invite readers to interact with this work and to grapple with its implications, as we move into times where very big conversations on race can change the way we think and behave towards each other and will shape the way future generations will look upon us.

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*Author’s Note*

*The Experience of Racism in Bermuda and in Its Wider Context* is an expansion of an essay I wrote many years ago without a bibliography. Although expanding my essay provided me with an opportunity to do much more reading and research on the topic I did not record the sources because I was only interested in providing a quick response to the numerous black voices that I was hearing on the talk shows declaring that blacks were as racist as whites, and that we should forget the evils of the past. It is that past which has created the tremendous economic and social disparity between the black and white communities.

This discussion on racism is the result of many years of thinking about, reading about and writing about the issue. Its dependence upon, and recording of, sources varies enormously. It would be impossible to record all of the sources to which I am indebted, hence in lieu of a formal indexed bibliography I have included a list of the most significant, the most obvious sources to which I am indebted. Many of them are vintage sources since I have been on this journey for a very long time.

The book is divided into 20 chapters that are sub-divided into three parts. Part I: The Bermuda Experience covers chapters 1–9; Part II: The History and Development of Racism covers chapters 10–16; and Part III: The American and South African Experience covers chapters 17–20. My reflections on each section of the book are self-contained and, therefore, the book provides no formal introduction or formal conclusion. It is my wish that the reading of this book would prove insightful for the reader on the illogical notion of racism that has its roots beyond the shores of Bermuda, and become a catalyst for change of attitudes and actions of whites and blacks in Bermuda. It is my wish that readers will become more active in demonstrating fairness to all people in Bermuda. It is my wish that Bermuda society would become a model society of racial harmony through individual efforts as well as through collective intentional commitments of all Bermudians to uproot racism from our Island home.
PART I  THE BERMUDA EXPERIENCE

CHAPTER 1

The Bermuda Experience:
The black Bermudian experience has frequently shadowed the black American experience. It has been recorded in a variety of ways by a variety of authors. This is particularly true of the recorded history of slavery. Although racism was developed specifically to justify slavery and to control slaves, this particular aspect of Bermuda's experience is generally omitted from records on Bermuda's history. The following account on racism is not intended to be an exhaustive account of racism in Bermuda but it provides reflections on racism that was active during slavery and that continued into the post-slavery period.

Establishing Segregation:
In Bermuda, as elsewhere, official segregation needed to be developed after emancipation in order to accomplish the same purpose of slavery – economic exploitation, control and a policy that imposed a sense of inferiority in blacks and a sense of the right of supremacy among whites.

Dr. Kenneth Robinson gives an example which illustrates the introduction of this policy. In 1843 when James Forbes, a coloured man who had been a warden of pilots, died Benjamin Smith, a more experienced pilot – a Queen's pilot was denied the position of warden because of his race. Mr. Ballingal of the Navy Dockyard had expressed his preference for the white appointee, Mr. Hayward, over the available Benjamin Smith who was black, "because he considered that the warden should not be a man of colour as a white man who was competent would have more authority." Sir Charles Adams, Admiral and Commander-in-Chief, said that he would have appointed the black contender. It is significant that the former warden of pilots, who had only recently died, had been 'coloured'. It is also significant that Sir Charles had been prepared to appoint Benjamin Smith, the 'coloured' man. Segregation in employment in this field had apparently not been necessary until after Emancipation, although there were restrictions placed on free blacks prior to emancipation. Although Sir Charles had been prepared to appoint a 'coloured' man, the fact remains that it took more than a century before another coloured man was appointed as warden. It is likely that Sir Charles eventually would have understood the 'necessity' to appoint whites as wardens, from the white perspective, and would not have ventured to oppose the status quo. Even if this was not the case, and if he had spoken in favour of the more experienced pilot, this position was not supported by the majority for many years to come. As long as slavery existed it did not matter if free blacks held the role as pilot wardens; the enslavement of so many other blacks made their inferior status evident. But with the coming of Emancipation segregation was introduced to perpetuate the purpose of slavery as stated above, during the post-slavery period.

Call for Emigration:
There was another policy that the white community felt necessary to implement after Emancipation. In the opinion of some white people, the number of blacks in Bermuda near the end of slavery and thereafter was too great by far when compared to the number of whites (even though the numbers of blacks did not seem to matter as long as they were enslaved). On 4 March 1834, one named Amicus wrote to the Gazette urging "soon-to-be-freed" people to seek a loan from the British Government and to employ it to facilitate emigration to Africa or some other part of the British dominion, adding gratuitously, "as there is little or no room for them here, to exercise their talents and industry". This would not be the last time that whites would declare that there were too many blacks for an over-populated Bermuda while, at the same time, whites were being encouraged to come to Bermuda.

Dr. Robinson reports that "On 11 March of that same year, another letter writer, who signed himself A Bermudian, recommended that black natives of the country emigrate to Liberia as a 'more congenial climate and one 'better adapted to them in other respects'. In August 1838, convinced that such advice did not lead to its desired objective, the Gazette turned to admonishing, threatening and issuing warnings about the possibility of seeking labour from abroad; and on 14 August recorded, "We are obliged also...to acknowledge a continued want of industrious energy and enterprising habits in the coloured people generally...expecting an increase of wages, already very high. Now we warn them that they may carry this too far. If once the white inhabitants are driven to import labourers into the country (and this has been in partial agitation, and may be more easily done than they imagine,) they may bitterly rue their present unconscionable behaviour."

In 1842, further action was taken when an Act was passed to encourage emigrants to come to Bermuda. The House was very anxious for emigrants so much so that they were prepared to pay them to come. Records attest that "fourteen days subsistence money [would be granted] to persons (not exceeding 100 in one year) arriving in the Islands". They seemed not to have had much success in obtaining emigrants from Great Britain, so in 1849, they went further. The Legislature gave a grant of money to promote immigration and a number of Portuguese were introduced into the Island. In 1855, another resolution was passed to give another grant for not more than 1,000 immigrants. This time 536 black freeholders signed a petition which they sent to the Legislative Council. The Petition noted that "the plan" for more immigrants was aimed at blacks as a class and intended to do them "serious injury".

The petitioners interpreted the intent of the immigration policy to serve the advantage of the employers 'exclusively'. They wanted the Council to 'honour' the spirit of the Emancipation and contended that "the interest of the employed as a class was wholly lost sight of." They took note of the fact that the employers were as a general rule white and the employed were 'coloured persons'. They also pointed out that the money which the 'coloured' earned would remain in the Island while much of that earned by the Portuguese would be sent out of the Island. They also asked whether or not it was a matter of indifference to the future welfare of this Protestant colony that there were repeated efforts 'to introduce bodies of immigrants of the Roman Catholic persuasion.'
as a British Colony, was primarily a Protestant country with the monarch being the head of the Anglican Church. The petitioners were questioning the wisdom of importing Portuguese who came from a primarily Catholic country. They also recalled that during the period large-scale cultivation of the soil had been effected under the advice and guidance of former Governor Reid. The results had been successful and the native labourers proved equal to the task. Clearly, the petitioners believed that importing Portuguese labour was unnecessary. They reminded the Council that the obnoxious measure was not the first of its kind. They believed that the promoters of such schemes were aware of what the consequences of repeated immigration could mean to the coloured population. Of course, the Assembly knew. It is interesting to note that the policy of importing emigrants in order to both underpay and control blacks would continue for more than a century. More than 500 blacks signed the petition.

Controlling and exploiting blacks through the immigration policy, was just one of many methods used to demean them. Most of the policies and practices could come under the general term of segregation or 'apartheid'. Unlike South Africa, Bermuda legislators did not pass a slew of laws to ensure the separation of the races, but their policy and propaganda ensured that it was, nevertheless, just as efficient. There was eventually one exception: in 1930 an Act of Parliament made it legal for hotel and innkeepers to refuse to serve any person whom they wished. Ultimately, they refused blacks and Jews. Although it was not a law that they had to discriminate as in South Africa, it had the same effect.

Chapter 2

Apartheid - Bermuda Style:

Hilton Hill II, under the sponsorship of Dale Butler's Writer's Machine, published an essay, 'Choir No 1. & Choir No. 2', which sets forth, or describes, Bermuda's policy of segregation and discrimination. He records a meeting of coloured Bermudians. The main issues that they needed to discuss were low wages, inadequate educational facilities, limited voting rights, paucity of political representation and racial discrimination. They might have added living areas since there were some areas set aside for blacks and other areas where blacks could not live or acquire land. Most of the beaches and waterfront land were white owned and blacks dare not use them.

In 1948, Hill was a member of a committee which presented a delegation to the Secretary of State from England. Hill believed that their petition could have been entitled 'Segregation from the Cradle to the Grave'. In fact, it began before the baby was in the cradle. If a pregnant black woman went to a white doctor, she would be ushered into a waiting room where only coloured people waited. There was another waiting area for white women. If a black pregnant woman was sent to the King Edward VII Memorial Hospital the same would be true. She would only be assigned to a semi-private room if there was another coloured person with whom she could share the room. She would have gone to the white doctor in the first place because only white doctors were allowed in the hospital. Hill explains that the black doctor was banned from the hospital even if it was only a splinter to be removed. Once the baby was born, it would be placed in a segregated nursery. At that time, only white nurses were employed. Some years later, when a single black nurse was employed the hospital administration kept her separate from the white nurses. In some ways, this action might even be considered a step forward since, at one time; there was a separate hospital on Happy Valley Road for blacks known as the Cottage Hospital where less qualified black professionals worked.

When the black child reached school age he or she was sent to a segregated school from kindergarten to primary to secondary level. Even on Sundays there was segregation in the Anglican Church which, at the time, was a State Church. Black people had to sit in the back of the church and black children went to Sunday school from 3 o'clock to 4 o'clock while white children attended Sunday school in the morning before the regular service. There were no black ordained ministers but there were black lay readers who administered to black worshipers in black neighbourhoods in 'chapels' not 'churches'. If an ordained black minister visited Bermuda he would preach in these chapels or he might be permitted to preach in the Cathedral at a time that was not a regular service. There were two choirs. One choir was known as Choir No. I. Its members were white. The second was known as Choir No. II. Its members were black. The black choir sang only at coloured weddings or funerals. There were also coloured altar boys, ushers and organists, all of whom performed only at functions for coloured people.
Employment:
When it came to employment there were also severe restrictions for people of colour in Bermuda during the post-Emancipation period. Blacks were not allowed in the ‘white collar’ jobs. They were employed as delivery boys, janitors and common labourers. They were not even allowed to sell stamps in the post office. This policy was true throughout the civil service. Blacks who wanted to avoid being demeaned by white bosses and could afford it, studied for law or medicine. There had always been black teachers to teach black children. When the government decided to train black teachers they were sent to Jamaica while whites were sent to Canada or Great Britain. The Police Department had a few coloured constables and a few plainclothes detectives, but no black was ever promoted to officer. In the private sector, the segregation was even more rigid. If ever a black person and a white person performed the same function, the white person was paid a great deal less. Blacks were never employed in the banks or in the retail shops. The policy was overt enough and considered sufficiently appropriate that newspapers carried advertisements for employment that read “only whites need apply.” Whenever there was a depression or a slowing down of the economy blacks were generally fired while whites were retained. In fact, even today that is likely to happen and they are often the guest workers who are retained. Hill points out that when World War I destroyed the tourist trade those who were unemployed were put to work on government reclamation projects at less than subsistence wages. It was evident that those employed for these projects were coloured because whites still had their jobs.

When the United States began to build bases in Bermuda, the Bermuda Government insisted that Bermudians be paid on a lower scale than the Americans who were working beside them because most of the Bermudians were black. Black Bermudians could not eat where white folks ate. Restaurants, from coffee shops to high-class restaurants, refused to serve blacks; although some restaurants might give counter service or take out service to blacks. No coloured person was allowed in any of the hotels. That meant that even high officials from the Caribbean would be forced to spend their nights at the airport if there was a layover, while the white customer would be taken to a hotel. This policy did result in a variety of entrepreneurial black people establishing black guest houses. The irony for black people is that when desegregation did come these guest houses were forced to close, for a variety of reasons, illustrating the concern of those who believed in self-imposed segregation.

The military was also segregated. The Bermuda Volunteer Rifle Corps (BVRC) and the Bermuda Volunteers (BVE) were white while the Bermuda Militia Artillery (BMA) and the Bermuda Royal Garrison (BRGA) were black but with all white officers. During World War II there was conscription but if a black person with secondary or college education enquired at the time of his induction what the opportunities were for officer training he was told that he was excused and would be called later, if needed.

Entertainment:
Similarly to education, entertainment was segregated even though it might operate differently at different places. In one case, blacks at a movie house could not sit in the balcony while at another, they were not allowed to sit in the centre section. In the case of occasional live theatre, the sale of tickets was limited to whites. However, in the fifties when the Bermudian Theatre presented a performance, a group of black Bermudian theatre lovers, together with the backing of American Actors Equity Association and support from England, forced the theatre to change that policy. If a black person went on a vacation he was likely to be turned away if he wanted to go by air until a black Member of Parliament, Russell Levi Pearman, was successful in forcing the airline to sell him a ticket. If a black person went by sea, and at that time it would be by the Queen Monarch or the Queen of Bermuda, he or she would be assigned to a cabin which was set aside for coloured travellers and assigned in the dining room to a table with only blacks. Whites who might have been prepared to join them were discouraged from doing so. The coloured tables were likely to be situated near the kitchen.

In matters of education, religion, medical care, employment, entertainment and in death, blacks were the subjects of discrimination. When the black person died, he would be prepared for burial by a black mortician and would be buried in a cemetery where there was a wall that separated the black deceased from the white deceased. It was against this background that blacks protested either in a very conservative manner conforming to the political climate or later a little less so. We have seen where free blacks and recently freed blacks protested the importation of Portuguese to undermine black labour by sending a petition to the Legislative Council. Other protests would follow.

The Workers’ Petition:
In 1948, Dr. E.F. Gordon took a petition to Great Britain on behalf of the Bermuda Workers’ Association (BWA). Some of the members of the BWA signed the petition but, in fact, it was on behalf of every black person in the country. There were 600 people present at the Colonial Opera House in support of the petition. But only a select few that were relatively financially independent or secure were able to sign because there was likely to be all kinds of financial reprisals such as the calling in of mortgages or loans or the loss of jobs — all of which was a part of the black man’s experience if he were seen not to be sufficiently compliant. Great Britain commanded the local Assembly to look into the matters raised by the petition. These matters that were to be addressed included all of the injustices which had been reiterated through previous years, and were to be reiterated for years to come: limited franchise, plural voting, discrimination in the civil service employment, segregated schools and the lack of any form of legislation for the workers interest or welfare.

George A. Williams:
When Great Britain commanded the Assembly to consider Dr. E.F. Gordon’s White Paper, a Legislative Committee was set up to consider the matter. George A. Williams was the one black Member of Colonial Parliament (MCP) (MCP’s was the former term for today’s Members of Parliament or MPs) on the Committee. George A. Williams entered the House of Assembly in 1928. In 1935, he was being called the ‘Champion of the Unemployed’ by The Recorder, which stated that the entire Colony should “be grateful to this member for giving such a lucid statement
on this vital problem of unemployment." Two years later that same paper wrote in lavish praise, "Mr. George A. Williams, who has ever been a champion for minority groups played a large part in helping to kill a Bill which, if successful, would have closed the door in the face of all minority candidates in this Colony." Throughout a dozen years George A. Williams was being hailed as valiant in the battle for coloured people. In 1938, The Recorder listed his numerous contributions to the Church, schools and community, an outstanding coloured businessman "concerned for the poor people of the Island" who manifested "human sympathy," "initiative, energy and cooperation". In 1944, he was vociferously demanding universal franchise largely because he saw that the vote to women would be to the detriment of the black vote. Despite all of this, he could make no impact on the Legislative Committee that was set up. The only concession that the whites on the Committee were prepared to make was to provide free primary education. In spite of open protest and demonstration there was not one single political or racial concession.

Chapter 3

Education Policy:

Education is important in the moulding of a society. In Second Class Citizens: First Class Men, the author quotes an official report from the thirties, a period during which the black community was doing very little protesting. The report proved to be revealing in terms of the government's education policy as it impacted on both the black and the white community; particularly, at the secondary level and of interest, here, in matters of financial allocations received. The white schools were Whitney Institute which received £1,050; the Bermuda High School for Girls which received £1,149.17; Saltus Grammar School which received £1,050 and Warwick Academy which received £1,200. The one black school for 60 per cent of the population was The Berkeley Institute which received a mere £975. The government and the white community, committed to their philosophy of racism, believed, in the first instance, that blacks were too stupid to be educated and in addition to that, if too many blacks received an education there would be no one to do the menial tasks for which the white community needed them.

Both during slavery and after Emancipation, everything possible was done to discourage blacks from learning to read. Perhaps as a result blacks quickly acquired a desire to be educated. It was always a struggle. A great deal of effort went into establishing The Berkeley Institute. Both Sandys Secondary and Howard Academy faced even greater obstacles in order to be established so that more blacks could receive a secondary education, with the possibility of going on to university. In any case, there would be a limit to those who could attend because fees had to be paid despite any government aid received. The history of both Howard Academy and the Technical Institute is further indication of the government's intention regarding the black community. Both were meeting the needs of the black community in a very special way. Both schools gave to their students a sense of purpose and worth and fostered attitudes so difficult to develop within the black community. Both schools were forced to close. The general feeling within the black community is that they were closed because they were so effective in the task that they were called upon to perform. Ironically those blacks who could not attend The Berkeley Institute often expressed bitterness towards those who did rather than towards a government policy which was deliberately discriminatory and did not wish to see too many blacks being educated. In the fifties, the Government established secondary modern schools, which were not seen as academic institutions.

The Berkeley Institute:

The Berkeley Institute had its own challenges. The government would have liked to turn it into a technical institute with no emphasis on academics. In 1935, His Worship the Mayor gave a speech at The Berkeley Institute in which, according to a local newspaper, his bits of advice were that the "children should learn to use their hands and to be satisfied in that state of life in which it had pleased God to place them" — in other words, to "be satisfied to remain good workmen". But God had little to do with the government's philosophy of white supremacy. The attack on the academic
programme of The Berkeley Institute was a recurring challenge. In 1936, Mr. Inniss, the headmaster, defended the programme acknowledging that some people think that coloured children have no right to be educated culturally, but should be trained only vocationally as working men and that attempts should be made to nullify and discourage their secondary education. Such a policy, apart from being analogous to an attempt to reintroduce serfdom would be nearsighted. The general uplifting of the class must benefit the state. A decade later, in the forties Mr. R.A.N. James the next headmaster of The Berkeley Institute, was once again defending the academic programme. "I believe", he said, "that vocational studies, if properly handled can be as educative as others...

The sponsors of pure vocational course...planned that it would be opened to all pupils and to non-pupils as well, irrespective of their attainments. My concurrence in such measures would have been tantamount to a betrayal of my trust. I, therefore, protested strongly against a scheme which bade fair to undermine our educational structure and grossly impair the efficiency of the established order."

During the fifties, a decade later, another chairman of the board of education believed that one grammar school for Bermuda's coloured 60 per cent was sufficient and that "trying to educate some people was like knocking their head against a stone wall." Both Mr. Inniss and Mr. James believed in an education that had a value that was not vocational and was quite apart from a utilitarian purpose, whereas the white community thought only in terms of blacks becoming labourers. They believed, if blacks were going to be educated then that education should be 'vocational' only - in order to prepare them for manual labour, since whites did not wish to do manual labour themselves with blacks present. Both Mr. James and Mr. Inniss, however, promoted the idea of intellectual mastery for blacks because whether a person was to be a carpenter, or grocer, or even a labourer he had a right to have his brain developed. There is a certain irony in the fact that once a technical school was established it was so successful in both 'educating' and 'training' young men, including young black men, that the power structure closed it. Mr. Inniss had commented that 'from the way I have heard people talk in Bermuda one might conclude that coloured boys were to be either carpenters or masons on the one hand or doctors, lawyers or school teachers on the other. But from the records of my school, I see that far more have become printers, electricians, policemen, shopkeepers, farmers. Of what use would a purely vocational course as a carpenter have to them?'

The effort of the Government to ensure that the black community was restricted to 'manual' labour was evident when Dr. John Cann protested the fact that the Bermuda Scholarship, which was intended to lead to the possibility of a Rhodes scholarship was, not surprisingly, limited to white boys. The government eventually made a concession to Dr. Cann by setting up a scholarship for black boys. It was to be a 'technical scholarship' making it clear that black boys should not aim too high. But those who received it made the most of it and did not let it determine their future. They became professional if that was their goal. Dr. Cann deserves any credit which might be given to him, even though at the time there was criticism that he had 'sullied' for a 'technical scholarship'.

Government's Concern about 'Overpopulation' Revisited:
In the fifties, the government, which was hammering away at the lack of wisdom of childbearing and the danger of overpopulation, was being challenged to educate Bermudians to a standard that would make the importing of foreign workers unnecessary. The Governor's Population Committee was telling us that "Bermudians are, by sheer force of numbers, pushing themselves out of Bermuda. They are beginning to breed themselves off their own rock" but there was always room for the foreign worker. We were warned that a group of 'undernourished' people in Bermuda might attempt to seize the resources of a comparatively 'well-nourished' people. There was irony in the warning. The consistent policy of the Bermuda Government had been to create these two distinct classes: on the one hand there was the 'undernourished', under-educated blacks, deliberately shut out from the advantages of fair access to opportunity; on the other hand there were the privileged whites of Bermuda society who more consistently had access to opportunities in education, employment and more.

Although some superficial, sometimes significant, changes had been made toward providing fair access to opportunity for all, racism continued in a more subtle form. There were many people, both black and white, who believed that speaking about race was taboo and anyone who did was himself/ herself a racist and the reason for the continuing racism! The purported intent of not talking about the racism which existed was to prevent racial tension. Those who held to this position permitted racism to continue by failing to openly challenge it. It must be noted however, that racism in Bermuda differed in some aspects from racism in other countries, like America and South Africa. British racism in Bermuda was less physically brutal than that of the American Klu Klux Klan and less legally incisive than that of South Africa, but it was equally frustrating and equally destructive to the mind and soul of its victims.

E. T. Richards and the Hotel Policy:
E.T. Richards challenged the government to change the Jim Crow policy of the hotels and restaurants. He moved an action with a message requesting the Governor to outlaw discrimination in the hotels. He contended that the discrimination was "wreaking incalculable damage to Bermuda's reputation and is fouling racial conflict in these islands." White Members of Colonial Parliament responded by saying that they could not see any other policy 'working', and discounted the proposal as a 'mild and trivial' issue. That, of course, was true when one considers the restricted franchise, the system of taxation and the segregation of schools needed to be addressed more urgently. But, considering the response to his 'mild and trivial' issue, it would have been even more futile to raise any of the others.

At the same time, E.T. Richards was told that it was 'unfortunate' that he had chosen to raise an issue that "affects our bread and butter". Another said that they were "struggling to find a solution" but he "hated motivation of issues on racial or religious grounds" and that "the Honourable Members of the House, such as Mr. Richards, was obsessed with the idea that there was prejudice against them because of the texture of their hair or the colour of their skin" - these obsessions really "did not matter". That Member of Parliament considered the motion "outrageous interference" and he
said “I will have nothing to do with it.” Holding black people responsible for the racism imposed by whites is clearly not a new phenomenon and reflects the contempt for black people’s intelligence as much today as it did then. W. L. Tucker asked if they were indeed looking for a solution why had they not set up a committee years ago as they had done for the Population Committee. The reason was, of course, because they were concerned about the black population increase, they were not concerned about black segregation. Mr. Richards got a Select Committee, which was to disappear behind closed doors, to study the hotel policy for many months.

Chapter 4

Personal Experiences – Pain and Humiliation:

These were the broad policies in education, segregation and politics, but every one of them had personal painful implications for the individual. There was the individual who applied to the police force and, according to The Recorder, was told that he was too ugly and that Bermudians had better stick to taxi driving. There was Miss Helen Martin Fletcher who became a State Registered Nurse in Birmingham, UK, and returned to Bermuda and told how the administration had placed every possible obstacle in her way to prevent her from going abroad to study. They told her that she would never make it and reduced her to a “nervous wreck” before she left. Then there was Sir Edwin McDavid, CMG, CBE, a legislator from the West Indies, on his way to London to be honoured by Her Majesty the Queen, who was unfortunate enough to have to pass through Bermuda. No hotel would accommodate him. A group of West Indian journalists sat up in the airport all night for the same reason. Archbishop Knight denounced Bermuda’s policy as “the legacy of some long barbaric pagan past which was unconscionably slow in dying.” He regarded it as “of the devil – diabolic”.

Then there were the group of black children who were being coached at the Prospect Courts and were suddenly thrown out when the British garrison returned. To make matters worse, after a great deal of pressure from W. L. Tucker they were permitted to use the government courts for several hours on Saturday morning with two qualifications. One was that no adult should be on the courts and the other was that they should use only the outside toilets. Several weeks later, the permission was withdrawn because they had found five or six white children who wished to use the stadium at the same time.

There was the occasion when the AME Church had arranged a moonlight cruise aboard the tender Chauncey M. Defeo. Nine hundred tickets had been sold. The Trade Development Board had withdrawn the boat from service without informing the pastor or the Church. Ticket holders and the organisers arrived with foodstuff on the day of the planned cruise only to be told by a white shipping agent that he had chartered the boat and she would not be available to them. W. L. Tucker was furious.

The AME Church had a far greater percentage of politically aware blacks than any other single organisation in Bermuda. The Trade Development Board could not care less. They were still black. Insulting them was par for the course. Blacks were never given a title, not even in print. It was a part of the personal insult and demeaning of the individual black person which was a part of the policy. E. T. Richards, in a letter in The Recorder which The Royal Gazette had refused to publish, asked “Why does your reporter refer to Mrs. Cora Seaman as ‘Seaman’? Why should a decent, respectable woman not be called Miss or Mrs. Seaman...when she testifies in Court? You help to breed disrespect in a small community by this form of reporting. It is in bad taste and offends a large number of people.” Black people were offended. It clearly did not matter since it was an intentional insult.
There was the personal insult to Mr. George Ratteray and his father, both of whom had served in the Bermuda Militia Artillery. The chairman of the Local Forces Board in a speech to the Rotary Club commented that 90 per cent of the Negroes who joined the Bermuda Militia Artillery (known colloquially as the Black Men’s Army) found better conditions in camp than they did at home; therefore they found military service inviting. The same was not true of “the white men who joined the Bermuda Rifles”. Hence white men did not join the Forces. Mr. Ratteray was highly indignant and contended that the Chairman “just opens his mouth and the wind blows around his tongue.”

A Nightmare:
One person, in a letter to the editor, described the nightmare that his experience gave him, “I had a terrible dream last night. All night with a bright light in my face, this white man stood in front of me yelling his head off. He was telling me that I should join the Military Reserve Constabulary and try to take more interest in the community. The trouble with this man is that he does not know what it is all about, what it is like to be told you can’t go to this place or that place and cannot do this or that... It costs just as much to be a coloured Bermudian as to be a white Bermudian, it is not fair that we have half the chance they do all day, every day, so little respect is shown to us... I think that I am still having this terrible dream.”

Impact of Racism:
Every single black individual had his or her own experience of personal insults and indignity. For some it resulted in terrible nightmares, for others it resulted in anger and frustration. Still others who laboured under the discourtesy, humiliation and ill-treatment were convinced that whites were, indeed, superior and blacks inferior. For others this kind of scurrilous dealing resulted in a racial self-hatred that was destructive to both the individual and the race. Others were driven by a determination to succeed in spite of the obstacles. But to all it was destructive and even more ruinous to the country as a whole because those with the power spent energy and initiative in ways to oppress and exploit, insult and demean the greater portion of the population rather than invest in creative ways to develop the country and its people. It was a curse, the effects of which would last for many decades. Yet, in spite of tremendous resistance, changes were made to improve the plight of blacks in Bermuda.

Politics and Race:
Education and segregation were only two of the policies to control and exploit the black community. There was a third and equally powerful policy of control; it was political. In the first place it was a landed franchise. That meant that in order to vote one had to own a piece of property of a certain value. That in itself was not so unusual for the Nineteenth Century. However in Bermuda the evil was compounded. The value of the land needed to vote was increased immediately after Emancipation. But even beyond that, the parish vestry decided on the value of the land and there was nothing consistent about parish assessment. An individual might have paid £3,000 or £4,000 for a piece of property and a white parish vestry might value it at less than £60, as happened to W. L. Tucker. There were nine parishes. Each parish returned four MCP’s – thus each voter could vote for four individuals. However they could also vote for only one person. Blacks often did limit their vote to one person. This was known as plumbing. An individual might own land in more than one parish. This was plural voting. Elections were held in different parishes on different days in order to facilitate plural voting. In addition to plural voting there was syndicate voting. If an individual had his land valued very highly he could then place others on his land and control their votes. A wealthy individual might own land in all nine parishes, in which case he would have 36 votes. One retiring magistrate quoted in a local paper reported that in one instance a man with land in all nine parishes placed his wife and all five adult children on all properties which meant that they each had 36 votes. Thus he controlled 216 votes while there were others who had no vote at all, not because they did not own property but because it had been valued at less than £60. It was legal but it was also both unethical and corrupt. A vast majority of black people owned no property at all.

Howard Academy:
In an effort to make up for the lack of secondary education for blacks, a number of parents, with a great deal of effort, established the Howard Academy. The chairman of the Board of Education told the parents who were struggling to educate their children who were a part of Bermuda that “if you force children without natural gift you are trying to drive them at a stone wall.” He also asked, “Do you think that we should make provision because a father thinks his son should have an education which the Almighty has not equipped him for?” What was the basis for assuming that the children of these parents did not have ‘natural gift’, other than that they were black and therefore should not strive for an academic education? The fact was that the headmaster, Mr. Edward DeJean, was a motivating and inspirational educator and in spite of the challenges did a more effective job than many with far more resources. The real irony was that one of the Howard Academy students, now Sir John Swan, became a Premier of Bermuda and leader of the United Bermuda Party (for all practical purposes ‘the white party’).

Another student from Howard Academy, Roosevelt Brownie, could be termed ‘the father of universal franchise’ because of the role he played in Bermuda eventually achieving universal franchise. These were those that the board wanted to deny an academic education because they had no ‘natural gift’. One can only wonder how many black lives have been wasted because this country was more committed to personally insulting blacks than in educating them.
The Progressive Group:
The first real breakthrough came in 1959. It had little to do with most of the House Committees that had been set up in Parliament, although it had an affect on all of them. There was the Interracial Committee by Levi Pearman, the Committee on The Innkeepers Act by E.T. Richards, and the Franchise Committee by W.L. Tucker. The people's protest which occurred in 1959, led by an anonymous group, had the kind of impact which meant that all of these committees achieved results that they would not have had without this collective action by the black community.

In June of 1959 a circular was sent through the mail to hundreds of blacks. It read, "On this, the 350th year, we the under mentioned group, wish you to make an effort to bring about the end of second class citizenship. There is no reason why any person should not be allowed to sit any place in any theatre. You are well behaved, well dressed and you know only too well that you have to pay your admission. You have a sense of personal dignity, courage and leadership; therefore assert yourself and Boycott All Theatres as of June 15th. Encourage your friends to do likewise. The fact that some theatres are not segregated proves that the management segregates as a matter of principle. Therefore, you are earnestly urged not to attend any theatre until the management changes its policy. Remember success depends on you." It was signed A PROGRESSIVE GROUP.

Then early one morning Bermudians, on their way to work, were met by placards and posters throughout the Island reading "down with Segregation in Theatres". The president of the Bermuda General Theatres responded by putting out a statement in the press stating that when the new theatre was built segregation would cease. Moreover he thought that it was unlikely that his directors would alter their policy until that time. He contended that segregation was because seating throughout the colony was inadequate. From the very first day it was clear that the boycott had its appeal. It was so evident that the President of the General Theatres considered that it was "a lot of fuss" about a policy which it had been decided to alter months ago. He considered it "a storm in a teacup". One employee of the Bermuda General Theatres declared that coloured people loved their movies so much that the boycott would collapse at the end of three days, although it had been almost 100 per cent successful on the first night. Another statement put out by the directors of the theatres stated that "The directors of this company deeply deplore any member of the public being coerced, in this manner, to follow the wishes of a section of this community with whose opinion such a member of the community does not agree." The original was not in italics. The statement continued "The Company therefore wishes to make it clear that it will continue to welcome those members of the public who wish to patronise the theatres and hopes that all right thinking members of the community will help the company to protect the freedom of choice which is the right of the public in selecting the form of entertainment which it wishes to attend. "White people clearly did not and probably do not understand the depth of the insults and indignities which this policy inflicted on black people. In spite of themselves they just did not see black people being as human as they are.

Then there was the statement that read "The directors...held a meeting this afternoon to consider the incident which occurred outside the playhouse last evening when a demonstration was staged. The alleged 'incident', received only a passing notice in the daily paper. One individual who had attended the cinema had been chased by one of the demonstrators. This act was hardly a reason for calling a director's meeting particularly since at the same time two theatres had been closed for lack of patronage. That seemed a much more likely reason for calling a director's meeting.

Members of Parliament:
Crowds continued to gather outside the theatre both as a form of demonstration and as a sign of curiosity. On the Wednesday night the crowds were treated to the brilliant soap box oratory of a young man who, although he said he did not know who formed the Progressive Group, encouraged the crowds to hold out until "November or December" if necessary. He told them that "this movement was spearheaded by you for you". The namelessness of the Progressive Group was their greatest strength. The idea for which they stood was the only object of attack. W.L. Tucker was "shocked" by the attitude of the theatre directors. He commended the crowd for manifesting orderly behaviour. He was perturbed because he thought that the situation could be "explosive". The orderly behaviour was a problem for the authorities. White MCP's very much wanted to portray the crowd as a disorderly crowd of "hoodlums", but they could not. The directors eventually had to close all of the theatres throughout the Island. It was the people at grassroots who earned the victory and the planners were lost in the people.

White Criticism of the Boycott:
The president of the Bermuda General Theatres was furious. He lashed out in the House of Assembly. He would not be "coerced by hoodlums". The boycott was not the traditional way to solve problems in Bermuda. White MCP's had ignored black legislators when they had followed the 'traditional' way of Parliamentary committees and now they 'deplored' mass action which they considered 'irresponsible'. Black people had taken matters in their own hands with reference to black legislators and they were not ignored. They had not intended to close the theatres, only to desegregate them. To close the theatres proved the extent to which whites were prepared to go to maintain segregation. The official mouthpiece for the Church of England, The Churchman, viewed the boycott "with regret". It felt that it was a matter of good sense to use "the normal channels", of which there were plenty in Bermuda before "making a scene". A Church which, as an organisation, had never raised its voice against discrimination and segregation could now "regret" the action taken by blacks. The white MCP's now called for 'negotiation' with the Progressive Group. While their call was ignored by the Progressive Group, there were 'negotiations' with the Governor's Special Committee, which blacks saw as a face saving gesture.

Theatres Reopen:
In any case, on 2 July 1959, the theatres reopened their doors...desegregated. In a press release the directors of the theatres made a statement, "As a result of meetings with the Governor's Special Committee and subsequent discussions among ourselves, we have decided to move forward to July
the date on which the policy of "no discrimination" in our theatres will take effect. As was previously announced, the new policy had been agreed upon by the Company some 15 months ago and was scheduled to take effect in the autumn with the opening of our new theatre. We are appreciative of the counsel and help resulting from our meeting with the Governor's Special Committee. It is apparent from the discussion with the Committee and with other persons in the community that the immediate adoption of the "no discrimination" policy will serve the interests of the community and will be accepted as responsive to our sense of obligation to strengthen the friendly ties among all groups in these lands". In spite of all the segregation and discrimination blacks were supposed to believe in the "friendly ties".

The real effectiveness of the boycott was further demonstrated when the hotels issued a statement indicating a modification in their Jim Crow policy. The statement said "It is now the policy of the hotels joining in this statement to accept reservations for dinner, dancing and entertainment from local residents without discrimination." The people, had, collectively, accomplished in two weeks what black legislators had not been able to accomplish in two years. Then The Churchman stated that the Church needed to take a fresh look "at the matter of pew renting." The renting of pews was the accepted procedure of maintaining racial segregation and, at the same time, of supporting the sense of a privileged class amongst the white community. The editorial considered that there were some "citadels of prejudice which really only need a good humourous laugh all round and they will vanish away." Even so, pew renting was still a very live issue in 1963.

Chapter 6

The Franchise:
In 1958, W. L. Tucker made a motion which was to have far reaching effects. The motion was made immediately after a general election. Mr. Tucker pointed out that everything was "sane and sober" and therefore a good time to study the Parliamentary Election Act. Although universal franchise had been mentioned from time to time W. L. Tucker was not asking for anything so radical. He believed syndicate voting and plural voting were the most damnable aspects of the Act. His proposal for a select committee seemed innocuous enough. It took two years for the select committee to bring in an interim report. It did away with plural voting and syndicate voting and the assessment of land would be based on a building size lot rather than on arbitrary evaluation. These were the most vicious and iniquitous aspects of the system and Mr. Tucker considered them vital. But it did not enfranchise the people of Bermuda. Mr. A.A. Francis said the committee was the classic example of the elephant that had gone into labour and brought forth a mouse.

The Majority Report had also recommended that the franchise be extended to lease holders. Mr. Tucker knew that the legislation would be meaningless; however, in order to retain the support of the white members, he signed it. Mr. E.T. Richards had signed a Minority Report which recommended that the franchise be extended to rent payers. While Mr. Tucker agreed with him he had been threatened that he would not even get an interim report if he did. He later said, "I felt like a traitor to my people, not to sign E.T.'s report, and that hurt...but what else could I do?" Nothing, really, since after 22 months of hard work all of the white members would have voted against even removing the plural and syndicate voting if he had. Even so, it aroused strong opposition from some MCP's and letter writers. One person stated quite frankly that if it was a racial matter he objected to any possibility of placing greater voting power in the hands of the coloured population. The irony was that many black people would go on voting for whites 30 years after adult suffrage was achieved.

The Legislative Council suddenly, after two years, decided that it should be involved in any discussions on constitutional reform. No one had seriously expected much would come out of the Committee. But this expectation had changed as a result of the meetings held by the Committee for Universal Adult Suffrage.

Roosevelt Browne and the Committee for Universal Adult Suffrage (CUAS):
On 9 September 1960, the Chairman of the CUAS left for a Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference expecting to return in October. But illness kept him abroad much longer and in the interim period Roosevelt Browne returned to Bermuda. In August, Mr. Browne with a number of colleagues began to hold a series of public meetings on universal franchise. It was evident that the majority of the black population did not even know the meaning of universal franchise and certainly did not see the relationship between their daily lives and the franchise. Roosevelt Browne set out to show them the connection. Most of his companions were ex-pupils of Howard Academy. They initially circulated a petition urging support for universal franchise. Hundreds, perhaps thousands,
refused to sign for fear of reprisals, loss of jobs, foreclosure of mortgages, and other forms of persecution. The mortgage for some had been called in. Yet, the petition eventually obtained 4,000 – 5,000 signatures.

The meetings began in St. George’s on 5 October, with a debate by a panel including Mr. Walter Robinson, Mr. Arnold Francis and two MCP’s who opposed the universal franchise. There was an audience of 50. By the time the meetings reached Smith’s Parish there was an audience of 150 with many standing. Then night after night through September and October the halls were crowded and the final meeting at Hamilton Hall saw over a thousand people. Although the crowds did not understand universal franchise, they became aware that it had something to do with racism which they suffered daily and they gave their support to those who were on the platform expressing the indignation, the frustration and the resentment at the injustices of racism which they felt but could not express.

W. L. Tucker Returns:
On 4 February The Recorder reported both the return of the Hon. W.L. Tucker and the departure of Mr. Roosevelt Browne. On 14 June, Mr. Tucker brought in a Majority Report, signed by six members, recommending that the voting age be 21 years. Also, signed by four members was a Minority Report, which recommended a voting age of 25. The Minority Report also recommended that the parish system of voting be discarded for 38 racial electoral districts in order to protect a certain number of white seats in the event that blacks should vote along racial lines. Whites had always voted on racial lines and would continue to do so indefinitely. White people knew so little about black people that they did not realise that black folks were without racial feelings when it came to voting. Black people were so intent on destroying segregation that they would go on voting for white folks for a long time in the hope that voting for them would contribute towards desegregation. It would be many years in the future before whites finally forced increasing numbers of blacks to think along racial lines for political purposes.

The Honourable W.L. Tucker, a black politician, had lobbyed for years to widen the franchise by conventional and constitutional methods. Twenty years earlier Dr. E. Cann had lobbyed to obtain the vote for rent-payers. David Tucker and Dr. E.F. Gordon were both long associated with the universal franchise. Even after 18 months of discussion, the biggest concession given to ‘respected’ politicians was a promise to contain syndicate voting and then after only two months, some of the strongest white opponents to universal franchise were yielding major concessions to black youth, which in the first instance had been labelled Communists. The concessions given had not been as a result of the ‘traditional’ black community.

When black politicians or parliamentarians negotiated with white committees or around the table, they did not achieve very much and even that took a very long time. When black people acted together as a collective group, without too much negotiation, they had seen a response. However, black politicians were so anxious to follow the methods of the white world that they would eventually throw away their most effective tool, which was collective action in favour of the white method of a few making all of the decisions to the exclusion of the general population. A group of young blacks, led by Roosevelt Browne, had appealed to the people and gained in two months what duly elected black politicians could not gain in almost two years. W.L. Tucker’s pride was hurt. He tried so hard to be accommodating.

Negotiations:
The Committee for Universal Adult Suffrage (CUAS) was invited to participate in conferences on the issue – something which Roosevelt would have refused to do. The members of CUAS also had a lesson to learn, they were seduced by the invitation. Mr. Arnold Francis and Mr. Walter Robinson represented the CUAS. In the end they gave their support to the 38 districts. Their argument to 38 racially defined districts infuriated a large majority of the black community. The MPs defended their position because it would have given one man one vote. They also defended their position of talking rather than calling on the people to march. As a result they did not get one man, one vote, nor did they get the vote at 21. In addition, those with property still had a vote because of it. It had been collective action which had brought the matter to this point. Discussions and conferences of a few blacks with the majority of white politicians had never moved the black cause very far. The fact that two black MP’s represented the CUAS meant nothing once the meetings went behind closed doors. There were those who believed very strongly that if an appeal had been made to the people to march rather than talking to white politicians behind closed doors, they, the black politicians representing CUAS, would have had far more success far more quickly. The community would not have had to wait for several more elections and further negotiations before they got one man, one vote. Then at the age of 21 everyone could vote without consideration being given to property owners.

The general discussion led to several whites beginning to acknowledge the evil of racism and segregation. One leading ‘liberal’ white politician, who had, in fact, given a similar speech occasionally, urged white Bermudians to purge themselves of their ‘historical racial prejudices and get in step with this new era that had dawned on the Colony.’ He conceded that there had been a justifiable complaint by the coloured people about the old status quo. In spite of the “great and solid progress,” he warned against complacency, as there were still problems remaining. He acknowledged that racial discrimination had been a shield to the white people whose employment had been free of competition. Even the Anglican Bermuda Churchman published a comment by the Archdeacon in which he said that “separate choirs for morning and evening services might be interpreted as a form of segregation,” and he expressed the desire to see the coloured choir take a more active part at morning services. The Anglican Church was identified as a body that should take the lead to correct this discriminatory practice “as a matter of Christian Principle.” Sir Hugh Foot speaking in the United Nations’ Fourth Committee debate on racial discrimination made reference to the “progress” in improving race relations in Bermuda and commented “No country and no people can be complacent in the face of this evil and this danger.” He had undoubtedly over-estimated “the progress.”
Chapter 7

Party Politics Replaces Black United Action Against Racism:
In any event, the 1961 election gave universal franchise at the age of 25 with land owners receiving a plus vote. It was not until 1968 that universal adult suffrage was achieved for every one at age 21 with no consideration, or extra vote, being given to land owners. One of the objections that had been given to universal franchise was that it would call for political parties. In fact, in 1963 after the first universal suffrage election, the Progressive Labour Party was formed. White politicians and perhaps others had real reservations about the formation of political parties.

Some Bermudians had the conservative idea that political parties were necessary; however, the black community's greatest need was the elimination of racism and segregation and provision of justice for all black people, no matter what their status in life. In many cases political parties and their divisiveness proved to be disastrous for those who believed that the priority was to eliminate racism.

In the first place the founders looked to Europe rather than Bermuda to develop their philosophy and ideology. Europe was not only an industrialised society but it had colonised and oppressed black people throughout the world. How could Europe provide a solution for black oppressed people in Bermuda? Bermuda's most significant conflict was not between industrial capitalists and exploited workers, but between white managers and whites of all classes and blacks, no matter what their status...they all deserved justice, especially blacks. It did not matter how much 'capital' a black person had he still suffered discrimination and injustices that were not meted out to the poorest white 'worker'.

Globally, black societies and nations need inexcusable advocates to defend the black causes, and to fight for justice and equality. The PLP had the opportunity to be such an advocate but their rhetoric focused on socialism and labour. It was disastrous for the racial progress of the black community that the emerging 'Party' decided to ignore racism. Most black people did not understand universal franchise or socialism and were terrified of Communism. They did understand racism, segregation and economic exclusion. Even more destructive to the black community was the fact that the story of Bermuda's experience of racism ceased to be about the victims of injustices and their struggle for a more just society and became 'the story' of the Party and the struggle for a limited number of individuals seeking power and influence within the Party.

Political Parties Institutionalise Divisions:
Equally as destructive was the fact that political parties, despite their efforts, institutionalised and therefore defended the deep racial divide. The success of the CUAS and the Progressive Group was due to the collective action of a very large percentage of the black community and the initiators were not seeking personal power because they were unknown. Conflict caused by the introduction of political parties was seen among blacks. For the black community party allegiance also meant that intelligent, disciplined, successful black individuals were prevented from contributing their much needed skills and experience to the country because they did not belong to either party. Challenges to the white community and its racist practices were replaced by conflicts and quarrels between black individuals and their drive for personal power. The struggle for power and influence for the individual replaced the struggle for justice for the now divided black community, but much of this was a future development.

The black community had not created their own language. They spoke the language of their master with its black devil's cake and white angel's cake. The black community had not cultivated a sense of their own worth and ability to solve their own problems; they did not value the strength and power of their own collective action. Committees negotiating with the white power structure had always resulted in the least possible success.

Rationale for Downplaying Racism:
It is important to consider why the PLP was so averse to even mentioning, and certainly not challenging, the issue of race and racism when segregation and racism were government supported at the time. There were several reasons for this. In the first place, as was indicated, some of those who were important in the PLP beginnings were looking to Europe for their inspiration and Europe's political problems were between capitalist and labour factions and for many, socialism was the solution. There was another reason; black Bermudians of that generation saw racial segregation as the one consistent evil. Thus, for them, racial 'integration' was the solution. But whites had made it clear that they were hostile to any mention of race and racism. Since the PLP wanted an 'integrated' party, they did not want to alienate the white community by addressing the one issue which whites resented being addressed. Thus, they would not alienate whites by addressing the issue in the rather naive hope that there would be some whites who were 'workers' or who had been Labourites in Britain that might join them. They choose to ignore what their own experience could have taught them. Race and racism was the strongest motivating factor in all that white folks in Bermuda did. The PLP went further to prove how much they wished to be 'integrated'. They rejected Levi Russell Pearman, a long-time black politician who had served us well. In his place, in the 'safest' black district, they placed Dorothy Thompson, a political novice who was white. This created a significant division within the black community. Supporters of Levi Pearman, as well as others, could not understand the logic, no matter how 'liberal' Dorothy Thompson might be. Blacks were excluded from so much in Bermuda it seemed both quixotic and absurd when blacks would exclude another black from a political opportunity in favour of a white woman. It was more frustrating since so many blacks already voted for so many whites, and would continue to do so for decades to come. Dorothy Thompson and Dr. Barbara Ball were the only two white persons serving in the PLP at that time (1966).

The Voters' Association:
Meanwhile white Bermudians who opposed political parties formed 'A Voters' Association' which, in truth, was a party that was not a party. It outlined a platform. It had parish branches; however, it did not have a central committee and it did not demand complete commitment or party loyalty. Whites were going to support the UBP no matter what their individual philosophy or ideology.
They also were going to exact a penalty from anyone who dared to do otherwise. There would also be blacks who would support the Voters’ Association. After all, that meant ‘integration’…even if it was whites who would benefit from their ‘integration’.

Recurring Divisions:
Since the PLP began by dividing blacks into ‘right’ wing and ‘left’ wing, even though the terms meant nothing to the black working class that they were supposed to be representing, other divisions came quickly. Another division emerged between the initiators and supporters of the PLP and several of the older black Parliamentarians. It was not only that these older men disapproved of the emergence of ‘party politics’, but they had been fighting for justice for blacks for decades and did not relish being dictated to by much younger blacks who had, so far, made no contribution at all. However, since challenging racism and segregation was not a priority with the PLP the years of contribution of these older black politicians seemed to mean nothing at all to some younger members. Then there was Mr. E.T. Richards and Mr. George Ratteray who, when they saw that party politics were inevitable, threw in their lot with the UBP although George Ratteray, as a businessman and a rather independent character, soon found that he could not tolerate the racism which he perceived and he therefore left the party.

Racism was not a priority agenda item for political discussion, even for blacks. Too many blacks quickly joined the UBP when it was formed in 1964. Two Parliamentarians led the way for two reasons; it was important that the UBP be an interracial party, secondly, since the UBP was the government it was necessary, they declared, that a black voice be heard within the party. Blacks who had together once spoken on behalf of the entire community on the floor of the House were now reduced to having two blacks speaking on their behalf.

At this point in time few blacks were actually joining the PLP. It was both ironic and disastrous for the black community that both the PLP and the UBP were intent on dividing the black community while the white community remained politically intact. It was inevitable that the black struggle for racial justice would come to an end while racial insults continued. One example of this was commented upon when a black official declared that, “In Bermuda it is at Government House that the monkey business starts. Government House invited coloured members of parliament, like a gang of sheep to tea in the afternoon with their wives, white members are invited with their wives to dinner in the evening,” and blacks were supposed to be flattered by the invitation.

The Belco Strike:
In 1965, the state of race relations was made manifest when the BIU called for a strike against Belco because they refused to allow a secret ballot. The strike was in its third week when violence broke out between the police and picketers. It may have been an industrial strike but it became as much a racial conflict as it was an industrial conflict. The racial tension was intense. The New York Times reported, “Beneath the surface of Bermuda’s wave of labour disputes racial currents are sweeping the oldest British Crown Colony from Victorian serenity towards the anxieties of the present.” The strike was settled after 33 days, but hundreds of people were jailed. The whole event had so disturbed the entire community both because of the violence and the racial nature of its conflict.

In the view of many it was a result of this racial violence that in 1966 Ruth Seaton James was appointed to head a government department, as Registrar General, the first such appointment for a black woman. Adult suffrage was important in forcing the Government to begin appointing blacks to white collar civil service jobs from which they had previously been totally excluded.

The Destructiveness of Party Politics:
The destructiveness of party politics for the black community was very evident in 1965. While black workers were still fighting for the right to join unions the entire community was filled with racial tension as well as division within the black community. Five black parliamentarians were suspended from the party. The party hierarchy was turning in on itself primarily because of the ego of personalities. The attack of some of them on others was more vicious, vindictive, vitriolic and filled with the kind of verbal venom that none of them would have directed towards the most racist white segregationist. The irony was greater because the personality most responsible for the suspension of these parliamentarians was later expelled from the party for continuing to demonstrate the same raucous, vitriolic hostility to others. Then there was the comment that the parliamentarians were “trying to wrest the leadership from the workers”. The contention was that the parliamentarians were trying to make the party ‘liberal’, catering to ‘middle and upper class’ blacks. In Bermuda at that time, the black ‘upper class’ was professionals whose ‘working class’ parents had sacrificed to give them a university education. Bermuda will always remember that it was the so called ‘upper class’ that was responsible for the desegregation in public places and for the eventual achievement of universal adult suffrage.

Bermuda had no black landed aristocrats, nor did it have any black capitalist industrialists exploiting workers. All emphasis on Europe’s concept of class seemed to justify the PLP’s not having either the courage or the moral backbone to challenge Bermuda’s greatest evil; racism. Yet, very few black people gave their trust to the PLP until a number of professionals were clearly among their numbers. Bermuda’s ‘working class’ repeatedly proved that they were only willing to give their votes to those blacks who were better off financially than themselves. They seemed to want professionals or the black ‘upper class’ to represent them. This continued to be so even when MP’s were getting paid enough to make it possible for the ‘working class’ to represent themselves.
Another Constitution; Another Ripe:

In 1966 a Constitutional Conference was called at which time electoral boundaries would be a major issue. The new constitution came into effect in the 1968 election. Pembroke was to have eight candidates rather than the 12, which the PLP desired. The age was lowered to 21 and there was no plus vote for land ownership. However, before the election, racial violence broke out among young black youth who were waiting in line to be let into a very crowded fair when they saw young whites being let in before them without identification or a ticket. This angered them but the dam broke when a black policeman let in a young black friend who was then ordered out by white policemen and punched in the face. The rioting occurred over several nights and the sky over the City of Hamilton was said to be "blood red" from the flames and tear gas being used in abundance. A state of emergency was declared and for the first time in Bermuda's history a curfew was imposed and the Governor requested help from Great Britain.

That 1968 riot was followed by the Wooding Commission Report, which considered that Bermuda's historical "deep and traditional" racial divide had been arrested and that integration and racial confidence were the key to Bermuda's future. The UBP promised to further promote integration and welcomed the findings that charges of police brutality had no foundation. The PLP had reason to oppose these findings. In any case the report would sit on the shelf collecting dust with nothing being done about its recommendation while workers continued to protest and strike as they saw that they were getting no more of the economic pie than they ever had. Black workers and black professionals had this in common.

The PLP and Black Voters:

In 1968 blacks were still not voting for the PLP in any great numbers. So much so that after the election a member of the UBP commented that the "PLP candidates assumed that these formerly disfranchised people would vote en bloc for the PLP, which was perceived to have brought them the franchise." There were some blacks, of course, who remembered that there were many others who deserved the credit for Bermudians eventually achieving universal franchise and that was before the PLP came into existence. Moreover the PLP itself did a great deal to alienate all kinds of black people and those who supported these black people. Nevertheless, the need for racial justice could never be ignored.

Black Power and the Establishment:

The riots had made race enough of an issue that in January of 1969 at the Speaker's dinner the Governor stated that a place as small as Bermuda had no room for "racial intolerance or bitterness". He went on to say that "We do not want white power or black power. We want Bermuda power." It took a great deal of violence for him, or the Government, to even pretend that "Bermuda power" was needed. Everything else suggested that it was indeed white power that was wanted. But there were those who did want black power, at least more than they had seen. In July, 1970, Roosevelt Browne was successful in bringing a Black Power Conference to Bermuda. Whites and journalists were not allowed. Perhaps in response to the racial protests, unrest and even lawlessness that continued in 1970 E.T. Richards was knighted. In 1972, Sir Edward was elected as Government Leader after the resignation of Sir Henry Tucker. Both events were of symbolic and psychological significance to the black community.

The PLP, which attempted to minimise the significance of race and racism, responded to both Sir Edward being knighted and his being elected as leader with congratulations. In one instance they saw the appointment of Sir Edward Richards as Government Leader as the direct result of the Progressive Labour Party's political policy and political pressure. They considered that there were black Bermudians capable of holding the top position in Government and in this country. They did regret that he was not a born Bermudian; although he had lived in Bermuda for many years. On this occasion his race seemed to have been of more significance to the PLP than was either his 'conservative' stance or his association with the white-dominated UBP. There was irony in the fact that if race, racism and racial progress had been seen as a priority in 1963, as it should have been, rather than on the dividing of the black community on nonexistent European ideology of 'class', it might very well have been the PLP that was appointing a black government leader.

Sir Edward's appointment, although of psychological significance, did nothing to narrow the racial and economic gap or reduce the simmering anger of young blacks. There were those who saw this alienation and sense of disafflulement resulting in the murder of Commissioner George Ducket on 11 September 1972, followed on 10 March 1973 by the murder of the Governor and his aide, both of which was a shock to the entire community.

The Bermuda College:

It was also in 1972 that the Hotel and Catering College, the Bermuda Technical Institute and the Sixth Form Centre were amalgamated to form the Bermuda College. It proved to be one more blow to the education of blacks. The Technical Institute, in particular, had been very successful in taking youngsters who were at secondary level and moulding them into productive human beings and skilled technicians. By eliminating the Technical Institute there was no longer a positive alternative at secondary level for youngsters who were not inspired or challenged by a purely academic programme. There were those who believed that it was the Technical Institute's success in its racially integrated environment that caused it to be closed. The Bermuda College, whatever its successes, never replaced the goals achieved by the Technical Institute and the particular constituency to which it catered.

Race Relations and Racism:

While the PLP refused to make race and racism its priority, the UBP did. It had to do so because it needed black votes. The Race Relations Council was established in 1970 but despite that, there were riots, violence and acts of arson in October of that year. In 1974 the Race Relations Council launched their first campaign with posters which were intended to encourage people that they
could bring their racial problems to the Council. The Council could take the issues to court if they could not solve them. The Governor, Sir Edwin Leather, to whom the first poster was presented said, "Human prejudice against somebody is one of the oldest instincts in mankind. It is also one of the most primitive, most stupid and most self-destructive." He went on to say, "The races are not going into each others houses except on official occasions, talking to each other and sharing with each other and this needs to happen much more." These comments were made 33 years ago.

The lack of effectiveness of this campaign is seen by the fact that in 1975 a black caucus was formed within the UBP itself. It would be difficult to know what was accomplished and for whom they were actually speaking. In any case, it would be charged later on that those who lead the movement were boycotted by the UBP hierarchy and their political lives came to an end. Those who did not participate were rewarded. There were those who believed that John Swan would later be elected as Premier because he did not participate in the black caucus. But only those in the inner circle would know for sure. It was also in 1975 that The Bermuda Recorder which had played such a significant role in the life, struggle and culture of black Bermudians, ceased to publish.

The third general election since universal adult suffrage was on 18 May 1976. The UBP as always, played the race card by depicting a black and white hand shaking each other. Colour was very important, as it had always been. At one time it was important in order to exclude blacks. At campaign time, under adult suffrage, it was important to ensure that blacks knew that the UBP now included blacks, at least politically, for the purpose of their votes. In some cases, blacks were delighted to be included in anything by whites. So, ironically, whites could perceive themselves as virtuous for including blacks even though they were the ones who were benefiting. The underlying racism of the UBP's continuing boast about being 'integrated' was very evident to anyone who was not so 'integrated' that they were blinded by the whiteness. Whites still felt so superior to blacks that they believe that they should be given credit for allowing blacks to associate with them even when it is clearly for their own benefit. This attitude has lasted for decades. Those who had established barriers of segregation and exclusion were now taking credit for including blacks because it was in their self-interest to do so! The UBP also used race by declaring that any weakening of the UBP government would return Bermuda to the racial tensions of the late 1960s.

The PLP, could, with justification, point out that many of the positive social actions taken by the UBP government were the result of the proposals and pressure of the PLP. These included such things as old age pensions, social security and free schooling which were adopted and implemented. One could not but wonder where Bermuda would be today in terms of race relations if the PLP had made racism and the radical disparity a priority in its agenda. The UBP, it said, was on the side of the wealthy at the expense of the poor. The UBP was for more realistic when it placed its emphasis on race, particularly since most blacks were interested in either being wealthy or associating with the wealthy whites. On this occasion the PLP were less strident about socialism therefore they actually gained four seats.

Capital Punishment and Race:
On 18 November 1976, The Royal Gazette reported that Erskine Burrows and Larry Tacklyn were found guilty of murder and robbery and were sentenced to death. The trials were lengthy and were followed by appeals. No one had been hanged in Bermuda for many years, but it was generally felt that right or wrong someone needed to pay a price. A black man had killed too many whites and one of them was the Governor. The PLP led a major protest. It sent an anti-hanging petition with 6,000 names to the Queen. On 25 November 1977 the Premier informed the House that the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary were unable to advise the Queen to intervene to stop the hanging. It was a matter for local legislators. Each put the responsibility on the other. The citizens and other supporters were encouraged to protest peacefully. Social justice was advocated, but with strong religious connotations. People were asked to fast and pray over the next week concerning 'this most unwise decision.' Every effort was made to mobilise Bermuda against capital punishment. A plea was made to the Premier, to which he responded by saying that the legislature could not stop the law taking its course. Public meetings against the death penalty were held with strong support from the Churches. There were Parliamentarians on both sides who were against the death penalty. When urged to call a special House Session the Premier and Speaker refused to do so.

It became evident that there would be a strong reaction to the executions. The police cancelled all officers' planned holidays. Events were cancelled and the Amalgamated Union of Teachers called on its members not to work the day before the scheduled execution. In Britain, Labour MP's told Dr. David Owen, the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, to intervene. The authorities both in Bermuda and Britain were unmoved. The men were executed early in the morning on 2 December 1977. Violence erupted. The PLP called for a day of mourning. Rioting, looting and fire bombing continued for several nights. Race was an issue since it was believed that Black Power concepts had been an influence and both men had attended Black Beret meetings.

The Pitt Commission:
As a result of the riots the Pitt Commission was formed which was given the mandate to enquire into the causes of the December civil disturbances by examining virtually every aspect of Bermuda. It had the statutory powers to subpoena individuals, groups and documentation. There were those who believed that some Whites opposed the Commission out of fear of the PLP’s growing numbers. Whites deeply feared a PLP government even though at the time there seemed little likelihood of that happening. Meanwhile, the UBP, still fearful of the PLP, insisted that voter registration had to take place every year rather than automatic renewal of voter registration. They knew that blacks were likely to be most apathetic thus ensuring the continued supremacy of the UBP. In any event, the black community found satisfaction in being able to give expression to the commission concerning the frustration that they felt in a racist society. Nevertheless there was little reason to expect that anything more would come of this commission than had come of previous commissions.

In 1978 the PLP protested the passing of the Parliamentary Election Act. It laid down new procedures for registering but it continued to give the vote to British inhabitants. Freddie Wade, the Deputy PLP leader, declared that it was intended to stop "the onward march of Bermudians to their birthright". He alleged that "it was designed to perpetuate the unholy and evil alliance of born white Bermudians and status white Bermudians against blacks". The PLP understood that
the white community was doing whatever it could to ensure a politically unified white community. Some in the hierarchy took every opportunity to alienate blacks and to divide the black community. The PLP rejected and scorned anyone who tried to get them to think in terms of unifying the black community in order to confront the evils of continuing racism. Their failure to address Bermuda's problems through the lens of race and race relations made them equally responsible for Bermuda's failure to come to terms with its racial and economic disparity.

Constitutional Concerns:
Meanwhile Parliamentarians were preparing for the Constitutional Conference which was set to begin on 12 February 1979. There were several issues of particular concern to the PLP. Several of which had obvious racial implications. One was the lack of numerical equity of the votes. The votes of those in a constituency such as Paget, which was a 'white' constituency and comparatively sparsely inhabited, had much more value than votes in a constituency such as Pembroke which was a 'black' constituency and was much more densely populated. Another concern was the desire to see the abolition of the three-year residency vote which primarily benefited the British. Since almost all whites voted racially, they voted en bloc for the UBP. The PLP also wanted to reduce the number of members of Parliament which would reduce black involvement in the democratic process but would have increased the power of the PLP hierarchy. Single seat constituencies also became a goal. That, too, would make little difference provided all votes had equal value. It seemed to matter little whether each person had one or two votes. But one vote was the British model hence it took on great significance for the PLP.

Chapter 9

Elections of 1980:
Elections were called for 9 December 1980. By this time personality was unquestionably the issue rather than the party or the needs of the community. Certainly the PLP had gained the confidence of many more black Bermudians, but it still followed a policy of antagonising or alienating blacks who did not meet the approval of those in the PLP hierarchy, usually the reason was personal. Despite the PLP rhetoric about winning the election, many blacks felt that the PLP wanted to remain the Opposition because they did not want the responsibility of governing. Subsequent events gave substance to this point of view. In any case the 1980 elections did not place this responsibility on them despite the UBP being in disarray. There were clearly many reasons that so many black people continued to place more trust in the UBP than in the PLP, but some of those reasons had to do with the attitude of the PLP towards black people. Some in their hierarchy clearly had more positive attitudes towards whites than towards blacks. It was justified on the grounds that they preferred a white socialist to a black capitalist. Since it was difficult to find a true 'socialist' of any colour in Bermuda and most Bermudians, black and white, desired to be 'capitalists'. Blacks just wanted the opportunity to acquire 'capital'. Many concluded that some in the PLP hierarchy just preferred whites.

Personality and Leadership:
In 1981 there were island-wide strikes which not only increased the tension between the Government and the Unions but also between the races. The UBP decided that it was time to elect another black leader. It was a race card which the UBP decided that they had to play in order to hold on to their black votes. John Swan was elected as the UBP leader. He was a people person and popular among blacks regardless of their politics. He decided to call an election in 1983. He chose capitalism on the fact that the PLP had made personality the issue. Thus he deliberately focused his campaign on the issue of 'leadership'. This approach was not nearly as destructive for the 'white' UBP as for the 'black' PLP. Some believed that as many as 95 per cent of the white community was going to vote for the UBP regardless of any internal conflict and regardless of who was the leader. Inevitably, with their emphasis on the cult of personality, the PLP began to attack John Swan rather than the UBP. Since many blacks liked John Swan even if they did not like the UBP this approach backfired.

The media praised the UBP for being colour blind in choosing John Swan. In fact the UBP was playing the necessary race card as they had always done. It was no secret that they needed black votes and that had nothing to do with 'colour-blindness' and they hoped that a black leader would attract black votes – and he did. The PLP lost four seats in that election, very largely because of the personality of John Swan. At the same time, a comment by the PLP leader did not help. She said, on TV, that she would be the leader until the day "I decide to retire." This attitude was undoubtedly acceptable to the Central Committee but the PLP needed votes from others in addition to the Central Committee. There was increasing discontent with the leadership even within the party. But
in the view of many blacks the PLP as a party had evolved into nothing more than a background for the ego needs of the leadership and anyone who even raised questions about the leadership was regarded as a traitor. Thus those who called for a review of the leadership of the PLP were eventually expelled and the PLP representation in the House of Assembly dropped to seven. All of those black people who believed enough in democracy to go to the polls to vote for those who tried to raise a discussion on the leadership of the PLP clearly did not matter. One Member of Parliament commented that the leader would step down when she was good and ready. This was perhaps true since the Central Committee was at her disposal and according to one writer the hierarchy was more interested in their own preservation than that of the party.

**John Swan and his Influence:**
John Swan became Premier in 1982. Most of the black community was enthusiastic about his election because he was personable and they liked him. Many admired him because of his financial success. In addition, some believed that as a black person and the leader of the UBP he would help narrow the racial divide and perhaps even develop policies that would benefit the black community. That did not happen, but it took almost a decade for the black community to become completely disillusioned, particularly since there were a number of young black, ambitious, upwardly mobile males who joined the UBP because of him. With more reason than the PLP had, John Swan was extremely hostile to anyone in the black community raising the issue of racism or race relations. After he was a black person and he had been elected as the leader of the UBP. For almost a decade black Bermudians, in general, obliged him and there was almost total silence on the issue of race relations. There were one or two exceptions and the Premier charged that they were responsible for the racial divide since they talked about it.

**Freddie Wade:**
In 1985, the PLP leadership passed to Freddie Wade. It was not very long before a very different climate developed. It became extremely evident that Freddie Wade was far more interested in winning the Government than he was in socialist rhetoric and in finding ways to divide the black community or alienating those who were supposed to be defined as ‘upper and middle’ class. He very quickly reached out to the international business community, and of even more significance, to the black community. He reached out to many of those who had been deliberately alienated because they did not give rubber stamp approval to all that the PLP Central Committee dictated. It soon became very clear that Wade was far more interested in attracting votes than in all kinds of other personal issues. Most black people felt that he began to lay a foundation that would ensure that the PLP would win the Government sooner rather than later.

**Call for a Ministry of Integration:**
By 1989, the black community was sufficiently disillusioned with Premier Swan and the ban on talking about racism that when two white American professors were brought in to discuss the issue of racism 800 people filled St. Paul’s Centennial Hall. There was another difference taking place. Almost all of the black community believed that the answer to racial segregation was racial integration – that was their goal. By 1989, increasing numbers of black people were no longer interested in ‘integration’. They were still a minority but in view of the long-time attitude of almost all black people, this was a very significant growing shift in the black community. On 13 November 1989 a number of black clubs sponsored a full page advertisement in *The Royal Gazette* calling for a Ministry of Integration. It noted the tremendous economic disparity between the black and white communities. It noted the superficial nature of political integration and called for every child in Bermuda to spend some time in a school which was integrated, particularly in view of the deep divide between public and private schools. It called for recognition of the positive cultural values of each race.

The proposal fell on very deaf ears because both political parties, for very different reasons, rejected the concept of a Ministry of Integration and the black community had already begun to turn its back on its own time-tested values, e.g., an appreciation and respect for the older generations and the values which they represented; a deep belief in the importance of education; a recognition of the need and importance of spiritual values. Black ‘integration’ into white institutions was often very superficial but it succeeded in contributing toward the erosion of positive black social values. The divisiveness of political parties and the erosion of black social values resulted in the disintegration of the black community and led to the alienation of young black males who indulged in increasingly antisocial and self-destructive behaviour.

**The National Association of Reconciliation:**
Collective action always seems to make more impact and be more significant than individual protests; therefore, the National Association of Reconciliation (NAR) was established with the primary purpose of ensuring that the issue of race relations was kept on the national agenda. It held monthly meetings, always on some aspect of race relations. The attendance varied greatly, but after the first several meetings there were never more than two or three whites present. Apart from their need for black votes, the white community more or less ignored the existence of the black community unless there was a strike, which might inconvenience them, or the outbreak of violence which might prove costly.

**The Commission for Unity and Racial Equality:**
Both political parties had rejected the concept of a Ministry of Integration. However in 1992–1993, approaching another election, Premier Swan became more aware of the disillusionment among many of his black supporters. After the election he established a Ministry to address race relations, it was not called Ministry of Integration, but was called the Ministry of Human Affairs. It would also address the problems of drugs. Race relations would be addressed through the Commission of Unity and Racial Equality (CURE). With the establishment of CURE, the Premier had officially removed the taboo on the topic of race relations.

The effectiveness of CURE varied depending on its executive director, but its mere existence was significant and positive; and, over the years, it carried out a number of functions relative to race relations. It began by conducting several forums throughout the Island. It eventually sent out surveys
to gain information concerning the impact of racism (or the lack of it) in the workplace. It held workshops and seminars in the workplace as well as for the general public. It put out publications and made other efforts to educate the public. It also meant that many of the efforts of the National Association of Reconciliation (NAR) became unnecessary although that organisation continued to give out awards to organisations which had acted positively in regards to race relations and brought in a speaker for its annual banquet until the victory of the PLP in 1998. The indifference of the PLP government to the issues of race and racism and the increased divisiveness within the black community created difficulties for the organisation.

The PLP Wins:
In November 1998, 30-odd years after its formation, the PLP won its first election. It claimed not to be a black party and, certainly on this occasion, it had gained some white votes and a great deal of white money for advertisements. The PLP had made the decision early, that the elimination of racism, the narrowing of the economic racial disparity, or race relations in general, would not be a guiding principle in their ideology, philosophy or rhetoric. By 1998, the socialist rhetoric had long since ceased. The sacrifices, rejection and lack of respect for the early PLP by both the white community, and many in the black community, were forgotten. Without a theoretical guiding principle or philosophy it was inevitable that the party would fall back on the personal.

With this emphasis on personality, could they, would they, adopt educational policies that recognised the importance of creating nurturing, intimate, personal environments for the many 'at risk' black youngsters? Could they, would they, design policies to ensure that inexperienced black companies and individuals would be given government contracts and the necessary oversight and support that the inexperienced would require? Could they, would they, place a value on those who had challenged racism, even before the existence of the PLP? Could they, would they, recognise and reinforce the positive values and the positive aspects of the culture that demeaned and scorned black Bermudians since their emancipation? Could there be, would there be, deliberate programmes and policies to counteract the economic and psychological damage done to the black community throughout our history of racism?

Long-term structural racial discrimination is so crushing that even in victory black people whether right, left, centre, whether financially secure, or financially struggling need to challenge it, or it will never be totally eradicated.

Part II The History and Development of Racism

Chapter 10

Cultural Bias:
It is not an easy matter to determine the exact point in history when racism, as we have come to know it began, since human beings have always been aware of differences. In today's society the idea of a world before racial discrimination is startling to us. There has always been an assumption that the 'we' or 'us' of the 'we' and 'they' or the 'us' of the 'us' and 'them' is the more significant. While it is a human habit, or inevitability, to believe that one's own family or race is better than one's neighbour's it is, historically speaking, a very new idea to ascribe this difference to inherited superior biological qualities. The Greeks and the Romans, as well as the Persians, believed that they were culturally superior and better than the Barbarians with whom they came in contact, or whom they conquered. However, when an individual became acclimatized, they were accepted as equals and received the appropriate benefits. Thus, we read of Paul the Apostle claiming his Roman citizenship in order to ensure for himself a just trial.

Race and Racial Superiority:
It is only with the growth of racism, and the propagandising of racism in order to justify slavery, that 'scholars' have spent a great deal of time trying to classify races in order to ensure that the 'black race' was inherently and permanently 'inferior' to the European or white man. Despite all of this effort, no agreement has ever been reached as to what constitutes race; In Germany, there have always been those who were obsessed with the concept of race, even before Hitler. Yet the inhabitants of northern Germany resemble, physically, the inhabitants of Denmark and Sweden more than they do those of South Germany who, in turn, are physically similar to some of the French, Czechs and Yugoslavs, but no one questions that they are all Europeans.

Racism and European Scholars:
One of the most significant 'scholars' to contribute to the dissemination of the doctrine of racism was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach. He was a professor at Gottingen University. In 1795, he fabricated the myth of racial classification which made blacks inferior. He invented the term 'Caucasian' for his human racial classification. Martin Bernal, author of Black Athena, discusses the impact of Blumenbach's distorted scholarship. He writes, 'Blumenbach was the first to publicise the term 'Caucasian', which he used for the first line in the third edition of his great work (De Generis Humanis Varitate Infantibus) in 1795. According to him, the white or Caucasian is the first, most beautiful and talented race from which all of the others degenerated to become Chinese, Negroes and so forth. Blumenbach justified the curious name 'Caucasian' on what he called 'scientific' and 'racial' grounds. For a number of very dubious reasons, 'Semites' and 'Egyptians' were included among his Caucasians. For 200 years, no European scholar questioned his distorted conclusions. It was not until 1977 that the absurdity of the thesis was challenged by Dr. Cheikh Anta Diop and Dr. Theophile Obenga.'
Deliberate and Determined Dissemination of Racism:

The measure to control blacks, and impress upon them their inferior nature was carefully and deliberately developed at every level throughout the centuries by whites. Thomas Jefferson, 'Father of the American Democracy' and the American Constitution wrote, 'advance...that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race or made distinct by time or circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments of both body and mind.' In the 18th Century, Abraham Lincoln, the great Emancipator, stated, 'There is a physical difference between the white and the black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together...while they do remain together there must be the position of superior and inferior, and I, as much as any man, am in favour of having the superior position assigned to the white race.' World-renowned historian Arnold Toynbee wrote, 'When we classify mankind by colour, the only one of the ordinary races, which has not made a creative contribution to any of our twenty-one civilisations is the black race.' David Flume, philosopher, said, 'I am apt to suspect the Negroes...to be naturally inferior to the white. There never was a civilised nation of any other complexion than white, nor even any individual eminent either in action or speculation, no ingenious manufacturers amongst them, no arts, or sciences.'

John Burgess, scholar, wrote, 'A black skin means membership in a race of men which has never created a civilisation of any kind. There is something natural in the subordination of an inferior race even to the point of enslavement of the inferior race...' Richard Burton, explorer and writer stated that, 'The study of the Negro is the story of man's rudimentary mind.' Henry Berry of the Virginia House of Representatives, declared, 'We have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which the light may enter the slave's mind, if we could extinguish the capacity to see the light, our work will be complete. They would then be on the level of the beast of the fields and we then could be safe.' George Hegel expressed his opinion in his Philosophy of History, an opinion which has lasted until very recently, perhaps still does in some quarters. He noted, 'It is manifest that what is self control distinguishes the character of Negroes. This condition is capable of no development or culture, and so we have seen them at this day, such as they have always been.' At this point he writes, 'We leave Africa, not to mention it again, for it is of no historical part of the world. It has no movement or development.' He gave Africa eight pages and dismissed it from the remaining 358 pages.

Racism and the Encyclopedia Britannica:

The 1884 edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica went to great lengths to document the inherent inferiority of the Negro. It stated that he occupies the lowest position on the evolutionary scale, thus affording the best material for the comparative study of the highest anthropoids and the human species. In describing the skull of the Negro the editor stated that he possessed an...‘exceedingly thick cranium, enabling the Negro to butt with the head and resist blows, which would inevitably break any ordinary European's skull. The Negro's skin was described as 'thick epidermis, mostly hairless, and emitting a peculiar rancid odour', compared by Pruner Bey to that of the buck goat.'

This volume comments on the Negro's stymied capacity for intellectual thought, 'The cranial sutures...close much earlier in the Negro than in other races...to this premature ossification of the skull, preventing all further development of the brain, many pathologists have attributed the inherent mental inferiority of the blacks, an inferiority which is even more marked than their physical differences.'

'The Negro children were sharp, full of vivacity, but at puberty all further progress seems arrested...the intellect seemed to become clouded, animation giving place to a sort of lethargy, briskness yielding to indolence. We must necessarily suppose that the development of the Negro and White proceeds on different lines. While with the latter the volume of the brain grows with the expansion of the brain-pan, in the former the growth of the brain is on the contrary arrested by the premature closing of the cranial sutures and lateral pressure of the frontal bone.'

Racism and the Church:

Inevitably, the Church, as a significant social institution, played an important role in disseminating and perpetuating racism. One of the earliest and most influential contributors to this effort was the Catholic priest Bartolome de las Casas. He wrote in his encyclical to the papacy that these people (the Africans) were without souls and therefore suitable for the torturous work in the Americas. The result was carte blanche exploitation, justified and sanctified by the Western Church, marking the very beginning of racism. It was at this point in history that the Western culture determined all evil as black and Satanic, and all good as white and of God, (and so Europeans became 'white' rather than pink!). Based upon the ideology of Padre de las Casas, the Western Church, for more than 300 years, without any compunction, or intervention, practically authorised the massive trafficking in human cargo. Theologians assured all and sundry, including the slaves themselves, that the Negroes were accursed of God. They preached sermons to reinforce it. The Western Church had to use some very specific strategies in order to continue supporting a very brutal slave trade and slavery, while at the same time using the Bible. There were many strategies that attempted to perform this function but one of them was to label the slaves as Negroes rather than attaching them to the land from which they had come. Sudanesan Africans, who were enslaved, were never called Ethiopians, or Cushites, the Biblical terms for the land which ancient called the Land of Blacks.

Racism and Egypt:

When Sudanesan Africans sat on the thrones of Egypt they were then called Ethiopians. The deliberate effort to divide ancient Africans into Semites, Hamites, Negroes were all strategies to imply that accomplishments in the continent of Africa were never accomplished by the ancestors of the black Negro slaves but were the accomplishment of some Asian or 'Caucasian.' Thus, ancient black African-born Egyptians were designated 'Caucasian.' Since then, every effort has been made to separate Egypt from Africa, despite logic and its geographical and historical reality. Ancient Greeks made reference to the blackness of Egyptians. Herodotus, often referred to as 'the father of history' (480–425) referring to Egyptians, noted that they have black skins and kinky hair. He reverts several times to the Negroid character of Egyptians. Lucian, a Greek writer (125–190),
describing a young Egyptian noted: "This boy is not merely black, he has thick lips." By 33–100 A.D. Egyptians had been repeatedly conquered by Asians and Europeans. They had interbred with white Indo-Europeans and Asiatic, yet Ammianus Marcellinus could write that "the men of Egypt are mostly brown or black."

Despite the waves of conquerors that have played a role in the history of Egypt in more recent times, ancient Egypt, the Egypt of the sphinx and pharaohs, the Egypt from which the Greeks borrowed and about whom they wrote, were very much a part of Africa. In 1783–1785, Volney visited Egypt and when he saw the sphinx with its characteristically Negro features he wrote, "This race of Blacks who nowadays are slaves and the object of our scorn are the very ones to which we owe our arts, our sciences and even the use of the spoken word"; and finally, he wrote, "recollect that it is in the midst of the people claiming to be the greatest friends of liberty and humanity that the most barbarous of enslavements has been sanctioned and the question raised is whether black men have brains of the same quality as those of white men." But Volney was unique in his perspective – the attempt to separate Egypt from Africa continued. The term Middle East, for example, introduced as late as World War II, to apply to North Africa and North East Africa ensured that Africa would not need to be mentioned and gave a sense of separation between different regions of Africa, which were even less valid for ancient Africa than they are today.

**Racism Co-ops the Bible:**

Dr. Yosef A. Ben-Jochanan, a black Jew from Ethiopia, and long resident in the USA, very emphatically sees racism and religious bigotry in the Old Testament. His hostile view is undoubtedly influenced by his experience in a white racist 'Christian' America. His argument is based on the concept that Jews are God's chosen people. However, that concept cannot be seen as racially determined since he, as a black Jew, would be among the chosen. Cain Hope Felder, editor of the *African Heritage Bible* writes, "Today popular Christianity too easily assumes that modern ideas about race are traceable to the Bible, or that there is not a significant black presence in the Bible... centuries of European and European American racist scholarship has created these impressions."

One of the more absurd interpretations, which has been used most effectively, is that Ham – the son of Noah – was cursed and that blacks are the descendants of Ham. In actual fact, it was the son of Ham, Canaan who was to be a servant of servants unto his brethren. In any event, it is highly improbable that the three sons of Noah would be racially different. Ham was black and so were his brothers. This is not surprising since Leaky and other archaeologists have confirmed that mankind began in Africa. Perhaps the greatest impact has been as a result of the Europeanising of the Biblical characters. As absurd as it may be for someone from Palestine, which, geographically, is practically an extension of the African continent (certainly very far from Europe), Jesus, until very recently, has always been portrayed as blond and blue eyed. It is even more absurd when one considers that Jesus, Mary and Joseph fled from Herod to Africa. A blond, blue eyed Jesus would not have been very well hidden amidst dark skinned Africans.

Despite the view of Jochannan, the Bible is without a racial bias, even the 'specialness', or blessings, promised to the Jews was opened to the entire universe and Africans are well represented in the
Chapter 12

Racism and Slavery:

The brutality of chattel slavery made the issue of control of slaves fundamentally important. Herbert Aptheker in *American Negro Slave Revolts* wrote: "One of the most basic devices of control was the fostering of a belief in the innate inferiority of the Negro people." It was this need to totally control chattel slaves that led to the development of the most virulent forms of racism, which insisted on the inferiority and, or, soullessness of Africans. It is important to recognise that slavery is a social institution that has existed throughout the world and for many centuries – perhaps since time began. Certainly, those of us who are of African origin must acknowledge the truth of the words of Kwame Nkrumah when he wrote in defence of socialism, "It must be acknowledged that slavery existed in parts of Africa before European colonisation." The Romans enslaved the Anglo-Saxon. The conqueror has frequently enslaved the conquered but it is also true that in Africa slaves often became a part of the family. At one point, in Egypt, slaves became a part of the ruling class.

The great difference between other forms of enslavement and the chattel slavery of Europeans is that only in chattel slavery was there a concerted effort to justify the unusual brutality by concerted widespread efforts to prove that Africans were subhuman and accursed and that Africa was a "Dark Continent". Since it was only under the Europeans invention of chattel slaves that slaves were often seen as a different species, it became clear how great an effort was required to ensure that they remained in an inferior position. It was evidence enough that without this effort they would be a threat because they had all of the human abilities and qualities that whites themselves had. Hence, it was not only forbidden to teach slaves to read but all kinds of other legal measures were introduced to preserve the supremacy of the white race. Legislation from the politicians, propaganda and theories from the colleges, sermons from the pulpit and distortions and fables from the press continually and incessantly drummed out the concept of an entire people being inferior or subhuman, year after year, generation after generation. This poison was deliberately and plentifully administered to the slave himself from childhood to the cemetery. The branding was done early and often all at once.

Racism and Colonialism:

There is a great deal of difference between racism and colonialism. Racism, from its inception, had one purpose and one purpose only. It was intended to impose total control by psychological domination and the concept of inherent racial inferiority. Colonies, however, were the result of many different processes. They have been the result of settlement, trade, treaties and military superiority. Their relationship with the imperial power had been equally varied. There was not only a difference between French colonies and British colonies – French colonies were seen as a part of France and had representation in the French Parliament unlike British equivalents – but there was a difference in and amongst British colonies. The difference was sometimes based on why and how they had become colonies. There has also been an evolution in the attitudes towards colonies. Racism on the other hand has always had the same purpose and has not evolved, although it has, in some cases, been contained. Racism has seen the greatest difference between how colonies were governed. Those that were white colonies were, with a few exceptions, likely to be self-governing, creating their own laws. Bermuda, for example, with its very large white population, was a self-governing colony; while Jamaica, with its absentee ownership, was a Crown Colony, with Britain exercising much more direct control. That is why Bermuda's racism was totally home-grown.

Despite the wars of independence that have been fought, it has been, and is, far easier to break the ties with the imperial powers than it is, or has been, to eliminate racism. There are clearly more than sufficient examples of independence being achieved while racism remained, or even grew worse. The first and most obvious is the United States itself which, having fought for its independence and having drawn up an extremely idealistic constitution, at the same time, defined those of African descent as only two-thirds of a man. Then there is South Africa that, after gaining its independence, drew up more and more restrictive laws. Even today, having rid itself of legislative racism, it still finds that it has not rid itself of white attitudes – that there is nothing inherently wrong with living in excesses of wealth while so many Africans continue to live in soul-destroying poverty and the long-term impact of racism is incommensurate. History tells us that whatever independence brings, it does not rid society of racism. The philosophy and ideology of racism has been not only beneficial to those who imposed it, but it has become deeply entrenched in the minds of those who have been exposed to its doctrine, regardless of their colour.

No Serious Effort to Counteract Racism:

There has never been, anywhere, an organised and widely disseminated effort to counteract the well disseminated concept that Africans are inherently inferior or less than human. The most that has happened has been a reduction in government sponsored efforts to spread this particular doctrine, which is clearly far too little to seriously address such an evil. The government's withdrawal of its support for racism has simply driven it underground so that even blacks now say, "Let us not talk about it." It is like saying, "Let us not talk about cancer." Cancer will not go away without a great deal of effort, time and money spent in research, education, the dissemination of information and direct action. Nothing less – perhaps a great deal more – is required in order for racism to go away.

The same effort that went into disseminating the concept must be put into countering the poison. Recognising the extent to which the philosophy of racism has been psychological, as well as economic and social, it is also important to point out that it is very different from other forms of hostile encounters between individuals, communities and societies. Hatred and cruelty exist, as between those in Northern Ireland or those in Rwanda or the Sunniis and Shiites in Iraq. In each of those cases the hostility is between recognised equals. It is important to recognise that racism has also spawned hostility and cruelty as a unique form of evil because throughout the centuries it has been justified on the assumption that anyone from Africa or anyone with African ancestry is inherently an inferior species; and, in some instances, they have been considered less than human. Even when not considered less than human the belief of inherent inferiority remains and justifies, at the very least, discrimination and unequal treatment.
Racism and Textbooks:
The racism propaganda which emanated from the institutions of higher education was built on a foundation that began when a child began to read his or her childhood books. The following comments merely scratch the surface of the most obvious examples that have been looked at recently. Those of us of a certain generation will recall *Little Black Sambo*. Whether, or not, this type of book still exists I do not know. I do know that even a younger generation was introduced to Africa only through stories about the Pygmies. Neither this younger generation nor their teachers seem to know very much about the Ashanti of what was formerly the Gold Coast and today is Ghana. There will be a few people who even today know little more about any part of Africa, after all Tarzan is still out there. It is as recently as the sixties and seventies that there began to be those who believed that Africa did, indeed, have a history and one that had been recorded by the Greeks and Arabs, even though Africans themselves had often limited their history to oral history. After all, it was an absurdity, quite apart from a lack of a scholarship when Eurocentric scholars could ignore, or minimise, the role that Africa, its people and the cheap labour of African slaves played in the accumulation of Europe's own wealth, particularly at a given period of its history.

Textbooks published before the sixties reflect the problem of imbalance to a far greater extent than textbooks published more recently. History is about change and progress; and Europeans decided that since Africans were both savage and primitive they had experienced no change or progress. Thus, for Europeans, African history began with the arrival of the Europeans. There was another, more subtle, problem. It was represented by different words used for describing different groups of people, e.g. 'tribes' in Africa, as opposed to 'nations' in Europe. 'Tribe', of course, infer a primitive race. It is evident that 'tribe' has taken on connotations of contempt which Scottish 'clans' have not, simply because of the dominant psychological forces in our society and the general Western world view of Africans, which derives from racism.

Chapter 23
Racism: Definitions, Implementation and Impact
Legally sanctioned discrimination has not existed for more than 20 to 30 years, but its legacy continues to affect those whose ancestors suffered under such oppression. The type of blatant racism that existed in the past is much less common today. Instead, contemporary discrimination has a subtle dynamic. Past racial discrimination has positioned the black underclass so that they are at a tremendous competitive disadvantage in today's economy. To address the current issue is difficult and complex.

Institutional Racism:
The first scholars to use the term 'institutional racism' as a social system was Stokely Carmichael and Charles M. Hamilton, authors of *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (1967). They define it as "a combination of attitudes of racial superiority and acts of oppression" which, "originate in the operation of established and respected forces in the society." They emphasise intention. They state, 'the black community has been the creation of, and dominated by a combination of, oppressive forces and special interests in the white community. The groups that have access to the necessary resources and ability to affect change, benefit politically and economically from the continued subordinate status of the black community.'

Others place less emphasis on 'intention' and look for the roots of institutional racism elsewhere. In *Institutional Racism: How to Discriminate Without Really Trying* by Robert Truran (1975) defines institutional racism is defined as "any action, policy, ideology, or structure of an institution which works to the relative disadvantage of blacks as compared to whites or to the relative advantage of whites as compared to blacks." Friedman argues that even if racism is not intentional, and even if explicit racism were eliminated, blacks would continue to suffer. This continued oppression is the hallmark of institutional racism. It is the result, says Friedman, of the way racism becomes institutionalised in structures, procedures, systems and ideologies.

Structural Racism:
Structural racism involves the form of black participation. It may be horizontal or hierarchical. Horizontal racism occurs when blacks create their own parallel institutions because of exclusion, e.g., churches, clubs, schools etc. Hierarchical racism occurs when blacks are included in the institution in inferior positions, e.g., the executive positions go to whites and the janitorial positions go to blacks. Friedman maintains that structural racism continues due to procedures which reinforce or support racial discrimination.

Procedural Racism:
Procedural racism is the manner in which the oppressed group is controlled and restricted in the social structure. The procedures used are, again, exclusive or inclusive in nature. Friedman identifies primary and secondary categories and restrictions: the primary category represents more explicit racial
discrimination; and the secondary represents less explicit discrimination. Primary discrimination is when blacks are let go in times of unemployment to allow for the continued employment of whites. Secondary discrimination is when there is the inclusion of a few "well trained, middle class blacks in visible positions." Institutional racism occurs when less effective services are given to groups based on race.

Secondary Forms of Racism:
The secondary category of restrictions is less overt than the primary forms. They include nepotism, high membership fees or reliance on qualifications and reliance on institutional credentials. This type of discrimination is nearly impossible to distinguish from legitimate screening procedures. The ambiguity can be used to effectively manipulate people's paranoia or to mask a very pernicious form of racism.

Systemic Racism:
Friedman contends that the intractable persistence of racism is due to the fact that it pervades most of the major institutions of society. This he identifies as systemic racism. Systemic racism is the interaction and interdependence of varying institutions, particularly education, housing and the labour market. While this interaction is more obvious in the USA, even in Bermuda if certain areas are primarily black they are more likely to experience less service. Black families, regardless of class may only be notified of certain available occupations. This is direct institutionalised discrimination. The exclusion of blacks from business ownership is an example of this type of discrimination. The greatest obstacles to black entrepreneurs have been the lack of available credit, inflated insurance and lack of experience and exposure to a business environment. Banks may consider the credit history of the applicant, the collateral to be held against the loan, the prospects for business success, and other related criteria. Even when there is no direct discrimination because of historic discrimination against blacks, they are less able to qualify for loan allotments by these criteria. Past discrimination has resulted in blacks being discriminated in the present. Side effect and past-in-present discrimination, both aspects of systemic racism, not only perpetuate racism and racial inequality, but make these a part of the character of that society. Thus systemic racism contributes to an ideology of racism.

Ideological Racism:
Friedman defines ideological racism as beliefs that guide the development of institutions. If the ideologies under which the structures and functions of institutions have been created are racist, then the institutions themselves will be inherently racist. A system of beliefs that legitimizes these structures must exist. The dynamic is a vicious cycle of systematic, structural disadvantage leading to patterns of behaviour that contribute to negative stereotypes, which, in turn, reinforce the structure of discrimination. Ideologies of racism not only legitimate discriminatory practices among the dominant group, the also produce a pervasive sense of failure, anger, frustration and hopelessness among the oppressed group. On both sides, racism becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Chapter 14
Racism in the Twentieth Century:
The scholarly attempt to prove the inherent inferiority of those of African descent has not disappeared. Today, the effort is far more sophisticated. In 1854, Frederick Douglass observed that "Pride and selfishness combined with mental power never want for a theory to justify themselves — and when men oppress their fellow men, the oppressor ever finds, in the character of the oppressed, a full justification for his oppression. Ignorance and depravity and the inability to rise from degradation to civilisation and respectability are the most usual allegations against the oppressed. The evils most fostered by slavery and oppression are precisely those which slave holders and oppressors would transfer from their system to the inherent character of their victims. Thus the very crimes of slavery become slavery's best defence. By making the enslaved a character fit only for slavery they excuse themselves for refusing to make the slave a free man."

The Bell Curve:
In 1995, Charles Murray and Richard Herrnstein in The Bell Curve (1995) argued that blacks have on average significantly lower "cognitive ability" than Whites. Herrnstein and Murray, therein, connect this disability with all sorts of pathology (poverty, crime, illegitimacy) and predict "the coming of the custodial state in which a low IQ underclass is maintained in a more lavish version of the Indian reservation." They declare that the opportunities for the underclass will become limited as tolerance evaporates and racial hostility will more likely spread. They spend a lot of time trying to undermine a near avalanche of evidence that the black:white difference in IQ is a function of environment rather than heredity and the fact that there has been a convergence of black and white scores over the last 20 years. They gain support from the journal Mankind Quarterly. Hans Wilhelm Jengress, its associate editor, at the time, was a German anthropologist, who advocated the interment and sterilisation of hereditary "anti-society"; and, Richard Lynn concluded in an article that no one can doubt "that the Caucasoids and the Mongoloids are the only two races that have made any significant contributions to civilisation." Also, in Mankind Quarterly, in the Spring of 1995, Edward Miller wrote that, "A major reason many blacks are poor is that their low intelligence makes it hard for them to finish high school or college or to obtain and hold high paying jobs...The black poverty problem", he writes, "seems primarily but not completely related to lower intelligence."

Response to The Bell Curve:
However, in 1995, there is a response. Christopher Jencks, a sociologist at Northwestern University, finds that the thesis of The Bell Curve rests on curiously twisted logic "the work is a string of half truths...The arguments of Herrnstein and Murray led, not so long ago, to compulsory sterilisation. The notion is that individual's characteristics are both essentially fixed by inheritance and immune to alteration by environment." The Bell Curve plays fast and loose with statistics in several ways. It exaggerates the ability of the IQ to predict performance and ignores the numerous studies that have demonstrated that early childhood surroundings have a large role to play in moulding IQ scores. The
Bell Curve made a bleak assessment of educational efforts to improve the intellectual performance of children from deprived backgrounds and cast a jaundiced eye over Head Start and other efforts for at risk youngsters, projects that have produced long lasting gains in IQ.

Richard Nisbett, at the University of Michigan, writes "I am distressed by the extent to which people assume that Murray and Herrnstein are playing by the rules" when, in his opinion, they are not. Sandra Scarr from the University of Virginia insists that efforts to boost intellectual functioning in disadvantaged youths can deliver results. "There is no questioning that rescuing children from desperately awful circumstances will improve their performance." "High quality early education is beneficial," declares Edward F. Zigler at Yale University. The Bell Curve's fixation on IQ as the best predictor of a life's fortune, is myopic one. Science does not deny the benefits of a nurturing environment and a helping hand.

Racism and Justice:

It would seem absurd or incongruous to consider racism and justice together. 'Just racism' is an oxymoron. Yet there are those human beings who long for and often strive for justice. Certainly, this is true for those of African descent who have not only been enslaved, but segregated and exploited in the Western world over centuries and decades. Even though, in the words of Shelby Steele, "We black Americans (as well as others) will never be repair for our suffering and never find that symmetrical, historical justice that we cannot but long for. These things will never happen." The difficulty for blacks in even attempting to strive for justice is seen when they differ among themselves concerning the position they should take in this struggle. Once physical enslavement came to an end, whites introduced segregation to ensure that the inferior roles of blacks would continue. It is, therefore, not surprising that many blacks believed that it was essential to break down the barriers of segregation and to desegregate the society. Desegregation became 'integration'. Mixing with white people, therefore, became the goal. The assumption at the time was that 'integration', mixing with white people, would bring justice. But justice was far more elusive. Mixing with white people sometimes became a barrier to the very justice that black people sought. At the same time there were those who believed that self-imposed separation was essential. They believed that integration or assimilation was to choose self-obliteration, or choose not to exist. They believed that black people are not to cave in under the slings and arrows of the more dominant group they must maintain, affirm, and even accentuate their distinctiveness. Even Frederick Douglass, who believed in integration, conceded that "although it may seem to conflict with our views of human brotherhood we shall undoubtedly for many years be compelled to have institutions of a complexion character, in order to obtain this very idea of human brotherhood." W.E.B. DuBois saw this need for self-imposed segregation as a major dilemma. He declared the fact that the "only effective defence that a segregated and despised group has against complete spiritual and physical disaster is internal self organisation." For DuBois, it was a paradox that "in order to combat the evil of segregation, blacks must acquire to the very evil that they would combat." This, of course, was not true. He need not have seen it as a paradox. Segregation imposed by the powerful in order to control and exploit a people is very different from self-segregation by those people to support and inform each other. The apparent similarities are different in the same way that doing anything voluntarily is very different from being forced to do it.

Chapter 15

Senghor and Cesaire Recognize Cultural Differences:

Dubois, and others like Leopold Sedar Senghor from Senegal and Aime Cesaire from Martinique, recognised the cultural difference between Europeans and Africans. Cesaire contrasted "the communality and closeness to nature of African culture with the soullessness and materialism of European culture." They believed that whatever the cultural differences were, each group had a responsibility to develop, preserve and share with others what was of value in their culture. If the members of each race made a concerted effort to develop and preserve their own culture, not only for their own self-realisation but to present their culture as a gift to other races as equals in a universal world culture, "their internal self organisation" would be very different from, and have a very different purpose from, the segregation imposed for the destruction of a people who were seen not only as inferior but as having nothing of cultural value to contribute. Even Booker T. Washington, who believed in assimilation, felt that "it was not too much to hope that the very qualities which make the Negro different from the people by whom he is surrounded will enable him, in the fullness of time, to make a peculiar contribution to the nation of which he forms a part." Dubois felt that the Negro had not yet "given to civilisation the full spiritual message that it is capable of giving." He believed that black people would pay a price for the desegregation promised by Brown since they would eventually surrender race solidarity.

Advantages of Race Solidarity:

Dubois saw several advantages to race solidarity. One was black pride. This pride might be simply in being black and seeing this as a gift from God in which we rejoice since we are not ourselves responsible for our colour. We might also take pride in our individual achievements. This kind of pride is important and the only kind of pride that was meaningful to Douglas and although he did not see any value in having pride in one's physical being. Philosopher Bernard Bosuill believes that, in fact, one might need to have pride in one's physical being in order to achieve anything of value. There is a third kind of black pride and that is pride in the achievement of others in the race. Dubois was proud of the art of West African ancient nation of Benin.

Dubois felt that there was another advantage to black solidarity. It was to be authentic and true to oneself by knowing oneself. He felt that blacks must know that they are, 'members of a vast historic race that from the very dawn of creation has slept...in the dark forests of its African Fatherland the harbinger of that black tomorrow which is yet destined to soften the whiteness of the Teutonic today.' He believed that a person with a black skin or black ancestors ought to be culturally black if he wished to be authentic; and, also, true to himself rather than to be a "servile imitation of Anglo-Saxon culture." He felt that blacks should be "authentic, stalwart, original and self respecting."

Disadvantages of Assimilation:

In fact, Bosuill points out that it is often believed that blacks who are assimilated are "inauthentic, imitative, copy cats, unoriginal, ashamed of their colour, morally flabby, so full of self-hate that they
seek to be absorbed...ultimately servile. "They are often referred to as Anglo-Saxons, or ooros, black on the outside white on the inside. But worst of all, they cannot be trusted as an ally in the black struggle for justice. Boxill acknowledges that there is no doubt that there are black people who are servile in part because they are assimilated or integrated and certainly, there are some aspects of white culture that reinforce the concept of black inferiority; and, to that extent, black people who assimilate will also think of themselves as inferior. Certainly, he says, that there are black people who pretend to adopt white culture in order "to pass", or at least in order to be more acceptable to white people.

There are some writers or poets, he believes, whose works seem to studiously avoid the question of the 'colour bar'; but, in his view, the 'colour bar' has caused too many tragedies, and raised too many moral and personal issues about the human condition for one of its victims to ignore it. Boxill refers to James Baldwin who described his feeling of alienation when he visited an obscure hamlet in Europe. Baldwin writes "the inhabitants move with an authority that I shall never have...the most illiterate among them is related in a way that I can not to Dante, Shakespeare, and Michelangelo... Out of their hymns and dances come Beethoven and Bach. Go back a few centuries and they are in their full glory -- but I am in Africa watching the conquerors arrive..." Boxill finds this sense of alienation to be irrational, even though there are black people who profess to feel ill at ease in a white cultural environment, because culture is not determined by skin colour. The purpose of maintaining one's cultural identity is in order to share our positive values. We have already seen that those who absorbed Roman culture and values then enjoyed the benefits of being a Roman citizen.

Responsibility of Self-Segregation:
The third advantage of self-segregation for Dubois, is to advance the gift of black culture. If black people retain their race identity, then they would make a peculiar and worthy contribution to the world. Certainly, their historical experience has been peculiar and ought to give a privileged insight into the human condition. Black people who choose to self-segregate, for the purpose of helping to make the race's cultural contribution to humanity, are fulfilling their duty in the most exalted way they can. Boxill points out the difference between self-segregation and imposed segregation when he writes, "Black people may self-segregate in self-defence and may, simultaneously and without the slightest inconsistency, protest the racism (which imposes segregation) that makes self-segregation necessary. I see no reason why voluntary self-segregation cannot be a sufficient means of enabling the race to make its cultural contribution to the world." But Dubois feared that if compulsory segregation were abolished, black people would not choose to self-segregate, but would assimilate as fast as they could. That is why he warned of the price that would be paid as a result of the Brown decision. Dubois' fears were well founded.

The challenge for black people in their search for justice is the reality that compulsory racial segregation is unjust. Black people, the victims of racism, must, in the interest of universal justice and basic morality, protest racism and any imposed segregation. Dubois points out that blacks may not be gaining the benefits associated with self-segregation. Certainly they are weakened when they no longer seek justice with one voice. However, Boxill agrees with Frantz Fanon who wrote, "There is no Negro mission...I have one right alone...one duty alone that of demanding human behaviour from the other -- that of not renouncing my freedom through my choices."

Impossibility of Achieving True Justice:
When one considers the exploitation; the denial of opportunity; and even personhood that have been a part of the black experience, ever since physical enslavement; one cannot but agree with Shelby Steele, who promoted the idea that the injustices inflicted on black people were so great over such a long period of time that there was no way that justice could ever be achieved. It is impossible to ever achieve justice either as an individual or as a group. The white community of today both as a group and as individuals has inherited the wealth accumulated not only as a result of the work and achievement of their ancestors, but also as the result of the free labour of slaves and then as a result of the economic exploitation of segregated blacks. How much of that wealth would have been inherited by either the black community or black individuals if blacks had received the full value of their labour and contribution to the society? We can never know. In the United States, they have attempted to respond to this enormous injustice by affirmative action. The meaning and process, as well as the interpretation, have varied greatly. Under one interpretation, it means that preferential treatment will be given to blacks in terms of employment and university entrance. In this case, it is clearly an individual who will benefit because he is the member of a group.
Chapter 16

Affirmative Action:
The arguments for preferential treatment may be backward looking or forward looking. In the case of backward looking, the argument is that since blacks have been so badly injured they should be compensated for past injustices. The forward looking argument is based on the fact that since blacks are at such an economic and social disadvantage as a result of past injustices, they should be given preferential opportunities in order to improve their situation without any consideration of its being thought of as compensation. In many ways, the latter has the advantage of not even pretending that there is any form of compensation that would, in any way, truly compensate blacks for the past. It is not surprising that in a racist society there would be objections to either or both of these proposals.

Objections to Backward Looking Affirmative Action:
In the first instance, Boxill points out the objection to the backward looking argument on the grounds that those who would benefit most from either entrance to university or employment would be those blacks who are the most qualified rather than those who have neither the qualifications for university nor for employment in the institutions that would be considered. In other words, those blacks who have been most successful in overcoming the oppression of racism should not be considered as needing compensation. This is an objection that is absurd, in the first place, because it is ignoring the fact that racism has insisted that all blacks, no matter what their achievements, should suffer in terms of exploitation, lack of opportunity, and the lack of inheritance from their enslaved forebears. Moreover, racism has been most obvious and most cruel in the denial of opportunity to those blacks who have been disciplined enough and prepared to make the sacrifices necessary to overcome some of the obstacles placed before them by racism. In addition, if the least qualified see that the more qualified are being compensated that might well motivate them to become more qualified.

Another objection has been that advantaged blacks would be given compensation over less advantaged whites. It seems not to occur to the objectors that whatever reasons may exist for the poor whites it is not because either they and or their ancestors have been, or are, considered an inferior race and have been deliberately enslaved, segregated and exploited for that reason. Whatever measures the society may need to undertake to address the condition of poor whites it has nothing whatsoever to do with the need for compensation for blacks either individually or as a group. They have never been humiliated and insulted because of their race. They have never been denied an opportunity because of their colour. They have never been regarded as less than human because of their origins and slave heritage.

Objections to Forward Looking Affirmative Action:
The forward looking argument for preferential treatment concentrates less on compensating because of past injustices. According to those who put forward this argument, it is in the interest of the society as a whole to have a society in which there is equality rather than a society in which an enormous gap exists—as such that between the black and white community. George Sher is one of those who object to this form of preferential treatment. He contends that while this would reduce the inequalities between the races it would not reduce the inequalities between individuals. Practising reverse discrimination merely rearranges the inequalities of distribution that prevail. What the defender of reverse discrimination needs to show is that it is constant to denounce whichever inequalities follow racial, ethnic or sexual lines; while, at the same time, not denouncing those other inequalities that reverse discrimination inevitably perpetuates. On the other hand, Boxill proclaims that we are not forced to choose among inequalities so, "why can't we attack all inequalities at once, racial inequalities through reverse discrimination and other inequalities through other policies?"

Sher argues that the notion of equality advanced by the forward looking argument is for equality of wealth. He ignores the importance of equality of opportunity. Boxill points out that stigma are not likely to be erased just because incomes are equalised. Apart from the extraordinary difficulties of equalising incomes in a capitalist context—if this is possible at all—stigmas are likely to remain attached to members of groups because of the mental work they do, however equal their incomes.

Preferential treatment is aimed at removing such stigmas.

Objections to Preferential Treatment:
Another objection, which has been put forward even by some blacks, is that preferential treatment will undermine the self respect of those who receive it because they will believe that they were not worthy of the position they have acquired. The belief that preferential treatment undermines one's selfrespect would apply only in cases where a person without the qualifications for a particular position, through some loophole in the rules, gets the position for which he is unworthy. If such a person exists, he would indeed show that he lacked self-esteem. This is not the situation of the beneficiaries of preferential treatment. However, the rules that give them rights are designed to give them rights because it has been calculated that they are the most worthy. Moreover, that objection completely ignores the fact that whites have had no problems with receiving preferential treatment; and, in the case of universities, those who receive a place because of their family ties or because of the grants given by their families are not concerned about not being worthy. The jokes made about George Bush's 'C's' are not irrelevant to any discussion concerning those who receive preferential treatment rather than treatment based on merit.

Limits of Affirmative Action:
Cornel West is one of those who acknowledges that these affirmative action policies always benefit middle class blacks disproportionately. West also sees the fundamental crisis of blacks as being both the disparity of wealth between the races, and too little self love. Affirmative action is one effort to promote redistributive measures to address the opportunities denied to the most 'qualified' blacks as well as to enhance the standard of living and quality of life for the have-nots and have-too-little's. The political power of big government and big business, however, always tilts these measures away from the have-nots and the have-too-little's. Hence progressives must secure whatever redistributive
measures they can; then, extend their benefits, if possible. In view of the discriminatory practices, affirmative action policy was the best possible compromise and concession. West sees affirmative action as neither a major solution to the disparity of wealth or poverty nor a sufficient means to equality. It primarily plays a negative role to ensure that discriminatory practices are abated and without it discrimination would return with a vengeance in view of America's weak will towards racial justice. If racial discrimination could be abated through the good will and meritorious judgements of those in power, affirmative action would be unnecessary. Boxill believes that, in spite of the various objections, the main arguments for affirmative action are straightforward and are justified by the combined force of these arguments; and, furthermore, they complement and support each other. A society that tries to be just tries to compensate the victims of its injustices; and, when these victims are easily identified, either as individuals or as a group less than equal to others, the case for treating them preferentially is overwhelming. President Kennedy in broadening the Civil Rights Program declared "We are confronted with a moral issue as old as the Scriptures and as clear as the Constitution."

Indifference to Racial Injustice:
There are those, both black and white, who contend that racism was in the past, but that it no longer exists. Thomas Sowell, who is black, defends the view that racism is not a significant cause for the black economic situation and blacks must help themselves. He has won few black converts, but he is joined by William Julius Wilson who also denies that current racial discrimination is significantly responsible for the black situation. He does, nevertheless, believe that the government must help blacks. Liberals believe that present day racism is still a major cause for the black condition. Conservatives contend that the major cause is a culture that supports and sanctions traits like hedonism, fatalism, helplessness, dependence and little disposition to defer gratification and plan for the future. Wilson rejects both of these ideas and contends that the black condition is the result of the manner in which the economy has developed. Thus, Wilson blames neither the victim nor the current racists. This has the advantage that it does not offend whites, most of whom do not believe that they are racist and resent being told that they are responsible for the situation of the black community, and the increasing number of blacks who claim to be tired of blaming racism on whites and believe that doing so is demeaning.

Censored Programmes:
Wilson believes not only that the government should intervene in the economy to create decent jobs, but there should also be supplementary programmes like compensatory job training, compensatory schooling and special medical services. Wilson goes further and says that they should be class specific rather than race specific. However, he does not believe that racism is dead and he does believe that past racism has had an impact. In addition to the class-based supplementary programmes, he believes that there should be other programmes that government should camouflage so that the majority of whites do not notice them. His hidden agenda for liberal policy makers is to make race-based, or affirmative action plans (that do not benefit the prosperous blacks) that will be less visible by constructing an economic-social reform programme in such a way that the universal programme will appear the dominant and most visible by the general public.

Part III The American and South African Experience

Chapter 17

Segregation before Emancipation:
There were a hundred years between the comments of Frederick Douglass and The Bell Curve by Murray and Herrnstein, which continued to prove Douglas correct. Few were prepared to recognise the truth of Albert Einstein comments, "Your ancestors dragged these black people from their homes by force and in the white man's quest for wealth and an easy life they have been ruthlessly suppressed, exploited, degraded into slavery. The modern prejudice against Negroes is the result of the desire to maintain this wretched condition."

Emancipation from physical slavery came to blacks in the United States in 1865. Prior to that period, various forms of segregation and discrimination developed before the Civil War in order to degrade the half million free blacks in the US. After Emancipation, these policies of segregation and discrimination were applied to the four million blacks who became free in 1865. Schools, churches and the military were all completely segregated. Ironically, in 1875, Congress enacted a Civil Rights Act to guarantee equal rights in carriers and public accommodation, but because of the massive general resistance, and the indifference of the Federal Government, the Act soon became a dead letter and, in 1883, the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional.

Deterioration in the Status of Blacks:
The post-Reconstruction years in the United States saw a steady deterioration in the status of blacks. The leading journals vised with each other in describing Negroes as lazy, idle, improvident, immoral and criminal. The Klaasmen and the motion picture The Birth of a Nation helped to give America a view that 'proved' that blacks were unfit for citizenship to say nothing of equality. Americans were convinced that legislating equality was out of the question. Beginning in 1890, the South revised the suffrage provisions of their Constitution to make it impossible for blacks to vote. When the United States Supreme Court set forth the Plessy versus Ferguson "separate but equal" doctrine in 1896, the provision provided a new stimulus for laws to separate and discriminate against blacks.

There was separation not only in schools and churches, but even in cemeteries, drinking fountains, restaurants and all places of public accommodation and amusement; and, in one case, there were even separate warehousing of books. Where there was no legislation for separation local practices filled the void, maintaining separation to ensure white supremacy. Thus one drivers' snack bar served blacks only on the outside while its competitor across the street served blacks only on the inside. In 1913, the Federal Government reinforced the practice by segregating the races in their offices, its eating places and rest room facilities. They might be employed by the Federal Government but they must not forget that they were inferior.
Negro Reaction:
Scores of Negro newspapers sprang up to provide news of Negroes that the white news press ignored. Blacks began to write their own history. In 1882, George Washington Williams published his *History of the Negro Race*. Negro voices were crying in the wilderness and the organisation of Afro-American League, in 1890, called for, among other things, resistance against mob and lynching laws went largely unheard. It was not until the bloody race riots in the early years of the Twentieth Century that civic minded and socially conscious whites were shocked into responding to the Negro pleas for support. In 1909, Negroes took the initiative by organising the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). They assisted in establishing the National Urban League. White attorneys began to stand with blacks before the United States Supreme Court to challenge 'grandfather clauses' – a voting prohibition – and local segregation ordinances. Legal action was eventually supplemented by picketing, demonstrating and boycotting in selected Northern communities.

Post-War Status:
It was the two World Wars that had a profound effect on the status of blacks in the United States and throughout the colonial world. Blacks migrated in significant numbers to the North. Sometimes they improved their circumstances, and achieved a standard of living that they could not have imagined a few years earlier. Many felt justified in their renewed hope. On the other hand, the Ku Klux Klan was being revived in the North, as well as the South. Before the conference of Versailles was over, race riots had brought about the 'long hot summer of 1919'. The armed forces remained segregated and blacks were relegated to menial duties. At the end of WWI, black soldiers were often lynched and burned even while still in their uniforms. They might be lynched for anything, or for nothing. Racism justified the most brutal cruelties. This treatment encouraged many blacks, who were not interested in going to Africa at any time, to join the Marcus Garvey movement in their hundreds of thousands.

Some of the New Deal policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt encouraged many blacks, but most of his policies recognised and accommodated segregation; even the bread lines and soup kitchens were racially biased. However, some of the new labour unions began to attack the racial policies. It was the needs of WWII that eventually gave blacks the most leverage when they demanded an end to discrimination in employment in defence industries. In 1941, a threatened march on Washington forced the President to issue an anti-discrimination policy. Even a few whites saw the irony of fighting the racism of the Nazis while they themselves continued to practise it at home. While it was a significant step, many employers continued to ignore the ban on segregation. Once again, the war resulted in a massive migration to the North of the United States.

At the end of the war, there was an acceleration of the movement against segregation when, in 1944, the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in interstate transportation and, in 1947, the President's Committee on Civil Rights called for "the elimination of segregation based on race, colour, creed or national origin from American life."

Organisations Join the Fight:
The new nations, brown and black, were not likely to follow, or be impressed by, an America in which the Government endured or encouraged imposed segregation. These new moves by the Federal Government clearly did not eliminate either racism or segregation, but it made a tremendous difference to the black community. Civic and religious groups as well as some labour organisations and white individuals joined the fight against segregation. Among the organisations, which had the sole purpose of desegregation, were the Congress of Racial Equality, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Nevertheless, it is obvious that even today in many states and communities racial separation and discrimination continue to be the basic way of life with the elected officials.

Resistance Continues:
Tax funds are often at the disposal of those who guard the system of segregation and discrimination. The white community itself acted as a guardian of the segregated system. Schooled in the philosophy of the supremacy of the white race, they not only go along with the system but enthusiastically support it; and, in addition, vent their venom on any independent citizen who might even consider defying the established order by not only ostracising them, but by making them the target of economic and political reprisals.

It certainly is not as easy as it once was to make political capital out of overt political racism. The media – mass circulation magazines as well as influential newspapers – have encouraged the elimination of the worst features of racism even while the frequency of police shootings of unarmed black men in New York City is some indication of how far there is yet to go.
Chapter 18

Dutch Settlement in South Africa:
It was in 1652 that the Dutch first established a settlement at the foot of Table Mountain under the Dutch East India Company forming the Cape Colony. In 1795, the British seized Cape Colony from the Netherlands, but returned it to them in 1803 and gained it back in 1806 when the Dutch ceded it to them. Between 1816 and 1826 Shulu founded and expanded the Zulu Empire creating a formidable fighting force, which eventually came into conflict with the British.

British Control:
The British, by 1840, had taken over Natal and established a boundary between the colony and the Zulu Kingdom. The Dutch, who were known as Boers, were unhappy with British rule so between 1835 and 1840 the Boers left Cape Colony and moved further inland establishing the Orange Free State and Transvaal. This brought them into contact with the Zulu inhabitants whom they drove off the land and/or reduced them to tenant labourers on their new farms. By 1854, the British had stripped the Xhosa chiefs of power and planted them as salaried functionaries in the colonial administration. The loss of power and land was devastating, materially and psychologically. Their world order and sense of purpose collapsed. The British defeated the Zulus in Natal, in 1879, and annexed Zululand in 1887. In 1877, Britain had annexed the Transvaal which led to the first Anglo-Boer War. The conflict ended with a negotiated peace settlement and Transvaal was restored as a republic. Gold was found in the Transvaal, which led to a gold rush and the second Anglo-Boer War. In 1902, the second Anglo-Boer War ended with the Treaty of Vereeniging and the Transvaal and Orange Free State were made self-governing colonies of the British Empire. In 1910, the Union of South Africa was formed with the British colonies of the Cape and Natal and the Boer Republics of Transvaal and Orange Free State. Parliamentary membership was limited to whites and a group of laws were passed, which curtailed the rights of the black majority and, in 1911, the Mines and Works Act limited blacks to menial work. In 1913 the Native Land Act restricted black land ownership to 7% of the land. In 1938, the South African Government required migrants from rural areas to have passes guaranteeing that they had a job.

Apartheid:
It is evident that 'Apartheid' was practiced from the inception of white rule; but, in 1948, when the right wing of the National Party (NP) – formed in 1914 – came to power, the devious politics of racial separation were initiated. The NP extended and legalized white economic exploitation, political domination and social privilege. These tenets were reinforced with harsh and intrusive security, unequal education, job discrimination and residential segregation. Fundamental rights such as protection against search without a warrant and the right to trial were violated. The policy was enunciated and systematized in a manner that was unique to South Africa. It determined to which, of three groups, an individual belonged. They were White, Bantu and Coloured. Later, Indian and Pakistani were added. The law of Apartheid, or 'Separateness', determined where one could live and the type of education each received. Bantu education included dish washing and weeding of flower beds. Education for the African was scarce and inadequate. Whites contended that the uneducated native was the most trustworthy and usefi1. Sixty-four pounds were spent on a white child, £20 on an Indian or coloured child and even less on the African child. Apartheid strictly prohibited all social contact; and, there was no representation for blacks. Eventually, security legislation made South Africa a police state to protect it from what the Prime Minister Malan called the 'black menace.'

The African National Congress (ANC):
The black population had begun to react as long ago as 1912 when the Native National Congress was founded and later renamed the African National Congress (ANC). In 1950, when the Group Areas Act was passed the ANC responded with a campaign of civil disobedience led by Nelson Mandela and Albert Luthuli. An Anti-Communist law was passed in 1950 and it equated Communism with any struggle for political, economic or social change. It served as an excuse to arrest many of the government's opponents. For 50 years, the ANC pursued a policy of peaceful protests and petitions. It was multiracial. There were anti-apartheid riots and wild strikes. In 1952, the pass laws, which restricted and controlled black access to white areas, were made more stringent. Blacks without passes were imprisoned. There were, subsequently, vehement protests. In 1952, there was defiance against the unjust laws when the ANC, in cooperation with the South African Indian Congress, encouraged the breaking of laws whilst continuing to be non-violent. There were eight thousand arrests, and riots broke out in several cities. Blacks were robbed of land, liberty and peace.

Separate Development:
In 1959, in order to diffuse international criticism South Africa began to promote the Bantu Self-Government Act. By 1960, all black African political organisations were banned. That did not stop the protests. In a peaceful demonstration at Sharpeville, in March, a massacre killed 69 blacks and wounded 180. Between 1960 and 1970, the 'separate development' concept went further. Homelands known as Bantustans were established. They were petty sovereign states that were semi-autonomous. There were five in the most impoverished part of the country with whites controlling 80 per cent of the land. Having established these homelands, black Africans were no longer 'citizens' of South Africa and, therefore, South Africa was no longer responsible for any social or economic problems of black Africans. They were citizens of these impoverished, remote, and underdeveloped homelands, which had no way of supporting them. Thus, they were obliged to live outside of these homelands. This was a deliberate policy on the part of the government to ensure the availability of an abundant supply of cheap black labour for which it had no responsibility. It had no welfare obligation for the millions of blacks who were sustaining their economy. These laws were vehemently opposed.

In 1961, the ANC laid aside its non-violent philosophy and became involved in armed struggle. The military wing came under the leadership of Mandela, who launched a sabotage campaign aimed at military and police installations. It was also in 1961 that South Africa became a republic and left the Commonwealth. It was also in the sixties that international pressure against the government began when South Africa was banned from the Olympics. In 1963, those who joined the struggle could be detained without a trial. In 1964, the ANC leader Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment.
The Struggle Intensifies:
In 1967, the Suppression of Communism Act was passed. The Deputy Minister of Bantu (African) Development announced a plan to register every African worker in the reserve. Every African must register as a ‘work seeker’ and be allocated to specific labour categories. This was another step to totally control the influx of African workers to white areas. These immigrants were essential to make up for the relatively low fertility of whites and their refusal to do menial labour for themselves. Force was increasingly applied through harsher representative regulation, greater firepower, as well as more informers. A large section of the population was kept in submission by brutal force under increasingly harsh legislation. It was forbidden for African workers to organise to defend their common economic interest or political aspirations. The government was determined and ruthless. In 1968, when an old farm worker of 90 was forced to return to his homeland when he no longer could work, Alan Paton declared that the Bantu Laws Amendment Bill was evil. "It is an utterly evil act. Apartheid is an evil and cruel thing, no matter how it is dressed up. Separate development is a trollop with a clean white dress over her dirty underwear in order to persuade intellectuals and churchmen that the girl is a virgin." "Black men have no rights in white areas where they are obliged to live and work and which they have helped to build. Husbands cannot take their wives with them and because of the starvation wages they receive, are forced to remain in work centres for long periods...strangers in a strange land but equally strangers at home to their wives and children. Women are left alone on the Reserves."

Resettlement and Student Violence:
It is often darkest before dawn. In 1970, one of the more traumatic policies of the government was implemented. Three million people were forcibly resettled in the homelands while many Coloured and Indians were also forcibly removed to ensure monocultural settlements. The pressure throughout the seventies was sufficient that the ANC sank into the shadows; nevertheless, in 1976, there were uprisings and protests that began in Soweto. On 16 June, 15,000 schoolchildren gathered in Soweto to protest the government’s ruling that half of all classes in secondary schools must be taught in Afrikaans. Students did not want to learn and teachers did not want to teach in the language of the oppressor. Pleadings and petitions by parents and teachers had fallen on deaf ears. A detachment of police confronted this army of earnest school children and, without warning, opened fire. Many were killed. Hundreds of children were killed or wounded and two white men were stoned to death. The uprising triggered riots and violence throughout the country. Mass funerals for victims of state violence became national rallying points. More than 600 were killed in clashes between black protesters and security forces. Bantu education had come back to haunt its creators, for these angry and audacious young people were its progeny.

Thus, it was also in the seventies that a younger generation started the Black Consciousness Movement and Biko, their leader, died while in custody. In these young men, who ended up on Robben Island, Mandela saw a different breed of prisoners — they had the angry revolutionary spirit of the times. The new prisoners were appalled by what they considered the barbaric conditions of the island and said that they could not understand how the older prisoners could live that way.

Changes for Mandela:
However, what Mandela was seeing was more openness and minimal changes for the better. In 1975, the military strikes in Angola were an encouragement; and, in 1978, a radio station was made available to the prisoners. In 1979, the diet for the Coloured, Indian and African prisoners was made the same. Before they had been different; but it was so small a difference that Mandela did not feel that it was worth celebrating. In 1980, a Free Mandela movement was started in Great Britain; and, in 1981, Mandela was nominated for the Jawaharlal Nehru Human Rights Award in India and also for the University of London Chancellorship. At the same time, the violence on the outside was increasing. In 1981, the South African Defence Force launched a raid killing 13 women and, the following year, 42 people were killed in an attack on a township. Ruth Slovo, a prominent anti-apartheid activist, was killed by a letter bomb, which Mandela felt showed the extent of the state’s cruelty in combating the struggle.

The African National Congress (ANC) Revived:
In May of 1983, the first car bomb was set off. Nineteen were killed and 200 were injured. Explosions were set off at a nuclear plant. Oliver Tambo had been successful in reviving the ANC. The government and the ANC were now operating on two tracks, both the military and the political. In 1983, Botha, making a political gesture that he hoped would be more seductive than it proved to be, created a Tripartite Parliament which would include separate political representation for the Indians and the Coloured but not the Africans. But, in 1984, when elections were called, 80% of the Indians and Coloured ‘boycotted’ the elections. In 1984, the United Democratic Front (UDF), which brought together 600 anti-apartheid organisations, was formed; and, in 1984, the world once more paid attention by nominating Bishop Desmond Tutu for the Nobel Prize.

On January 1985, in Parliament, Nelson Mandela was offered his freedom if he “unconditionally rejected violence as a political instrument.” This offer was extended to all political prisoners. Botha wanted the onus of violence to rest on Mandela’s shoulder. Thus, Mandela felt that he had to make it clear that he and the ANC were only responding to state violence. If he emerged from prison under the same circumstances of a banned ANC; of denial of his South African citizenship; and offensive pass laws; he would be forced to resume the same activities for which he was arrested. He not only responded to the State President’s offer, he also sent a message to the people and his ANC colleagues, which his daughter read at a UDF rally that was held at Soweto’s Jabulani Stadium. He wanted to reassure Oliver Tambo that he could not be tempted to betray the ANC or the struggle by any such offer. He had been offered six such conditional offers of freedom in the past 10 years.

Contradictions: Increased Violence and Increased Recognition for Mandela:
The ANC and Oliver Tambo had called for the people of South Africa to render the country
uncontrollable; and the people obliged. The political violence reached new heights. Although most of the violence was in the townships, a few bombs were detonated in white areas – at take-away restaurants and shopping malls. On 12 June 1986 a state of emergency was declared which gave the security police draconian powers. Subsequently, torture, disappearances and assassinations became ever more widespread. It was amidst this turmoil that a group of eminent persons from the Commonwealth met with Mandela. This had become necessary because Margaret Thatcher would not agree to sanctions against South Africa. Mandela took this opportunity to raise the subject of negotiations. The government regarded the meeting as something extraordinary and provided him with a tailor-made suit so that he would meet them “on an equal footing”. The commander told him that in his pinstriped suit which fit like a glove, he looked like a prime minister not a prisoner. The Commonwealth group met with the Cabinet after they had met with Mandela and, on the same day, the President launched attacks on ANC bases in Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This poisoned the talks and the group immediately left South Africa.

During this time Mandela had been moved to a security prison outside of Cape Town. Initially, he was with four others; and, later, he was alone. This circumstance gave him an opportunity to think in terms of trying to negotiate with the authorities. Mandela felt that if this did not happen soon both sides would be plunged into a dark night of oppression, violence and war. Despite the violence, or perhaps because of it, international pressure was increasing and Mandela was being given more freedom. He was beginning to meet with Kobie Coetse, the Minister of Justice, and he was being taken on excursions around Cape Town. His biography indicated that he found these trips instructive. He saw how life had changed. Additionally, because these trips were in the white areas, he also saw the extraordinary wealth and ease that white folks enjoyed. Though the country was in upheaval and the townships were on the brink of open warfare, white life went on placidly and undisturbed. Their lives were unaffected.

Chapter 20

Negotiations Begin:

Although the ANC had called for talks with the Government for decades, they had never been confronted with the prospect of such talks. When Mandela began to draft his memoranda to P.W. Botha, he made sure that Oliver Tambo and the National Executive also read his memo. It was important that he allay their fears and assure them that he had not gone off the road. The first formal meeting of the secret working group took place in May 1988.

The initial meeting was quite stiff; but in subsequent sessions both sides were able to talk more freely and directly. There were four critical issues: the armed struggle; the ANC’s alliance with the Communist Party; the goal of majority rule and the idea of racial reconciliation. The government representatives wanted to insist that the ANC renounce violence before negotiations could begin. Mandela insisted that it was their only form of self-defence in the face of State violence and they simply needed to make their people understand that “there could be no peace and no solution to the situation in South Africa without sitting down with the ANC.” With respect to their alliance with communism, the National Party regarded the Soviet Union as the evil empire and communism as the work of the devil. Moreover, since Whites and Indians belonged to the Communist Party, they believed that the Communist Party controlled the ANC.

Mandela pointed out that they were two separate organisations with a common short-term goal of overthrowing white oppression, but with differing long-term goals. In any case, they could not expect that the ANC would jettison a long-time ally in order to please the common antagonist. He also pointed out that there were four government representatives and he was only one; but these government representatives had not been able to persuade him. Why did they think that the Communist Party would have more power of persuasion than they themselves had?

On the issue of majority rule, he reminded them that the ANC had always tried to unite all of the people of South Africa. The ANC believed that South Africa belonged to all of the people who lived there – black and white. The ANC had no desire to drive whites into the sea. Both international pressure and violence continued; but, in 1989, two events of significance took place. On 4 July of that year, a prison official informed Mandela that he would be taken to see President Botha as a courtesy call. Once again Mandela was provided with a tailor who would make him a suit in which to meet the President.

del Klerk replaces Botha:

Mandela found the President to be unfailingly courteous, deferential, and friendly; and from the first moment he was completely disarmed. The meeting lasted less than a half hour. It was friendly and bracing until the end. It was then that Mandela asked Mr. Botha to release all of the political prisoners unconditionally. There was a moment of tenseness and Mr. Botha said that he could not do that – still Mandela felt that although there was not a breakthrough in terms of negotiations it
still represented progress. Mr. Botha had long talked about crossing the Rubicon and that morning he had done so. There was no turning back. A month later, P.W. Botha announced his resignation and the following day P.W. de Klerk was sworn in as acting president and affirmed his commitment to change and reform. Mandela described him as a pragmatist who saw change as necessary and inevitable and on the day that he was sworn in Mandela wrote him a letter requesting a meeting. In his inaugural address, Mr. de Klerk said that his government was committed to peace and that it would negotiate with any group committed to peace. He lived up to his promise to ease restrictions on political gatherings and permitted a march to take place, asking only that the demonstrations remain peaceful. According to Mandela "a new and different hand was on the tiller."

There was still a long way to go. Mandela pressed the government to show its good intentions by releasing the political prisoners at Robben Island and Pollsmoor, unconditionally. He promised they would be disciplined after their release. On 10 October, President de Klerk announced that Walter Sisulu and seven others would be released. They were released under no ban. Mandela was both appreciative and overjoyed. In addition, de Klerk began systematically dismantling many of the building blocks of apartheid and announced that the National Security Management System – a secret structure set up by P.W. Botha to combat antiapartheid forces – would be dissolved.

Mandela was now enjoying sufficient freedom to be able to consult with his ANC and Communist colleagues. After consulting with them, he drafted another letter to de Klerk stressing that talks without preconditions were the only solution to the current conflict that was draining South Africa’s lifeblood. At the same time, he expressed his appreciation for Mr. de Klerk’s emphasis on reconciliation in his inaugural address. He, himself, emphasised that the Government had spent too much time talking to black homelands leaders and others co-opted by the system. They were the agents of an oppressive past that the mass of South Africans had rejected. His demands included the release of all political prisoners; the lifting of all bans on restricted organisations and persons; the ending of the State Emergency; and the removal of all troops from the townships. There should be a mutually agreed-upon ceasefire to end all hostilities. That must be the first order of business because nothing else could happen without that. At that meeting Mandela felt that de Klerk was a man with whom he could do business.

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