

Workshop on South Africa in the 1940s  
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## **Michael Scott and the Campaign for Right and Justice**

**By**

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Between 1943 and 1945, the Anglican priest Michael Scott played a leading role in the small body known as the Campaign for Right and Justice (CRJ), a left-liberal organisation that sought to establish a momentum for social and political reform from its base in Johannesburg. Drawing its main support from trade union activists and groups representing demobilised military volunteers, the CRJ sought to influence public opinion in support of broad reforms in social welfare and labour rights through pamphleteering, the organisation of conferences, and political lobbying. It provides an example of the optimistic and progressive strand of liberal politics that attempted to promote a South African version of the reconstructionist ethic that characterised political planning elsewhere in the world, and notably in Britain, during the 1940s.

The role played by Michael Scott makes the CRJ also relevant to the history of emerging international opposition to apartheid in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Scott, who had arrived in South Africa in 1943,[1] engaged with mainstream politics through the CRJ before embarking upon a career of radical activism that would eventually move to an international stage through his activities at the United Nations in support of the Herero people of South-West Africa. Influenced by the passive resistance campaigns of the Indian Congress in Durban, yet determined to remain independent, Scott's activities during the later 1940s set him apart as a singular campaigner for the recognition of African rights and the establishment of social justice in South Africa. Within Britain, he became a focus of opposition to apartheid after 1948, revisiting the extra-parliamentary lobbying and publicity-generating functions of the CRJ in the London-based Africa Bureau. Scott's work with the CRJ thus also serves to highlight certain aspects of the development of the intellectual foundations of the transnational anti-apartheid movement.

Before assessing Scott's involvement with the CRJ, it is necessary to address the religious dimension of wartime plans for reconstruction. As an Anglican priest, Scott's involvement with politics was a reflection of his position vis-à-vis the church as much as it was a statement of his own political outlook. Christian sentiment had, of course, been intimately linked with the shaping of political opinion in South Africa, and the progressive politics of the early 1940s was no exception.

## Christian Reconstruction in South Africa: The Church and the Nation

In October 1940, at the synod of the Anglican diocese of Johannesburg, Geoffrey Clayton, then Bishop of that diocese, declared his hope that the war would promote an atmosphere that would transcend the policy of “fear” that had hitherto dominated white politics.[2] Later that year at a symposium organised by the Society of Jews and Christians, he further elaborated his position, emphasising that he had ‘no prophetic vision’, but suggesting that the world would awaken from the ‘bad dreams’ of segregation. He hoped that the ‘true meaning’ of trusteeship would be realised, that black and white could come together and that ‘there should be a variety of cultures, held together in the same state’.[3]

The question of reconstruction continued to be a keynote of debate amongst liberal Christians during the early years of the war, drawing some influence from an international intellectual climate amenable to the spirit of reconstruction. In Britain, the Anglican community debated radical proposals for social change at a conference held in Malvern in January 1941. The conference delegates proclaimed the Church’s right to comment on social life, and looked forward to the creation of a welfare state.[4] In part inspired by the Malvern resolutions, the Johannesburg diocesan synod of 1941 called for the establishment of a Commission to investigate ‘the mind of Christ’ for South Africa seeking to establish the church’s role and responsibilities in the move towards a ‘new order’ in South Africa.[5]

The final version of the report on The Church and the Nation, presented in late 1943, was inscribed with Clayton’s vision of the nature and mission of the Church of the Province of South Africa.[6] In a wider context, it also outlined a mandate for South African Christian liberalism that was illustrative of widespread political and social sensibilities, both within the church and in wider liberal circles.

The report began by making a ‘Statement of Christian Principles’. Having attested to the destiny of humanity as ‘the priest of creation’, the report established the common fraternity (if not equality) of all humanity in the eyes of God. The fundamental human community was the family, ‘antecedent in time and idea to other groups or communities’, yet the State also needed to ‘take account of the existence of other groups’ and to ensure their autonomy as such. The report thus deftly combined a belief in the primacy of the family as a social unit with recognition of the rights of “other groups”, while making no reference to notions of racial, national or cultural orderings of society. The primary emphasis was, however, placed upon the rights of the individual. As spiritual beings with their own intrinsic value, individuals had an ‘equal claim’ to a ‘basic share’ in the provision of State welfare.[7]

Clayton's report thus laid down a series of moral principles that formed the basis of social justice. On the one hand, he recognised certain group rights, while on the other the individual was placed at the moral centre of human social organisation. However, the radical social potential of the report was undermined by its concern to bring the individual back to face God. Notions of "universal fraternity" could suggest a fundamental critique of the basis of white domination, but the report suggested that claims to individual 'independence and autonomy' would ultimately collapse back into sin. The Christian concern for the transcendent nature of human existence meant that materialist analyses of South African social dilemmas were stripped of legitimacy.[8] Redemption was achieved through sharing in the suffering of Christ, and it is this individual act which, in Clayton's vision, served as the basis for social reform:

Neither a change in human institutions nor intellectual enlightenment, nor the two together, can of themselves save society or its individual members. It is also necessary that the wills of men should be turned away from sin, if any improvement is to be made and maintained.[9]

This statement goes to the heart of Clayton's understanding of the mechanics of progress in South Africa. Reform of social prejudices required 'a change of heart within the nation' driven by individual acts of self-sacrifice.

The message of the Church and the Nation was thus one of social redemption through conversion, itself a powerful theme in mid-twentieth century liberal thought. During his 1933 Phelps Stokes lectures, Edgar Brookes had asserted the need for such a change of heart as a prerequisite for social reform. White Christians, he argued, were required to 'turn the searchlight inwards' and examine their own faith, while class and racial tensions could not be resolved 'until every man or woman concerned has experience this inner revolution of the surrender of the will'. [10] For Brookes then, social justice could only be achieved through an 'inner revolution' of the spiritual conversion of white South Africa. Yet, by 1942, he had begun to question whether it was possible to achieve 'real personal religion without action in the social and economic spheres'. [11] The principle of spiritual conversion as a catalyst for social change remained an important element of Christian liberal thinking, but the context of a wartime discourse of reconstruction, it was tied (somewhat awkwardly) with a language of rights and economic justice.

The Church and the Nation noted that South Africa, an avowedly Christian and democratic State engaged in a war fought for 'the rights of man', could not escape the charge of hypocrisy all the while such rights were denied within its borders on the grounds of colour.[12] The church itself should scrutinise government policy and legislation and 'educate public opinion' if such policy 'fails to uphold Christian principles'. At the same time, the church should cooperate with and support the state where it promoted the welfare of all and upheld 'the Christian standard of justice'. In terms of economic activities, the

report stressed the need to promote ‘the opportunity of living the “good life” through ‘the restoration of a sense of divine vocation in all human work and effort’.[13] For this to be achieved, the report asserted that ‘the profit motive must be subordinated to that of production for use, in which the sense of service and duty to the community can have full play’.

It has been suggested that this statement typified the liberal humanitarian stance, characterised by a desire to ameliorate the effects of capitalism without questioning the structure of capitalist society.[14] In this interpretation, the Anglican view on the economy would concur with that stream of liberal thought in South Africa that was later to condemn the Freedom Charter for its focus on public ownership. Yet there is space, perhaps, for another reading of this statement, one that moves beyond the axis of socialist-capitalist debate. The focus here is upon industrial production, but the language of the report echoes faintly the sense of “work” as a process of self-formation (and self-affirmation).[15] The desire to realise the ‘principle of stewardship’[16] may not directly threaten the structure of capitalist society, yet it could seek to transcend the motives of capitalist production. An even distribution of wealth could thus be viewed as a moral duty, while the ‘concentration of ownership or control’ of economic resources could be construed as ‘contrary to God’s plan for mankind’.[17]

The report was at its most equivocal when dealing with the legislative framework and lived relations of segregation. It ruled out the immediate removal of the colour bar in employment, and concentrated instead on the ameliorative effect of improved social services, and apprenticeship schemes that could broaden the skills base of the labour force. Migrant labour stood condemned for its encouragement of ‘grave moral ills’ that were ‘attendant upon the separation of men from their womenfolk, and the grouping of them together in compounds’, but despite this, the report called for the use of migrant labour merely to be ‘progressively reduced’.[18]

The Church and the Nation presented a qualified critique of racial segregation. Yet, it did not condemn segregation as such; rather it attacked only those forms that were ‘inconsistent with the dignity of man as a child of God, or which hinders him to contribute to the whole community’.[19] It identified various “evil forms” of segregation that conspired to deprive individuals of their ‘common rights’, which encompassed segregation in education, territorial segregation, social segregation, which tended ‘to prohibit real fellowship’, and finally political segregation, which denied those ‘who had reached a sufficient stage of responsibility’ any involvement in the life of the nation. The report accepted however that there was ‘no final principle involved in the practice of segregation’.[20]

The report urged for the franchise to be extended, yet it fell short of recommending universal adult suffrage. It argued that the Native Representative

Council should be enlarged, and (given the 'inadequate and indirect representation' provided by the Council) that a 'direct individual franchise' be extended to Africans 'as soon as possible'. This was followed by recognition of the 'ultimate aim' of a 'common roll for all citizens'. 'Separate representation', the report went on, would ultimately lead to 'conflict rather than union'.<sup>[21]</sup> While cognisant of the material dimension of social inequalities, the report concluded that the church should be chiefly concerned with the need for spiritual growth, promoting dissent from a small group of idealists who believed the church should function as a more assertive and socially active institution.

When the report was presented to the Diocesan Synod in November 1943, it was subject to searching criticism from a small idealist group that included Michael Scott. Their critique focussed firstly on the contradictions in the report's treatment of questions such as the colour bar and, secondly, on the prospects for its implementation. How, for instance, could the church condemn laws and customs such as the colour bar but call merely for a 'gradual removal' of such practices? At the heart of the disagreement was the statement that it was necessary for there to be 'a change of heart within the nation' before any of its recommendations could be put into action. To achieve such a conversion would thus require redoubled evangelistic efforts from the Church in order 'that the nation be called back to God'.<sup>[22]</sup> The critics wondered whether that meant that the report's recommendations could ever be implemented, or whether no broader basis of social action could be considered.<sup>[23]</sup>

Launched in an atmosphere of dissent, the report was unlikely to succeed as a blueprint for a Christian 'new order' in South Africa. Indeed, Clayton himself appears to have recognised that the air of optimism that had existed when the commission was appointed seemed by early 1944 to have been replaced by apathy and cynicism. The war, he conceded, would 'leave us worse than it found us'.<sup>[24]</sup> While sections of the Church and the Nation allude to a radical vision of society and offered a basis for a more assertive Christian response to developments in South Africa, the founding principles of Clayton's vision ultimately ensured that such a role for the church was out of the question. With its hints towards the supremacy of the law of God over secular law and criticism of the concentration of ownership of 'productive resources', the report opened up a space for potential Christian activists. However, given Clayton's position regarding the primacy of piety and individual self-sacrifice over outright campaigns for social reform, it was clear that he was not going to lead the church in any muscular challenge to orthodox political and social beliefs.

### Scott and the Campaign for Right and Justice

There were signs, during the later war years, that some white liberals recognised the need to confront the challenge posed by Christian nationalism and

address the relationship between South African 'native' policy and international conventions expressed by the Atlantic Charter and embedded in the establishment of the United Nations. One such individual had been Michael Scott, who having arrived in South Africa in early 1943 had wasted little time in establishing himself as an energetic political activist.

Scott's enthusiastic drive to address the problems of South Africa transported him rapidly from 'self-opinionated' critic within the church to active involvement in secular politics. In late 1943 he became involved in the organisation of a series of conferences on 'Right and Justice', out of which grew the short-lived Campaign for Right and Justice (CRJ).[25] The CRJ offers an example of the reformist trends evident in left-liberal circles during the closing years of the Second World War, and ultimately, the limits of 'progressive' politics in the face of both incipient black radicalism and the continuing rise of Afrikaner nationalism.

An pamphlet from late 1943 invited organisations and 'all persons of good will' to support a series of demands intended to establish a post-war social and political order that reflected the human rights expressed in the Atlantic Charter. The demands included a call for the establishment of universal social welfare in the form of universal primary education, universal unemployment benefits, and the provision of adequate housing and universal health services, a vigorous scientific approach to social welfare and increased medical research, and greater justice in employment through the abolition of discriminatory legislation and the provision of a minimum wage of 40 shillings per week. The pamphlet also demanded 'proportional representation within the legislature of all tax-paying peoples and races' and 'an eventual extension of the franchise to all adult persons.' [26]

In October 1943, over 200 delegates attended a conference chaired by William Palmer, Dean of Johannesburg, which appointed a working committee to draft a provisional programme that represented the 'common aims which all ... were agreed could only be achieved by unified effort on the part of all similar organisations throughout the country.' [27] The working committee embodied a wide range of political opinion in South Africa: Christians such as Scott, Palmer and the Methodist leader J.B. Webb; progressive white politicians including Hyman Basner, Margaret Ballinger and Donald Molteno and Communists such as Dr. Yusuf Dadoo and Edwin Mofutsanyana. Together, they laid out a programme based upon the principles of 'fuller representation of Non-Europeans within the legislative framework of the Constitution', the abolition of racially discriminatory legislation, and the 'provision of land for the landless people of South Africa.' [28]

A second conference at the Darragh Hall, Johannesburg on 4th and 5th December 1943 adopted the draft programme, unchanged save for the insertion of a radical claim for the provision for 'full and direct representation of all sections of

the community, irrespective of race' (which nevertheless came with the caveat 'within the legislative framework of the Constitution').[29] Aside from caution over the franchise, the manifesto bears a remarkable similarity to the Bill of Rights laid out in the statement of African Claims in South Africa, adopted by the ANC annual conference ten days after the Darragh Hall meeting.[30] Despite the apparent affinity between the aims of the CRJ and other political groups, its emergence was not met with overwhelming approval, with suspicion focussing in particular upon its stated aim of establishing a broad 'progressive' front. Despite an attempt to reassure Dr. Alfred Xuma that the its plan to campaign for the recognition of African trade unions would not 'conflict in any way with the purposes of the African Congress or to usurp any of its functions', the ANC declined to join the committee set up to organise the delegate conferences of late 1943.[31] The white liberal establishment showed similar reticence over this new organisation, with SAIRR secretary J.D. Rheinnallt-Jones questioning the need for a new organisation as the Joint Councils were already 'in the forefront of efforts along the lines of your memorandum'.[32] Much of the institutional support for the CRJ came from trade unions, including the Transvaal Teacher's Association, the multi-racial Garment Workers' Union, the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC) and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions. Further support came from servicemen's organisations and the National Council of Women.

Christian support for the CRJ was more equivocal. Some clergy, other than Scott, were closely connected to the movement. In addition to Dean Palmer and the Methodist leader Webb, the first chair of the movement's executive from mid-1944 was Archdeacon Wraige of Kimberley, who called for Christians to build upon their own interdenominational efforts to join the CRJ 'in its nation-wide call that for every citizen of South Africa there shall be Right and Justice'.[33] The retired ex-Archdeacon of Bloemfontein, Canon Hulme, saw the CRJ as a manifestation of Christian service that should 'commend itself to the Patriot, the Democrat, the Humanitarian, and above all, to the practicing Christian'.[34] The movement did not, however, receive official blessing from the Anglican church, despite the fact that a number of Bishops had responded positively to Scott following the announcement of plans for the 1944 conference.

Broadly, the CRJ can be characterised as a left-liberal organisation, yet it took care to play down any specific party-political affiliations or ambitions. The attempt to establish a broad front carried with it, however, the seeds of the movement's destruction, with its executive containing both staunch opponents of the Communist party as well as party members. In addition to the involvement of Mofutsanyana and Dadoo with the establishment of the movement, the CRJ executive in 1945 included the white Communists Brian Bunting and Vincent Berrangé. Scott, who had taken an experimental interest in Communism in London and India during the 1930s, had become increasingly distrustful of those who espoused radical left-wing views. A combination of Scott's ambivalence towards Communists and the burgeoning wariness amongst black leaders of the motives of

white liberals made for a certain degree of volatility within the CRJ leadership. Scott later described a ‘furious controversy’ between himself and Dadoo over the perceived threat posed by the CRJ to the attempts to establish a united “non-European” political front. [35] Dadoo’s primary complaint, according to Scott, was that the white liberals who formed the nucleus of the movement should support such moves without attempting to play a leading role. Thus, while it may have had some influence upon the language of political opposition,[36] the CRJ elicited a degree of scepticism from African and Indian political leaders, who perhaps understandably judged the movement as yet another manifestation of paternalist white liberalism.

The emergence of the CRJ in late 1943 needs to be understood in the context of a shifting pattern of alliances amongst South African political organisations. September 1943 saw the emergence of the more moderate African Democratic Party, which welcomed white support and took a positive attitude towards liberal organisations such as the SAIRR. In December, foreshadowing the alliance between the African, Indian and Coloured organisations during the 1950s, African and Coloured delegates issued a ‘Draft Declaration of Unity’ that incorporated a ten-point programme of demands for political rights. The CRJ can thus be seen as a multi-racial extension of developments in black politics in the latter war years, all of which were responses to both the principles of rights and moral duties articulated by Allied leaders from 1941, and an increasing realisation that the rhetoric of reconstruction espoused by white leaders in the early 1940s was increasingly unlikely to result in dramatic change.[37]

Despite its espousal of multi-racial unity, it is clear that Scott’s public pronouncements on behalf of the CRJ were invariably directed towards a white audience. In a series of articles in *The Democrat* in March and April 1944, Scott described the dangers in white ignorance of the ‘cumulative effect of misery in the mass’, of growing African disillusionment with ‘the white man, his God, his Church, his justice, his honesty, his statesmanship’. The CRJ was thus an attempt to counter the threat of ‘anarchist political tendencies’ that had germinated in South Africa.[38] While aspects of the CRJ propaganda of early 1944 echoed fears of ‘degeneration’ that had run through earlier segregationist discourse, the proposed solution was one founded upon the socio-economic development in order to expand the national income and thus stimulate productivity.[39]

Such issues were debated at a conference on National reconstruction co-sponsored by the CRJ, the SATLC and Transvaal Teachers’ Association in July 1944. The conference agenda was focussed upon questions of economic and social development and labour relations, and attracted speakers including Margaret Ballinger, black and white union leaders and experts in the fields of medicine and economics.[40] Delegates agreed to campaign for an ‘alliance of the popular and progressive forces’ in order to realize the development of natural and human resources and the provision of social services. Specific targets to reduce

wartime profiteering and to provide support for members of the armed forces and their dependents were thus linked with the more general call for a 'co-operative federation' that would establish a 'national programme of reconstruction'. [41] In addition the conference appointed a further committee to establish a firm organisational structure, centred upon an 11-member Executive Committee that was appointed on 29th July.

Plans were made for an annual CRJ conference, which would elect a 60 member Council, and in turn elect members of the Executive Committee. The Executive, which was chaired by Scott following the resignation of Archdeacon Wraige, oversaw the work of various sub-committees concerned with planning and research as well as specific issues such as mining, co-operatives and the co-ordination of anti-fascist activities. Between mid-1944 and late-1945, the CRJ sponsored further conferences on Food and Health and the 'Rehabilitation of African Ex-volunteers'. The latter conference, held in September 1945, brought together a range of leading government officials, experts and political leaders, and was presided over by the Director of Army Education, Leo Marquard. Speakers included members of the Directorate of Demobilisation, J. D. Rheinallt-Jones and Alfred Xuma. Scott opened the conference praising the 'loyal contribution of Africans towards the Allied victory' and sought to use the question of African servicemen as a foundation for discussing wider questions of post-war reform and the 'future of the African people in the general scheme of things.' [42]

Other activities included the organisation of petitions in support of the Alexandra bus boycott of November 1944. They also sent deputations to ministers over housing, the 1944 Millworkers strike and incidents such as the rioting in Sophiatown in late 1944 that prompted the City Council to approve plans for the Western Areas Removal Scheme. A fortnightly newsletter was launched in May 1945, and a Legal Department provided support and legal representation for African unions. [43] Under the leadership of Scott, the CRJ began to function, along similar lines to the SAIRR, as an effective extra-parliamentary organisation ready to intervene in social and political debate through lobbying and the sponsorship of conferences. Yet, unlike the SAIRR, the Campaign was founded upon a programme of specific aims that understood South African society as constituted by a single integrated unit rather than the inter-relationship of 'racial' or 'cultural' groups.

The aims of the CRJ remained wide and diffuse, yet a more detailed plan of action, articulated in its September 1944 pamphlet 'Against Fascism', saw the emergence of two distinct elements of policy: the promotion of long-term development based upon a 'regionalist' conception of South Africa; and a propaganda campaign to expose the threat of fascist and 'anti-democratic' groups. The pamphlet alleged that there were 'forces at work' engaged with 'stimulating race hatred and colour prejudices ... spreading the doctrine of anti-semitism and using the bogey of Communism'. Drawing upon the example of the rise of Nazism in inter-war Europe, the pamphlet warned against complacency

and, while it acknowledged the unlikelihood of establishing a 'unity of doctrine' across the spectrum of 'popular and progressive forces', it suggested that such forces could be brought together to implement an 'Immediate Programme of Action'. [44]

The programme set an ambitious timetable of three months in which to raise awareness of the Campaign, expose the 'anti-democratic and reactionary forces aiming at post-war power' and criticise the government's failure to act against such forces, to purge the civil service of 'anti-democratic' elements and call for the criminalisation of incitement to race hatred. Alongside these tasks were calls for the revision of laws covering industrial conciliation; the implementation of changes to health, housing, social services and education recommended by a series of wartime commissions; the establishment of consumers' cooperatives and the implementation of demobilisation schemes. Joining together with the Springbok Legion and other ex-servicemen's organisations, the CRJ organised a mass rally in Johannesburg that would counter the apparent apathy over the 'Nazi doctrine of Racial Hatred' that was 'being scientifically propagated in South Africa'. [45] The rally, held on 9th July 1945 was addressed by the Mayor of Johannesburg, the Minister of Justice, Colin Steyn, and sought to celebrate the end of hostilities in Europe and honour the part played by South African troops. [46]

Despite expressing disappointment at the turnout of the rally (some 1500-2000 attended), the CRJ continued to formulate plans to 'combat the anti-democratic and subversive elements in South Africa'. [47] In 1945, preparations were made for the publication of a thirty-page booklet exposing the aims and activities of the clandestine Afrikaner organisation, the Broederbond. The pamphlet described the characteristics of the Bond, the extent of its influence across Afrikaner cultural and economic organisations, its ambitions to achieve power, and warned of its likely success in mobilising Afrikaner opinion behind its agenda. It proposed a threefold response, involving the public exposure of the organisation's activities, a drive to promote public understanding of South Africa's position in an inter-dependant Commonwealth, and (most crucially) the necessity for a liberal counter-organisation.

The pamphlet proposed 'a new concept of "liberalism"' in opposition to Afrikaner nationalism that would embrace scientific and technological development, and, in somewhat obscure terms, called for recognition of 'the implications of a new conception of "plenty" in the place of "scarcity" as the basis of our economic structure'. [48] The new liberalism would re-evaluate concepts such as "work", "employment" and "leisure" and replace the 'barren policy' of segregation with "integration". It would recognise only an integrated 'South African' national identity that sought to unify the 'many strands' that constituted South African culture. The pamphlet did not, however, provide a clear definition of the 'new forms' organisation to which it alluded, nor did it address the necessity of dialogue with the aspirations and political convictions of black South Africans.

Intervention in mainstream political activities aspired to no more than support for the United Party and a resolve to maintain the coalition between the United and Labour parties.

In addition to its campaign against fascism, the committee decided in addition to advance a 'constructive programme' that promoted economic and social development, and established a number of technical sub-committees. The Bond pamphlet represented the ultimate expression of the CRJ's aim to expose 'subversive forces' in South Africa (and would play an important role in Scott's resignation from the Campaign), but the desire for a 'constructive programme' fed into a second major element of the Campaign: the promotion of regional-based development.

The CRJ's development-based strategy emerged from the July 1944 conference and the subsequent pamphlet *Against Fascism*. In addition to a short-term 'Programme of Action', the pamphlet outlined a long-term plan to promote the development of 'human and industrial resources' in South Africa. In terms of industry, this implied a re-orientation of activities away from the 'wasting asset' of precious metals and towards primary industries based on coal and iron, and new manufacturing industry. A 'scientific basis' for agriculture was to be encouraged, both to increase food production but also to 'uplift the general standards and productivity' of African and poverty-stricken white populations. Human resources needed to be more fully developed in order to 'increase the productive capacity of the nation' and at the same time stimulate an expansion of the internal market.[49]

Here, the CRJ pamphlet reproduced an extensive section of the *Church and the Nation* report that called for the 'improvement of wages and conditions of employment' and condemned migrant labour as a 'wasteful' and morally degrading system. In terms of political representation, *Against Fascism* watered down the more trenchant call for full and direct representation of earlier CRJ propaganda, and instead noted that the black representation 'should be increased' and in the meantime, 'they should be consulted through their various organisations'.[50] The pamphlet thus highlighted the shift of emphasis of the CRJ from its earlier focus on the eradication of discrimination and the establishment of an equitable social order towards a dual campaign, on the one hand in opposition to a perceived fascist threat, and on the other to a technical plan for development based upon economic imperatives.

Detailed plans for post-war reconstruction were set out in the agenda for a Conference on Regional Planning scheduled for December 1945. The conference was to be divided into sessions headed by the ministers of justice, health and housing, agriculture and economic development. In preparation, the CRJ produced a further pamphlet that laid out the basis of a scheme for regional development, which aimed fundamentally at the decentralisation of manufacturing away from the Rand and the organisation of labour, planning and social services in relation to

seven 'natural' regions.[51] The seven regions were derived in part from the work of Dr. Andre Bruwer, Chair of the Board of Trade and Industries between the wars, [52] but the inspiration for a 'regionalist' approach came from the US social philosopher, Lewis Mumford.[53] Mumford conceived of regionalism as an alternative to the modern nation state, a platform for social and moral reconstruction in the wake of the 'psychological metamorphosis' brought about in what he described as the 'neotechnic' era of modernity.[54] As such, it provided a platform for moral and social renewal that Scott eagerly incorporated into the CRJ manifesto for South African reconstruction.

For Scott, the regionalist mentality described by Mumford was centred upon communities schooled in 'humanist attitudes, co-operative methods and rational controls',[55] and united by local cultural practices yet sympathetic to the character and needs of neighbouring regions. It offered, Scott suggested, a blueprint for the 'new patriotism' that had emerged through the wartime experience and recognised that the 'varieties of tradition and modes of life ... are not mutually inimical but are parts of a composite whole'.[56] Suffused with an organicist concern to promote 'healthy' regional patriotism and competition and more harmonious relations between rural and urban areas, Scott's pamphlet argued for the establishment of a Regional Development Corporation that could direct the construction of 'a more virile future and a happier relationship between the respective races and communities in this land'.[57]

The CRJ shifted from a genuinely multi-racial movement to one that resembled much more closely 'mainstream' liberal organisations such as the Joint Councils. Nevertheless, it aimed, and to a large extent succeeded, to attract support across a broad spectrum of white political opinion, from UP ministers to Communists. This very success created, however, an almost incomprehensively broad coalition of interests that itself sowed the seeds of the movement's ultimate demise. The Afrikaner Broederbond pamphlet was abandoned when it was suggested that the move would add weight to the allegations over the CRJ's political ambitions.[58] Scott alleged that, without his knowledge, a dissatisfied and 'influential section of the Jewish community' did in fact intend to use the movement as a platform from which to build a new political party. Faced with mounting pressure from the United Party and losing support from the CRJ executive, he cancelled the Regional Planning conference and in 'a mood of black despair', resigned from the Campaign.[59]

## Conclusion

The Church and the Nation report reflected the optimistic enthusiasm for social reform and post-war reconstruction that had blossomed in the early 1940s but lost momentum during the latter part of the war. Paternalist liberalism was under increasing pressure, both from rising African (and latterly Indian- see below) radicalism, but also from the challenge of Christian nationalism among white South Africans. Unlike in the UK, however, where plans for social reform

and social welfare continued to grip the public imagination, South Africa's white electorate began to be exercised by a rather different form of political mobilisation.

To a certain extent, where he argued for the necessary stimulation of the South African market, the need for 'a new form of patriotism' and the nourishment of a sense of tolerance, Scott's plan echoed that elaborated in *The Church and the Nation*. His tone, however, was more urgent, convinced of both the necessity and the possibility of immediate change. It did not seek to promote a Christian message of faith and social progress, but it nevertheless drew upon a utopian vision embedded within a teleological framework of social and moral development. Scott's political philosophy stood halfway between the gradualist Christian liberalism of *The Church and the Nation* (and its interwar forebears) and the emergent rights-centred, but identity-based, politics of the African and Indian Congresses. All three rejected the ethnic exclusivism and racial chauvinism of Afrikaner nationalism, yet failed to achieve (or even attempt to achieve) a unified programme for change in South Africa. Like the *Church and the Nation*, Scott's regionalist plan relied to a large extent upon a psychological 'change of heart' within white South Africa, and paid little attention to the content and form of developments in black politics.

Following the Second World War, South Africa became increasingly regarded as a state at odds with international standards of justice, whose policies of segregation and apartheid had been shorn of legitimacy in the light of the horrors of racial discrimination that had been revealed in Europe. The notion of universal human rights seemed to offer black political leaders a moral language within which to couch their opposition to South African government policy. Michael Scott's efforts could thus be viewed as less of a result of post-war moral and ethical shifts but as those of actor centrally engaged in the formation of this post-war discourse of "human rights". As such, his involvement with the Campaign for Right and Justice may be viewed as a formative stage in the development of an international critique of South African racial policies. Scott's activities in South Africa during the 1940s describe a rapid transition from socially aware priest to more conventional political lobbyist to high profile campaigner against social injustice. While his conduct was to lead him away from the position of the church authorities, he nevertheless continued to imagine his role in terms of a discussion of Christian principles, while the moral authority of his position as an Anglican priest was to guarantee a degree of public recognition for the causes he espoused.

During the 1940s, South African Christians, and the Anglican church in particular, had engaged with a quest for a "new order" that had stimulated debate over the form of post-war society around the world. In South Africa, this meant an examination of core elements of its social and economic structure. This endeavour was characterized by an optimistic view of the possibilities for "progress", the acceptance of the limited possibilities for political reform,

and a continued acceptance of the moral legitimacy of the state. Michael Scott, through his involvement with the Campaign for Right and Justice, began to articulate the need for thoroughgoing reform as a necessary solution to the increasing social dilemmas apparent on the Rand during the 1940s, reform that at the same time would promote a new social responsibility with the capacity to counter the threat of “fascist” ethnic nationalism. While in many senses his vision of social change was but a more assertive form of the agenda for Christian social transformation described in *The Church and the Nation*, Scott’s political sensibilities nevertheless acted as a bridge between an earlier tradition of liberal humanitarianism and the rights-oriented language of anti-apartheid that would develop in the post-war era.

[1] This was Scott’s second visit to the country, having first lived in South Africa during the late 1920s, working at a leper colony in the Cape before studying at St Paul’s theological college in Grahamstown.

[2] *The Watchman*, (October, 1940)

[3] *Common Sense*, (January, 1941)

[4] Under the influence of the Christian socialist Richard Acland, the conference delegates went so far as to suggest that private ownership of property and resources could be at odds with natural justice. See A. Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920-1985*, (London, Collins, 1987), p. 397

[5] A. Paton, *Apartheid and the Archbishop - The Life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton*, (London, Jonathan Cape, 1974), p. 103

[6] G. Clayton, *The Church and the Nation* (Johannesburg, Diocese of Johannesburg, 1943). Clayton had drafted the final report himself in Swaziland, and it is significant that the structure of the published report fails to correspond directly to the structure of the sub-committees set up to prepare it.

The nine committees were to investigate education, industry, economics, social welfare, ‘native affairs’, coloured peoples, race relations and discrimination, religious disunity, and the state. The final report was arranged into sections dealing with Christian principles, the Church and State, the Church and economics and industry, the Church and Racial Segregation and the Church and Effective Christian Teaching.

[7] *Ibid.* Clause B par. 7; M. Black, 'A study of "Cry, the Beloved Country" in its historical context (with reference to Alan Paton's other writings)' (PhD, University of Cambridge, 1989), pp. 68-9; A. Paton, *Apartheid and the Archbishop - The Life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton*, (London, Jonathan Cape, 1974), p. 117

[8] M. Black, 'A study of "Cry, the Beloved Country" in its historical context (with reference to Alan Paton's other writings)' (PhD, University of Cambridge, 1989), pp. 72-3

[9] G. Clayton, *The Church and the Nation* (Johannesburg, Diocese of Johannesburg, 1943) Clause B par. 12

[10] E. H. Brookes, *The Colour Problems of South Africa*, (Lovedale, Lovedale

Press, 1934), p. 174

[11] Christian Reconstruction in South Africa (Fort Hare, Christian Council of South Africa, 1942), p. 25

[12] G. Clayton, *The Church and the Nation* (Johannesburg, Diocese of Johannesburg, 1943) Clause C par 6-8

[13] *Ibid.* Clause D par 1

[14] See for example M. Black, 'A study of "Cry, the Beloved Country" in its historical context (with reference to Alan Paton's other writings)' (PhD, University of Cambridge, 1989), pp. 86-7

[15] For further discussion of the contrasting notions of "work" and "labour" see for example J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, 'The madman and the migrant: work and labor in the historical consciousness of a South African people', *American Ethnologist*, 14, 2 (1987), , J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution - Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, Vol I* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 142-3

[16] G. Clayton, *The Church and the Nation* (Johannesburg, Diocese of Johannesburg, 1943) Clause D par 1

[17] *Ibid.* Clause D par 4

[18] *Ibid.* Clause D pars 14-19

[19] *Ibid.* Clause E pars 2-4

[20] *Ibid.* Clause E pars 5a-e

[21] *Ibid.* Clause E pars 5e i-iv

[22] *Ibid.* Clause G

[23] *Ibid.*; A. Paton, *Apartheid and the Archbishop - The Life and Times of Geoffrey Clayton*, (London, Jonathan Cape, 1974), pp. 119-21

[24] *The Watchman*, (February, 1944)

[25] G. M. Scott, *A Time To Speak*, (London, Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 112; T. Karis, *From Protest to Challenge - A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1973), p. 115; A. P. Hare and H. H. Blumberg, *A Search for Peace and Justice* (London, Rex Collings, 1980), pp. 35-43

[26] Campaign for Right and Justice, *For Right and Justice*, (1944)

[27] Dept. of Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand, South African Institute of Race Relations, AD 843/RJ/Pc1 (file 1), Campaign Committee Conference for Right and Justice, 23rd October 1943

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Dept. of Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand, South African Institute of Race Relations, AD 843/RJ/Pc 1 (file 1), Resolutions adopted by the Second Conference on Right and Justice, December 1943

[30] Mofutsanyana was also a member of the Atlantic Charter Committee that drafted African Claims T. Karis, *From Protest to Challenge - A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1973), pp. 217-22

[31] Dept. of Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand, Xuma Papers, AD 8843/(H), G. M. Scott to Xuma, 3rd September 1943

[32] Dept. of Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand, South African

Institute of Race Relations, AD 843/RJ/Pc1 (file 1), J. Rheinallt Jones to Scott, 13th September 1943

[33] South African Outlook, (1st July, 1944)

[34] Campaign for Right and Justice Fortnightly Newsletter, (15th August, 1945)

[35] G. M. Scott, *A Time To Speak*, (London, Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 115

[36] T. Karis, *From Protest to Challenge - A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1973), p. 129 note 92

[37] See P. Walshe, *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa - The African National Congress 1912-1952*, (London, C Hurst & Co, 1970), pp. 279-81;

T. Karis, *From Protest to Challenge - A Documentary History of African Politics in South Africa 1882-1964* (Stanford, Hoover Institution Press, 1973), pp. 110-16

[38] *The Democrat*, (6th April, 1944); *The Democrat*, (March, 1944)

[39] A CRJ pamphlet, *The Challenge of Tomorrow to South Africans today*, (February 1944), spoke of the 'the present process of physical decay' and contrasted pictures of African shanty-dwellers with their poor white counterparts, as representatives of a degraded 'white civilisation'.

[40] Dept. of Historical Papers, University of Witwatersrand, South African Institute of Race Relations, AD 843/RJ/Nb2, Delegate Conference on National Reconstruction, 9th July 1944

[41] Campaign for Right and Justice - Record of Activities, (December 1945), pp. 4-5

[42] Campaign for Right and Justice Fortnightly Newsletter, (15th September, 1945)

[43] Campaign for Right and Justice - Record of Activities, (December 1945), pp. 8-18

[44] Campaign for Right and Justice, *Against Fascism*, (September 1944), pp. 1-4  
The pamphlet was delivered to 3000 organisations across South Africa

[45] Campaign for Right and Justice Fortnightly Newsletter, (29th June, 1945)

[46] Campaign for Right and Justice, *Against Fascism*, (September 1944), pp. 9-10

[47] anon, *The Afrikaner Broederbond - A State Within a State*, (Johannesburg, Campaign for Right and Justice, 1945)

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 30

[49] Campaign for Right and Justice, *Against Fascism*, (September 1944), p. 7

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 8

[51] The regions were: Lowveld, E. Cape and Natal Coast, Central Grain Region, Wool (Great Karoo) Region, E. Cape, Natal and Swaziland inland region, South-west ('Winter rainfall') region, Mineral Region. See *Regional Development in South Africa - The Shape of the Future*, (Johannesburg, Campaign for Right and Justice, 1945)

[52] see W. G. Martin, 'The Making of an Industrial South Africa: Trade and Tarriffs in the Interwar Period', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 23, 1 (1990),

[53] Mumford (1895-1990) wrote extensively on art, architecture, the history of technology, and urban and social planning. His social philosophy was founded

upon a critique of the dehumanisation engendered by modernity and technology and a belief in the need to balance the power of scientific and bureaucratic values with historically-constituted moral and aesthetic principles. Influenced by the Scottish pioneer of town planning, Patrick Geddes, Mumford promoted an 'ecological' understanding of urban and social development. Mumford's influence upon Scott was derived from his book *The Culture of Cities* (1938).

[54] J. L. Thomas, 'Lewis Mumford: Regionalist Historian', *Reviews in American History*, 16, 1 (March 1988),

[55] Mumford, quoted in *Regional Development in South Africa - The Shape of the Future*, (Johannesburg, Campaign for Right and Justice, 1945)

[56] G. M. Scott, *A Time To Speak*, (London, Faber & Faber, 1958), p. 131

[57] *Regional Development in South Africa - The Shape of the Future*, (Johannesburg, Campaign for Right and Justice, 1945)

[58] G. M. Scott, *A Time To Speak*, (London, Faber & Faber, 1958), pp. 117-19

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 121; Scott did attempt to mobilise support for a similar conference when he returned to the UK at the end of the 1940s. University of Sussex Special Collections, Kingsley Martin Papers, SxMs 11, 15/1, G. M. Scott to Martin, 5th May 1949