

*Let me swing out my life
over human depths, trust
my weight to nature's laws
and, never fearing, sing
the morning song of
my true instincts. Customs
and conventions have hedged
me in, tradition has re-
strained me; people's beliefs
have stifled me. Oh set
me free to trust, and sway
and sing!*

—o—

*By starving emotions we
become humourless, rigid
stereotyped; by repressing
them we become literal, re-
formatory and holier—than
—thou; encouraged, they
perfume life; discouraged,
they poison it.*

—Dr. Joseph Collins.

—o—

*Freedom is not worth
having if it does not con-
note freedom to err.*

—Mahatma Gandhi.

—o—

*From the point of view
of morals life seems to be
divided into two periods:
in the first we indulge, in
the second we preach.*

—Will Durant.

—o—

*No folly is more costly
than the folly of intolerant
idealism.*

—Winston Churchill.

CHURCH CAN NEVER MAINTAIN SILENCE

THE Christian Church can never undertake to maintain silence in the face of laws which seem to it to infringe Christian principles, says a statement criticising the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill which was issued in Capetown last week by the Archbishop of Capetown, Dr. Geoffrey H. Clayton, in his capacity as president of the Christian Council of South Africa.

The Christian Council of South Africa represents nearly all English-speaking churches in South Africa except the Roman Catholic Church. A copy of the statement has been sent to the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart.

The statement says: "On behalf of the Christian Council of South Africa, we desire to record our protest against the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

"We have sought an interview with the Prime Minister in which it was our intention to make certain representations about the Bills, but the Prime Minister was not able to grant us an interview.

"We therefore consider it our duty to make public our objections on these Bills.

"The Public Safety Bill makes possible the suspensions of any Act of Parliament, with one or two exceptions, for a period of 12 months if the Governor-General is of the opinion that a state of emergency exists.

"This is a great and dangerous extension of the principle of government by regulation. Sufficient cause has not been made public for such extension.

"Indeed, we have been informed by members of the Government that, at any rate among non-Europeans, there has been less disorder than under the previous Government.

"We believe that Government by regulation lends itself to injustice and ought only to be resorted to in case of dire necessity. We question whether the necessity for such legislation has arisen.

"The Criminal Law Amendment Bill in Section 28 renders it illegal not only to incite persons to commit an offence by way of protest against a law, but also to use any language or do any act or thing calculated to cause any person to commit such an offence.

"It seems to us that the language of this section is dangerously vague.

"Any public criticism of any existing law might conceivably lead someone to break that law.

"We desire to say that the Christian Church can never undertake to maintain silence in the face of laws which seem to it to infringe Christian principles. If we are commanded to do so we can only say, like the Apostles, 'We must obey God rather than men.'

"But we are not only thinking of ourselves. We would urge the great importance of all citizens being allowed, and indeed encouraged, to criticise existing laws.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 27TH FEBRUARY, 1953

Reflections On N.I.C. Conference

WRANGLING between the Trotskyites and the Stalinists seems to have become a regular feature of the annual conferences of the S.A.I.C. and the N.I.C. This was the impression gained from the N.I.C. conference held in Durban last Sunday. It is a pity that this should be so particularly at a time when in all seriousness we should be discussing ways and means to efficiently conduct the present campaign against unjust laws. Must we be such wiseacres to dabble in international politics, as is usually done at these conferences, while our own house is on fire? Indeed nobody expects us to do so because they have far more experienced and efficient people than ourselves to deal with their own affairs. They would certainly be quite satisfied if we just minded our own business well and were able to set an example to them by action than by speech. What, indeed, have we got to do with the Anglo-American bloc, for instance, when we are confronted with the Nationalist bloc which is threatening our very existence in this country? A third World-War is not going to be averted by our continuous barking. It can only be averted by our sober and determined action and our preparedness to die in our thousands for real peace in our own land and that will surely bring peace to the whole world. Is there that preparedness in us? That is the question we should all be asking ourselves in all humility and we have no doubt twenty hours of would be too short a time to solve that question.

Wasting Breath

It is deeply regrettable that we should be wasting our breath in condemning, as has been done during the last few weeks and was done at last Sunday's conference, the Swart Bills, which will very shortly become the laws of the land. If a little of it were spent in finding out how we can successfully combat those measures it would have been more

profitable and we might have been able to render them still-born. We have now to beware lest we may not be caught napping. If we had sufficient faith in the Divine weapon we have wisely chosen to adopt and would wield it with complete mastery, no weapon on earth would cause us the slightest anxiety. We would not be effusing froth at Mr. Swart, but we would smile at Mr. Swart and tell him in the most dignified manner: "Bravo, Mr. Swart! You may do your very worst, we are fully prepared for you, we shall prove to you that our weapon will render the worst possible weapon you may choose to use against us impotent." And surely it would, if we had sufficient faith in our own weapon. But the question is have we that faith? If we have not Mr. Swart will surely win and will deserve to do so.

Fear God, Not Man

The weapon that we are wielding reminds us every moment to have an indomitable faith in it for it is a godly weapon. It tells us: We must shed all fear of man and fear God alone, and He will rescue us. We are instruments in His hands, let us be faithful to Him and allow Him to use us as He wills. Whipping or the fire of the machine guns or the bombs should not perturb us. We must quietly march onward to our goal fearless of all consequences. If we die in the process we shall have won the battle. Mr. Swart will be the loser. It is this strength, courage and wisdom that is at present desired in us and which we must strain our every nerve to cultivate. This is the Divine message to all of us from the leader down to the common man. It is quiet and determined action that is needed, not words. Action such as we had begun the campaign with. There is no time to pause or to hesitate:

Our Motto

Truth, Love and Non-violence in thought word and deed should be our motto, not "down with this" and "down with that." If

we occupy ourselves in mastering this we shall have done our duty to ourselves, to our community, to this country of ours and to the world. It requires a complete change in the life we are at present leading. If we think we can achieve the very high goal we have set out for by leading the present worldly life and by being engrossed in materialism the weapon we have chosen will fail us hopelessly. It requires a code of discipline far greater than that required in military warfare. Let us constantly remind ourselves of that. If last Sunday's conference has not brought this home to the people, and we doubt very much if it has, we must humbly say that its deliberations have been a failure and we are far from the right path. We have heard quite enough about "democracy," "democratic front" and "democratic rights." They have proved meaningless throughout the world. What we actually want and are fighting for is the abolition of all unjust and immoral laws. We want the prevalence of the spirit of "live and let live," respect for the dignity of man. If we can stake our lives for this we shall have done well. One thing which has impressed us most is a passage in the presidential address, at last Sunday's conference, which we quote here in conclusion:

"While we welcome the support and encouragement we have received from outside the borders of the Union, we must at all times clearly understand that our emancipation will come from our own efforts in South Africa. Every oppressed South African must be educated by his political leaders to have faith in himself and the united efforts of the oppressed peoples to free himself, his people and his country. Our freedom cannot and will not come from the United Nations, India, Pakistan or any other outside source, however welcome and important their support."

India's Intentions Towards Africa

THERE is an unfortunate tendency among sections of the White people to tend to think with their hearts on matters involving men of colour. This national weakness is so deeply entrenched among these sections that often twists even the most upright scientific intellects and forces

them to give expression to views which have no real foundation in fact.

A case in point is the statement attributed to Dr. S. H. Skaipe to the effect that he agrees with Dr. Malan that India looks forward to making Africa her colony in which to dump her surplus population. He based his belief on what he called the "appalling fecundity" of the Indian community. According to these reports he even suggested the limitation of families, presumably to avoid getting the world overwhelmed by the Indians.

But what are the facts here? Firstly, we must concede that up to the time of independence the birth-rate among India's poor was on the high side. But it compared very favourably with that of similarly placed countries in the East. And it was not something which the people of India did with any designs of world domination. The poor in India, like the poor among the Whites in Africa itself, had a high birth-rate. The poor, in every part of the world, have a high birth-rate.

After independence, however, the Government of India tackled the twin evils of poverty and illiteracy and in a few years that India has had complete control of her affairs she has made commendable efforts to raise the living standards of her people as well as spread literacy. These two processes will naturally have a stabilising effect on the Indian birth rate.

But there is more to it than just that. Most critics of India's birth-rate delight in seeing only one side of the picture. None of them ever refers to the equally high death-rate among the infants of the poor.

On the other hand it is important that in making generalisations on a whole national group its traditions and outlooks should be taken into account in determining whether or not it might go the way Dr. Skaipe and Dr. Malan say it will go.

A cursory study of the people of India will reveal that they are a profoundly peace loving race. This does not arise out of any physical or other weakness in them. India has the potential to be one of the most powerful nations in the world. She has a culture which the finest minds in the world treat with respect.

Their love for peace has its roots deep in this culture. Peace

is the dominant force in the Hindu way of life and it has been so for more than four thousand years. He would be bold indeed who would abandon such a heritage in favour of the military aggressiveness which colonialism requires.

Nor do the statements of policy by the leaders of modern India in any way justify Dr. Skaife's belief. War, by which alone Africa can be converted into a colony, has no part in India's plans for the future.

It might be argued in Dr. Skaife's favour that peaceful penetration might be used to capture Africa for India. That might be the case: it might not be. Probably it might be argued that nobody can guarantee what will happen in the future. But Dr. Skaife, as we are, is concerned with present realities and these nowhere give any form of substance to his charges.

What he and Dr. Malan are afraid of are the closer bonds of friendship now being forged between the people of Africa and the people of India, not in this country alone, but on the continent as a whole. But this friendship is designed to protect the man of colour against the racial tyranny to which he is subjected in this country and elsewhere. India went through centuries of racial oppression and knows precisely how it predisposes men to war. Because her whole economy is based on a stable and peaceful world order,

she has the duty to ensure that nobody, no matter how white, aggressively creates—as the Malanites are doing—world conditions which will throw the world into turmoil.

India's friendship for the people of Africa is designed to strengthen the African and encourage him to grow politically until he is a free citizen able to look after his own affairs. When that time comes, the African out of gratitude given at a dark moment, will in turn advocate peace—having himself won his independence the peaceful way. India has every right to reckon that when the West goes for wars and violence, Africa will then stand by her side for peace in the world. When the western world destroys itself through the use of the atom bomb, India wants to be sure that there will be sane men in Africa who will stand by her to save the human civilisation which shall have been betrayed by the atom-bomb makers of the West.

This intention has in it the elements of patriotism and statesmanship on the part of the leaders of modern India. And they themselves have consistently denied having any designs on Africa. If then their history, culture, interests and declared policies do not confirm Dr. Skaife's fears, we might leave him to draw freely on speculation and the imagination to conjure up any picture he likes of India's intentions.

tion down from the clouds of unapproachable Sinai to a level where it can reasonably be discussed by mere mortals. Exactly how dangerous it is for Nationalists to emancipate themselves from Divine Right can be seen from the recent outburst of Professor H. J. Strauss in the Bloemfontein press:

"You link the franchise, the volkswil, the representatives of the people and the Government together. Thereby you derive the authority of the Government from the electorate, while the truth is that the Government stands in a divine capacity and receives its authority from God alone. If the individualistic doctrine of human and popular sovereignty is correct, on what grounds do we not give equal voting rights to Natives and other non-Whites? After all, they too are men... Anyone who considers this logical consequence of the popular sovereignty premise will realise at once the inconsistencies in which one lands."

But the Professor is too late. The damage is already done. The Nationalist theorists are committed, if they wish to save their consciences, to a solution based in some sort on what the rest of the world recognises as

Christian morality. Total partition is a morally tenable ideal. But I have little doubt that, when the practical implications of total partition really dawn on its sincere advocates, they will have to accept its impossibility. Then the real battle will begin between their consciences, their fears and their prejudices. They will then need our sympathy, understanding and patience while they struggle to outgrow their old emotional heritage.

While admiring the industry that has gone into this book and welcoming this evidence of American interest in our problems, I find it hard to see what public Mr. Dvorin has written for. The technical apparatus of scholarship—the plethora of quotations and over-numerous footnotes—will not for the well-informed outweigh the drawbacks of a pedestrian style and lack of originality in the conclusions, even where these are clear-cut. And the uninformed will find the going too heavy and the price far, far too high for so small a book. What Mr. Dvorin has attempted has been accomplished much more fluently and informatively and at half the price by Basil Davidson or Leo Marquard.

C.W.M.G.

Book Review

AN AMERICAN ON APARTHEID

'Racial Separation In South Africa,' by Eugene P. Dvorin (Chicago University Press) £4.50.

DESPITE its extensive documentation (202 pages of text, 34 of footnotes, 10 of bibliography) this book never overcomes the two fatal defeats of relying only on secondary sources unsupported by personal experience or original research and a style which is turgid and indigestible. When Mr. Dvorin writes in his introduction that "rising opposition to the consequences of the (apartheid) program has brought forth extreme circumstances from the matrix of which no South African of any race or station can remain unaffected"

I can see what he means. But such wordiness usually indicates wooliness in thought and decision,

and that verdict is borne out by the author's unselective use of his wide reading.

Most of what he says and quotes is, however, more or less accurate without being the full story. In particular he relies too much on what others have said about Afrikaner motives and Nationalist policies, instead of quoting their own spokesmen. And both in relation to present policies and the attitude of the Afrikaans churches he seems to have missed the significant extent to which the theorists are being driven by their consciences and their opponents' arguments to take their stand on morality (and hence to aim for "total apartheid.") in the place of religious dogma and biblical fundamentalism. The importance of this is that it brings the whole ques-

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF N.I.C.

THE two Martial Law Bills now before Parliament were strongly attacked by Mr. Albert J. Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress when he declared open the annual conference of the Natal Indian Congress in Durban on Saturday, February 27.

After stating that the non-European people under the joint leadership of the African and Indian Congresses had stood in the vanguard of the opposition to these measures, Mr. Lutuli added: "I would here like to assure the Minister of Justice that he must expect to witness continued opposition in action to these Bills even if sanity and justice in Parliament were swallowed by reactionary, mad forces which seek to plunge our beloved country into the abyss and atmosphere that characterised the unfortunate Mediaeval Dark Ages."

Mr. Lutuli stressed the importance of the growing unity of the non-white people of the Union and said that "the assertion of solidarity and effectiveness of our alliance is no premature or extravagant claim."

On the basis of giving all people in the Union equal opportunities for full unfettered development our non-European political front seeks to reinforce and enlarge the meagre and weak democratic forces found in the Union, Mr. Lutuli added: "I must state that ours is not a marriage of convenience but a political alliance based on a common, genuine spirit of friendship between our respective communities."

The concrete proof of the vitality and efficacy of this growing comradeship was the fact that Africans had rejected the plea of expatriation of the Indians notwithstanding the deliberate incitement of Africans against the Indians by some in the Government Party and its agents in an open invitation to Africans to join in the diabolic cry.

The African people believed in a partnership in the governing of South Africa where all could play their full part. "The so-called democratic institutions given us, such as Advisory Boards, Local Councils, the Bantu Authorities, communal representation in Parliament, etc., are a gross insult to and mockery of democracy in that, whilst they were diplomatically presented as elementary steps to the attainment of democracy, they have proved in practice to be blind alleys serving mainly as a delaying tactic to ensure

the prolongation of the period of white domination over blacks."

After stating that the history of the liberation of the people from man's inhumanity to man had shown that sacrifices were necessary, Mr. Lutuli said: "Let us set our spirit and attune our consciences with the spirit of Divine Discontent that is within us, and together with freedom-loving people elsewhere serve faithfully the cause of freedom in the world in general, and in South Africa in particular, and so help our beloved South Africa to march honourably with the rest of the democratic world to the final liberation of all mankind"

Presidential Address

Dr. G. M. Naicker, in the course of his presidential address, said: "Since our last conference, much has happened in South Africa and abroad which must engage the attention of the delegates assembled here. ... We form an integral part of the liberation front in this country and we have to formulate our policy and act in unity with others so as to advance the cause of freedom in South Africa."

"... In South Africa we are on the eve of a General Election, an election in which the white people will go to the polls to decide which white political party shall rule South Africa for the succeeding five years. It is usual that at election time there is increased political activity on the part of the Parliamentary parties. The Nationalists and the so-called United Democratic Front are already in the field to woo the white voters seeped in colour prejudice. All the Parliamentary parties, even within the United Democratic Front, are upholders of white domination; all of them accept segregation. The non-white people, therefore, can have no faith in their policies or programmes."

"The Nationalist Government has since its advent to power gone forward with its ruthless apartheid policy and today the Union is on the verge of the establishment of a full fledged fascist police state. The non-European peoples have not been unduly surprised at the feeble and ineffective stand in Parliament by the official Opposition, as there is no fundamental difference between them and the Government on the question of segregation. The United Party, in particular, has repeatedly done everything possible to impress upon the

European electorate that it, too, believes in keeping the non-European people "in their place." Thus the Nationalists have found no difficulty in putting through Parliament, measure after measure, attacking existing rights of the people.

"... It is in these critical times, more than ever before, that the oppressed people of South Africa should realise the historic role they are destined to play in making South Africa a democratic country capable of taking its rightful place in the progressive world, and freeing South Africa from the grip of Fascism."

"While we welcome the support and encouragement we have received from outside the borders of the Union, we must at all times clearly understand that our emancipation and freedom will come from our own efforts in South Africa. Every oppressed South African must be educated by his political leaders to have faith in himself and in the united efforts of the oppressed peoples to free himself, his people and his country. Our freedom cannot and will not come from the United Nations Organisation, India, Pakistan or any other outside source, however welcome and important their support."

"Once we realise this cardinal fact, that we have to strive for our freedom in South Africa itself, then it is necessary for us to have a clear policy and programme for the achievement of our objective. The present leadership of the Natal Indian Congress, for almost fifteen years now, has consistently impressed on the Indian people that colour and racial oppression in this country will be ended only with the united struggle on the part of the non-European people supported by those Europeans who genuinely belong to the democratic camp."

"... The Natal Indian Congress has embodied in its constitution the demand for 'the extension to Indians of the franchise on the common roll free from any special qualifications.' This object is fundamental to all national organisations of the people. There can be no compromise on it and it becomes absolutely necessary for all Congress members in all their activities to stress the fact that only when our people have the vote without any restrictions on grounds of colour, will we be able to solve the many burning problems which face us."

"We can only call ourselves democrats and progressives when we believe in and fight for equal franchise rights, not only for ourselves, but for all South Africans irrespective of colour or creed."

"... Any person who denies the right of the non-Europeans to have equal franchise and speaks of qualified franchise for them, by his very stand, places himself outside the democratic camp whether such person happens to be white or non-white."

"Once we are clear on the question of franchise then it follows that we totally reject an inferior status for ourselves or for any other section of the South African people. Because we stand for full democratic rights for all we cannot under any circumstance take part in any machinery set up for the oppression of our people. For this reason the Natal Indian Congress rejected the communal franchise representation and the Board created under the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. It is because we stand for equal municipal franchise rights that we reject the Advisory Board suggested by the Durban City Council."

"As equal partners in the common struggle against oppression, we have a right to tell all our allies that they too should pursue this policy, fully and consistently in the course of unity and national liberation. We as an oppressed group must not only oppose new attacks on us, but we must by political action strive to put an end to our present status, and march forward to liberation."

CHANGE OF NAME

In response to our request to our readers for proposals to change the name of 'Indian Opinion,' we have now received the following names: 'Liberal Opinion,' 'The Statesman,' 'New Outlook,' 'African Dawn,' 'Times Of Africa,' 'Equality' 'Candid' 'Opinion' 'Justician' 'Truth' 'Faith,' 'People's Voice,' and 'World Opinion.'

Readers are requested to kindly send further suggestions.

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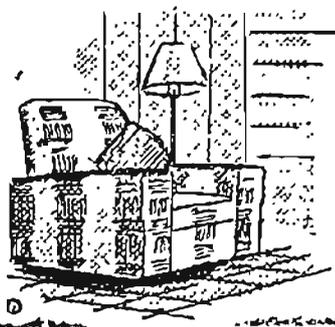
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CHURCH CAN NEVER MAINTAIN SILENCE

(Continued from front page)

It is by such education of public opinion that laws have in the past been improved and can be improved in the future. It seems to us that such criticism is placed in jeopardy by the language of the Bill.

"Thirdly, we desire to represent that the sentences which can be imposed under the Bill are altogether too severe.

"If a man makes a speech in which he criticises an existing law and if it is held by a magistrate that his criticism of that law was "calculated" to cause someone to break it, he can be sent to prison for five years, be fined £500 and/or receive a whipping of 15 strokes.

"If he does it twice he must be sent to prison or receive a whipping. Even for a first offence, unless he is a South African citizen by birth or descent, he can be deported.

"All these provisions seem to

us to partake of the nature of panic legislation, and like all such legislation to be not only unjust in themselves but also unlikely to produce the result intended.

Lastly, we desire to express our conviction that while it is the duty of the Government to suppress disorder and lawlessness, such repression, if it stands by itself, is no remedy for the evils of which such disorder is a symptom. And once again we beg any Government which may be in power after the General Election to call into consultation representatives of the non-Europeans with a view to making a real attempt to improve the relations between Europeans and non-Europeans in this country.

"We beg those who are or shall be in authority in this country to act before it is too late."—Sapp.

SEETHING SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

By HOMER A. JACK

(With The Kind Permission Of 'The Christian Century')

Continued From Last Week.

Rootless Afrikaners And A Preventive Racial War?

SOME of the trouble facing South Africa today dates back to the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. The English won the war but lost the peace. South Africa continued to be divided between the Boers (who still remember it as the 'English war') and the English (who still remember it as the 'Boer war'). The nation still has two capitals—legislative at Cape Town and administrative at Pretoria—and two languages—English and Afrikaans. The descendants of the Boers, now called Afrikaners, deserve the fullest understanding and sympathy, in spite of their racial arrogance.

Afrikaners have roots in no other land—something like the American Negro in this respect—whereas the English-speaking whites there often look to the British Isles, and some do not consider South Africa so much their home as a place to resurrect a bit of old England and to make a comfortable living. There are a few "poor whites" in the country today, but not as many as several decades ago when the government deliberately and successfully undertook to alleviate their condition.

Because of the teachings of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the home and school, the Afrikaner often finds it genuinely difficult to understand the great movements—scientific, social, political—of the past decade or even the past century. Few Afrikaners, except those in the new trade unions or those who are products of the non-Afrikaner universities, have the background to resist their leaders' urgent pleas for the twin goals of "white supremacy" and an "Afrikaner republic." While the latter concept, which means a break with the British Commonwealth, is anathema to the English-speaking people—and to anybody cherishing a multi-racial society—most of the latter by no means frown on the racism and the latent anti-Semitism of the Afrikaner. Many of the English speaking people love the Afrikaners no more than the Afrikaners do (and confess that "the Afrikaner at least knows how to handle the kaffir"), and they love the Indian even less.

One cannot converse with any white South African about "native affairs" without being told that "South Africa has a unique problem." Perhaps it is unique, with so large a non-

white majority which is a political nonentity and so small a white minority who are not colonials and are not expecting to leave the country. South Africa's position as a plural society is no doubt unique. What large country does not have unique problems? But South Africa's uniqueness does not mean that her problems, as so many of her people conclude, are "insoluble." No modern social problem is completely insoluble, not even war. Certainly their own social scientists can tell white South Africans how to solve the problems of a multi-racial society if they want to solve them. But in 1952 any solution to be acceptable to the non-Europeans and to the world must be based on the highest tenets of democracy and Judeo-Christian tradition.

While all whites in South Africa admit that widespread racial violence is a possibility, most do nothing to prevent it, however much they try to put it off until after their time. They are content to live in the present and do no more than worry about the future at their bridge clubs and bars. Indeed a few whites would welcome a severe racial clash today, a kind of preventive racial war—which like all who launch preventive wars they are confident of winning—in order "to teach the bloody kaffirs a lesson for the next hundred years."

No Crumbling Of Racial Walls

The white South African shows few signs of a sense of guilt for the damage he is doing to the non-whites, to himself and to the whole South African society. It is the conscience of his fellowmen in countries overseas which pricks him. If a foreigner dares raise questions about South Africa (as in the United States a northerner raises questions about the south), the thin veneer of self-righteousness that almost all white South Africans wear peels off in bitter criticism. Whether the critic stays a week, a month or a year, unless he is "constructive"—that is, basically uncritical—he "really doesn't know the native," or has been associated with "koolies, kaffirs and kom-munists," or is an international *kafferboelie* (nigger lover) trying to inflame an otherwise serene land, no doubt in behalf of Joe Stalin. Many South Africans spend more time in criticising 'Time' and 'Life' than in attempting to correct the conditions which those magazines are so courageously revealing. In their guilt they lack the maturity to accept valid criticism.

But criticism admittedly is not enough. Most essential are solutions imaginatively put by South Africans, emphasising co-operation, especially solutions indicating that only together can black and white South Africans solve the many urgent problems facing them, that only together can they build an abundant economy which will help all at the expense of none—at the expense of nothing except bigotry, hate, civil war and revolution.

In 1944 Professor K. S. La Tourette, in his "History of the Expansion of Christianity," said that South Africa's "discrimination and acute chronic inter-racial tensions" were, "next to the anti-Semitism of the Third German Reich, the most serious on the planet." With the Third Reich defeated, South Africa has little competition, though the racism in other parts of Africa south of the equator is hardly different in kind. But is South Africa today as bad as the Deep South was a generation ago or is still? It is hard for a white man to answer this question (and the South African Government will not easily allow American Negroes to see for themselves) but certainly the segregation in South Africa is more pervasive and more oppressive psychologically. At least in our American south today one senses that the walls of segregation are crumbling. If the number of white southerners militantly hammering away is but small, there is a large body of important northern opinion plus the protection of a federal Constitution and a Supreme Court, along with increasing personal and organisational co-operation between whites and Negroes in the south, to give ground for hope of a good solution. In South Africa, however, white opinion is solidly for segregation, called the "colour bar" by some, apartheid by others. There are few constitutional guarantees to safeguard the rights of non-whites against this white opinion, and the vast majority of non-whites have no representation in Parliament.

Not only is segregation more complete all over South Africa than anywhere in our Deep South, but there are few signs of hope, except the passive resistance movement. No wiser Professor Julius Lewin, a South African liberal, wisely commented, "Along among the nations, South Africa chose in the post-war period to curtail the rights of non-Europeans at a time when other countries, including the colonial powers of western Europe, were conceding more and more rights to their subjects."



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LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

THE GREAT DEBATE

By C. W. M. GELL

PROFESSOR STRING-FELLOW BARR has written a courageous and sensible exposure [*Citizens of The World* Doubleday, New York #3] of the Big Myth in Western foreign policy (in American particularly, but we are none of us innocent). This is the narrow vision which sees Communism merely as an aggressive power system. Mr. Barr admits that, of course, that is one aspect of the Communist challenge. But to concentrate only upon it risks the Great Debate becoming shortly the Great Showdown and deliberately closes our eyes to the most pressing problem of the 20th century—the question of hunger. It is difficult for the comparatively wealthy White minority of the world's population to see the problem through the eyes of the 2,000 million or so inhabitants of unindustrialised, peasant economies in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Mr. Barr has the gift of presenting us with that unfamiliar view-point vividly and factually. He says, when he has done:

"We Americans are perhaps too rich and powerful to think Europe, stunned by her fall from wealth and power is perhaps too dazed to think well and too disillusioned. But the colonial areas (by which he means the economically as well as politically dependent) are poor enough to have to think, weak enough to have to think and have been disillusioned so long that they are used to it."

What the citizens of this modern City of the Poor want is bread and the right to earn it by the sweat of their brow. What we appear to offer them is law, order and (perhaps) security from Communist aggression. That looks to them like locking them up with their present misery, for only a small minority of rich countries think very highly of the *status quo* which we are so keen to defend. And we are helped by our press to consider the poorer nations not as aggregations of human personalities living on or beyond the margin of starvation, privation and disease; but as potential soldiers or suppliers of "strategic" materials in the Great Alliance against Communism. Now this, as Mr. Barr cogently pleads, is playing straight into Communist hands, for Communism purports to offer mankind a method of conquering hunger. That it often fails to deliver the goods and has other disadvantages, which the more

comfortably situated consider fatal, is irrelevant unless we put forward a positive policy of our own. If we are concerned only with power politics, the fabled majority of the world's citizens will plump for the ideology which seems to them to be concerned with their hunger, poverty and homelessness; and, whatever its other failings, Communism justifies everything by the touchstone of raising the level of material well-being. Our excessive preoccupation with the military aspect of Communism has, therefore, thrown us on the defensive and lost us the moral initiative. In this way we are responding only to one (and not the most universal) of the contemporary challenges. Mr. Barr asks us to face up to the other as well, for he believes that we can meet it more efficiently and more sympathetically than the Communists and that in doing so we shall go far to mitigate the military danger.

I do not think his general argument can be denied. The answer to the challenge of Communism is not merely tanks and bombs, though these have their place, but also tractors, agrarian reform, improved yields, less profiteering in the distributive services. And I go all the way with Mr. Barr in believing that, given a proper assessment of the problem and the will and imaginative vision to tackle it, the non-Communist peoples of the world, rich and poor in partnership, have the spiritual, political and material resources to make the Communist solution seem as out of date as it is often inhumane. Of course, even a democratic solution involves a revolution in our political thought and systems. In particular, it is difficult to resist Mr. Barr's contention that no fully sovereign national entities can be expected genuinely to co-operate internationally, since a national government is located in one particular politico-economic system to whose stresses and strains and to the voices of whose electorate it is necessarily especially sensitive. This argument is addressed directly to the already developed nation-states of Europe and the New World. But Mr. Barr has a word for those young, emerging nations who claim the right to follow the same pattern of unrestricted sovereign independence:

"If they say that they are merely going through the political growing pains that all young nations go through, we

can properly reply that growing pains of that type were relevant to an earlier period of history; and that if, as they often and properly urge, it is now too late in history for nations like theirs to get on their feet by their own isolated efforts, it is also too late for them to be got on their feet by an international agency trying to satisfy nationalist plans of development."

Mr. Barr traces how the cessation of Lease-Lend and the withdrawal of American support for UNNRA within two years of the war made it inevitable that the U.S.A. would have to "go it alone" to a large extent. The Marshall Plan was a most generous attempt by a national government to meet an international need, though it was largely confined to potential military allies who were by the same standard among the least indigent of the "free nations." American aid, provided by a government obsessed with "stopping Communism," has always and inevitably suffered from this bias. As Mr. Barr says:

"In many parts of the world Point Four has become a poor joke. For four weary years our government has made capital out of its Bold New Programme, and for four weary years so little has been done in Asia, in Africa and in Latin America. When substantial offers have been made, the offers have usually been so tied in with military assistance against Russia that the hungry billions have felt not like neighbours, but like cannon fodder. It is understandable that they should come to suspect that the only interest the ordinary American feels in them is the perennial interest of man in cannon fodder."

We are familiar enough with the obverse of this, Russia's economic and military domination of her satellites. But there is more than wit in the story of the Frenchman seeking U.S. citizenship in order to have a say in the control of his own country, and in Zafullah Khan's reply to a question about the number of Communists in Pakistan: "Gentlemen, please do not press me. If I told you there were many, I would be lying. If I told you how few there are, America would lose interest in us." In the last five years, the American electorate, spoon-fed by the most voluminous and "pressurised" press in the world, has increasingly called the tune. Mr. Barr believes (as, indeed, I do) in the generosity and idealism of the American public. But he is afraid that it is just too comfortable, too gullible and too insular to understand its many neighbours' real problems. His and the free world's fear of

well-meant, if misguided, dollar-imperialism has since been justified by the apparent intention of Mr. Dulles to "get tough" not only with the Communists but with his allies. On the eve of Mr. Eisenhower's inauguration, the London *'Sunday Times'* wrote:

"Pragmatism will replace ideology, efficiency and cost-accountancy the welfare approach. In negotiations with allies, the new Administration will be more exacting about the return it gets for its money, but less sentimental on such issues as "colonialism." After the humanitarianism of its predecessor, it will appear less sympathetic to the problems of others. This will not be due to lack of friendliness towards its allies, but because of the problems it will be facing at home"

How much more urgent, therefore, has become Mr. Barr's plea for an international development authority on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority explicitly pledged to "the war on want." I am not sufficient of an economist to criticise his specific proposals in detail; but I do believe his suggestion contains a basis for immediate discussion and that the subject is one that citizens of the free world want to discuss more than anything else. We just do not dare let that great need go by default unheard—or watch hungry men turn in desperation to save themselves and their children by selling their souls. And I like Mr. Barr's recommendation that our planners should be "drunk" in their early deliberations and only "practical" in the later stages.

Mr. Barr speaks of South Africa as "the only country in the world with a worse reputation for race discrimination than we Americans have." He points out that "to be against Communism is no guarantee of virtue. The Nazis (and Franco, Chiang Kai-shek and Swart) are conspicuously against Communism." He emphasises that almost all intelligent Europeans (the real article, not South African Whites) are "fellow-travellers" in the current American sense, in that they know that a large measure of State socialism is required to tackle property effectively. Roosevelt's TVA was, of course, "socialistic." Mr. Barr deplores the identification of liberals and socialists with Communists which leads to the present American witch-hunt against all progressives—the old game of "ganging up on the extreme left" which "goes on until none but the extreme right survives." His remarks on this subject are very apposite to this country. "Few Americans (or Mr. Swart) could pass a grade-

school examination in what a Communist is." Our Suppression Act defines a Communist as "anyone who advises, defends etc. ...any of the objects of Communism." When I wrote two years ago that Communism has no monopoly of all of its objects (e.g. the abolition of racial discrimination), I received a visit from Mr. Swart's C.I.D. With all other thoughtful people, I do advise and defend some of the objects of Communism. So, at least in principle, do Mr. Strauss and Dr. Matan, did they but know it. Are they against abolishing hunger, for instance? If so, the electorate should take notice.

I hope I have convinced you that, though Mr. Barr has written primarily for Americans, he is speaking to us too. We may have to "contain" Communism, until we have made it anachronistic by eliminating the evils on which it thrives. But we must at all cost not seem to be trying to contain the world revolution against slum-conditions. And of all the countries against whom that charge might be made, both for its sins of commission and omission, South Africa would stand high on the list. With our multi-racial and genuinely inter-dependent society we have a unique opportunity here to provide a pilot experiment on a national scale of great international schemes of co-operation which Mr. Barr ad-

vocates. Mr. Barr shows us the richer, developed countries of the free world determined to preserve the *status quo* against Communism, but much less concerned to attack the defects of that *status quo* among the coloured majority of the world's citizens. Is not that more or less the position of the privileged White minority in this country *vis a vis* the coloured majority? It is not Communism, but plain decency and their own real self-interest for Europeans to join with non-Europeans in devising a common assault on poverty, disease and homelessness, As Mr. Barr says of the world:

"At present we are busy confirming Karl Marx's prediction that those who eat will not help solve the problems of those who do not eat, but will block all change until destroyed by force. We are too busy (Mr. Swart, please note) preparing to "stop Communism" and to fight for freedom to talk about peace, which interests our European neighbours acutely, or about bread, justice and equality which interest our coloured brethren—if anything—even more."

Thus, through our own failure to deal with the *real* problems, do the Communist promises find a response in the hearts of imaginative or miserable men who

are notable or willing to think out why Communism is a bad philosophy, unlikely to produce the results it offers. A concerted effort towards a positive solution of the problem could put our own few Communists out of business for ever.

Please read Mr. Barr before the ponderous machine of Dr. Donges' censorship gets around to realising that not all his doctrines square with the *baskap*.

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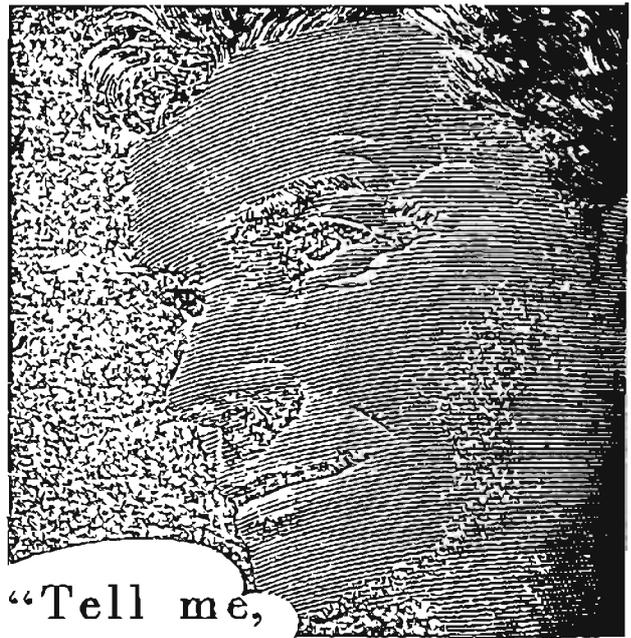
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INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

GANDHI'S CONTRIBUTION TO WORLD

NO one who has been in India and seen and felt the impact left there by Mahatma Gandhi "can doubt the power of the spirit," Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote recently in her newspaper column.

Mrs. Roosevelt was commenting on a recent article by Louis Fischer, which included the following quotation from Mahatma Gandhi: "I prophesy that if we disobey the law of the final supremacy of spirit over matter, of liberty and love over brute force, in a few years' time we shall have Bolshevism in this land which was once so holy."

Mrs. Roosevelt's column said, in part: "Of course, Gandhi was speaking of India, but Fischer points out he might have been talking of the U.S.A. or of any other free country.

"What he said is something for every one of us to ponder. Most of us are constantly concerned about material things, and yet the people whom we like best to have with us and who make the best impression on those with whom they come in contact are the people who rarely give much thought to material things. Their minds dwell on the deeper questions of life.

"Mahatma Gandhi often urged that we 'turn the searchlight inward.' By this, of course, he meant that we must understand our own weaknesses, our own faults, before we could conquer them. All these teachings of Gandhi are applicable to our modern way of life, just as they were in the kind of life he was urging on his people—and it was achieved without war.

I do not know that Gandhi's plans for living could be applied to modern life, but there is no doubt in my mind that the more we simplify our material needs, the more we are free to think of other things.....I still think we encumber our lives with too much, and that, perhaps, is the part of Gandhi's teaching that should remain with us to-day..."

Gandhian Way For Solution Of World Problems

Dr. Ralph Bunche, Director of United Nations Trusteeship Council, who came to India to attend the international seminar on Gandhian philosophy held in Bombay on January 29 that if war was to be avoided "peace

must be built in the minds of peoples of the world."

Dr. Bunche who was speaking at the reception given in his honour by the Mayor of Bombay warned that a third world war would destroy civilisation.

He declared that the Gandhian way had become prophetic for the world and there was no alternative in the present critical situation but to adopt the way of non-violence.

Dr. Bunche thought that the principles on which Gandhian philosophy was based—emphasis on truth, disavowal of hatred and acceptance of non-violence—were as clear as day and "will not baffle anybody."

All problems of the world in his opinion were problems of human relations which were not insoluble. Referring to Gandhian way in this context he said that it required great trust and great faith in human beings.

Giving his impressions of the Gandhian seminar he said that it was a unique experience and he was able to understand Gandhian philosophy better through some of the close associates of Gandhiji.

Northern Indian Convention On Race Relations

To two-day Northern Indian Convention on Race Relations which ended in Amritsar on February 15 expressed alarm at the increasing interference with the day-to-day life of Indians in South Africa by the Government of Dr. Malan. The convention called upon the people of Asia and Africa to organise a united front against unjust racial policies in South Africa.

It said that these policies were a gross violation of the fundamental rights embodied in the United Nations Charter. The Convention appealed to the United Nations to take measures to safeguard and implement its charter with special reference to Human rights. The Convention congratulated the non-Europeans on their peaceful Satyagraha in South Africa. It expressed its conviction that "the complete disapproval and non violent passive resistance must result in the end in the triumph of justice and vindication of full dignity of all oppressed people." It also supported action taken by the Government of India through

the United Nations to bring about a peaceful solution of the racial problem.

Delivering the presidential address at the Convention, Mr. Chaman Lal B. Parikh observed "If South Africa does not change its policy, it may uproot and destroy all that human hands have built in the past in that country."

Mr. Parikh referring to the obnoxious legislation passed against Asians and Natives which were cutting at the very roots of civilisation.

Death Of India's Defence Minister

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, India's Defence Minister, died at Madras early on the morning of February 10. He was 71. He had been taken ill shortly after his return from the Kashmir talks in Geneva in September 1952, regained his health considerably and went to his home town Madras to convalesce. He has been ailing for some time and his condition became worse in the beginning of the month.

Born in March 1882, Mr. Ayyangar completed his education with a brilliant record in Madras and joined the Pachaiyappa College in 1904 as assistant professor. A year later he entered the Madras Civil Service. After a brief term as a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly he served in various departments of the provincial Government until 1937 when he retired as senior member of the Board of Revenue. Appreciating his services, the British Government

named him twice in the King's Honour List.

Mr. Ayyangar was appointed Prime Minister of Kashmir in 1937. He occupied that position until 1943, endearing himself alike to the Maharaja, the people and the nationalist leaders of the State. His experience in Kashmir was useful to the Indian Government in dealing with the Kashmir issue. He was leader of the Indian Delegation when the Kashmir question was taken to the Security Council in 1948.

When the Indian Constituent Assembly was formed in 1946 he was elected to it from the Madras Assembly. Because of his work both in drafting and finalising the Constitution, Mr. Ayyangar was regarded as one of the principal architects of the Indian Constitution. After his distinguished work in the Constituent Assembly he entered the Central Cabinet as a Minister in September 1947 and later took over the States portfolio. He completed the integration and consolidation of the princely States from the point where Sardar Patel had left it. Mr. Ayyangar became Defence Minister when the Central Cabinet was reconstituted after the general elections.

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Group photograph taken before the inauguration of the Seminar on the "Contribution of Gandhian Outlook and Techniques to the Solution of Tensions Within and Between Nations" by the Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, in New Delhi, on January 5.

(Sitting, L. to R.): Prof. G. Tucci (Italy), Dr. Mohd. Hussein Haikal (Egypt), Lord Byd Orr (U.K.), Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Mrs. Alva Myrdal (UNESCO), Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Minister for Education, Government of India, Madame Cecilia Merieles (Brazil), Dr. Martin Dastri (Iran), Dr. Ralph Bunche (USA), Prof. Massingnon (France), and Mr. Yusuke Tsurumi (Japan).

(Standing, L. to R.): Dr. N. S. Junankar (Ministry of Education), Shri K. G. Sanyidhan (Min. of Education), Shri Humayun Kabir (Additional Secretary, Ministry of Education), Shri L. R. Sethi (Min. of Education), Acharya Narendra Deva (Indian delegate), Kaka Saheb Kalelkar (Indian delegate), Shri Pyarelal (Indian delegate), and Shri S. Nagappa (Min. of Education).

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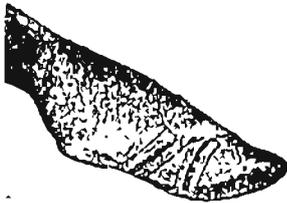
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S.A. PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

THE EDITOR INDIAN OPINION

SIR,—I sympathise with Mr. Jordan Ngubane in his anxiety lest White political groups claiming to be friends of the Africans and of the African National Congress should "plot and scheme...to influence Congress policies in the direction of their own choosing." He refers particularly in this respect to the newly-formed South African People's Congress. May I, as one who participated in the formation of this organisation, reply to some of the points he has raised?

This body came into existence as a result of a meeting called in Johannesburg by the African National Congress and the S.A. Indian Congress, to which liberal and democratically minded Whites of various shades of opinion were invited. Having called these White friends of the non-European together, the two Congresses left them to decide for themselves what form their organisation and activity should take. The A.N.C. and S.A.I.C. therefore are not committed to endorsing everything or anything that the new organisation may do.

The meeting itself divided rather sharply into two groups—a minority who favoured a franchise for non-Europeans, and a majority who advocated complete equality. As a result of this meeting the S.A. People's Congress was formed. (The name was decided upon on the spur of the moment. Some of us think it unsuitable for various reasons, and it will probably be changed.)

The new organisation has, as I see it, two main functions. Firstly, by advocating without equivocation equal rights for

all regardless of race or colour, it will show to the non-Europeans in this country and to the world at large that there are White South Africans who do not support apartheid and race discrimination. Secondly, it will work among Whites, trying to win sympathy for the non-Europeans in their sufferings under discriminatory and oppressive laws.

In a certain sense, then, the new organisation is out to influence the African National Congress as well as other bodies and individuals, both Black and White. It hopes that the Congress will continue with its declared policy that it is not hostile to White people as such but only to unjust laws and discrimination. We wish to see a democratic South Africa in which all men and women are free and equal. The poison of race hatred is being distilled by the present governments (as by other governments before them.) If the racialists have their way it will become more and more difficult to build bridges, until finally Black and White are separated by an impassable gulf. That would spell the doom of all in South Africa.

Apart from this general attempt to influence opinion, in a way to which Mr. Ngubane could not possibly object, the new organisation has no other motives, ulterior or otherwise. Mr. Ngubane has every right to reserve judgment until the "organisation has shown by deed what its real purpose is." In the meantime I hope he will give us a chance.—Yours etc.,

—EDWARD ROUX.

MINISTERS DISCUSS DEFIANCE

ON Thursday, February 12, nearly 70 Ministers of religion, of all denominations and races, met in the American Board Church in Doornfontein to discuss their attitude to the Campaign for the Defiance of unjust laws.

The discussion was opened by the Rev. E. E. Mababane, vice-president of the Christian Council, who enlarged on the statement issued by that Council during its recent executive meeting, and which has received wide press publicity. Mr. Mababane said that while the statement might be described as an utterance of Christian statesman-

ship the practical problem which confronted Ministers in active service is what they are to say to simple Christians who come to them for advice and guidance concerning participation in the campaign, both personal and by their children.

The second speaker was the Rev. N. Mokoatle who returned a few months ago from a long visit to England where he was a member of a team of preachers drawn from many lands who were touring England. Mr. Mokoatle said that he had been continually asked for information concerning the campaign, its cause, organisation and so on,

and he had always said that while 6,000 miles away from the scene he could express no opinion. Since returning to South Africa and finding himself confronted with just the sort of problem mentioned by Mr. Mababane, he had thought and prayed deeply on the matter. For himself he had come to the conclusion that a Christian must differentiate between moral and active support for a movement of this nature. Being completely aware of the effect of discriminatory customs or the spiritual development of the people he felt that he could do nothing but give moral support to any who felt called to resist such laws and customs, leaving the question of active participation as one of absolutely personal decision.

The discussion lasted until late in the afternoon when it was concluded by a very able statement of scriptural references to freedom, law and order, and personal responsibility, prepared and given by Pastor George Mabile, who acted as his own interpreter in Sotho.

During the day frequent reference was made to the pastoral responsibility of Ministers today, especially in control of young people who have been taught the

way of spiritual development and freedom by missionaries, and now chafe against restrictions which limit them in the exercise of that which they have been taught. There was much plain speaking, as for example when one Minister said: "We should not ask whether the defiance campaign is a Christian movement, but whether the laws are Christian." On the other hand there were not lacking several who said plainly that they considered the movement in itself misguided and harmful, while some took a sort of middle course and said that Christian Ministers have a special work of their own in personal evangelism, and that they can therefore only take one attitude to such a campaign, namely that of refusing to think or talk about it at all. Those who held the last view were mostly older Ministers.

The meeting was organised jointly by the Interdenominational African Ministers Association and the Transvaal Missionary Association, and was presided over by the Rev. A. W. Blaxall. It was agreed that the discussion had been of such value that others should be held. The next will therefore take place at the same place on Thursday, March 12.

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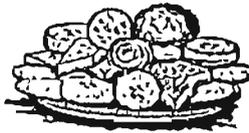
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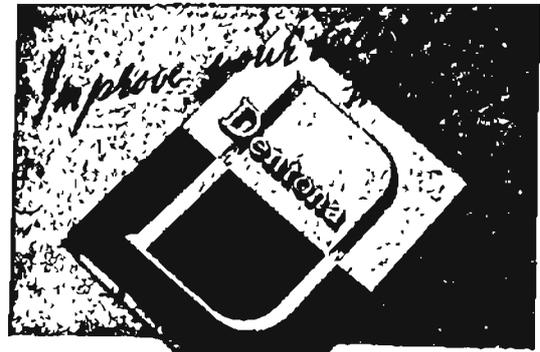
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