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INDIAN
OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

*More helpful than all
wisdom or counsel is one
draught of simple human
pity that will not forsake
us.*

—George Elliot.

*He knows not his own
strength who has not met
necessity.*

—Ben Jonson

*You can oppose Com-
munist only with truth in
your heart. For which
truth you must be prepared
to die. That must be the
truth of God.*

—Archbishop of York.

*Faith is the strength by
which a shattered world
shall emerge into the light.*

—Helen Keller.

*Most men revel in other
people's suffering more than
in their own happiness.*

—Socrates.

*The terror was not that
of battle, of shells, tanks,
guns, grenades or even
bombs. It was not the
terror of death.....No, the
terror was that of man,
what men of one race could
do to fellow-men of another
race.*

—Lin Yutang,

GOD IS LAW

Believe in God in such a time as this—
When tyrants rule the earth with brutal sway,
When death and hell hold gruesome holiday,
When wrong prevails and justice is remiss?
Believe in Christ who walked in Galilee
And talked of light, of hope, of life, of love,
Of sparrows in the care of God above,
Of certainty of truth that sets men free?
I do! Ten thousand times, I do! I know
That God is law, as well as love: that man,
In full accord with God's eternal plan,
Will reap at last in kind as he did sow,
'Tis but the harvest now, and from the sod
Leap up ten thousand arguments for God.

John Calvin Slemp.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 13TH FEBRUARY, 1953

Deeds Required—Not Words

THE anti-defiance Bills introduced in Parliament by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, have caused a stir throughout the country. The powers sought under the Bills are worse ever known even during war time. Hitler alone is known to have assumed such powers and the world knows what he did and the fate eventually he himself met with. Malan Government seems to be going the same way. Hitler's target were the Jews. Dr. Malan's target are the non-Whites. The latter should know what is in store for them. They have so far done well in fighting non-violently against the ills suffered by them. It is a long and arduous battle entailing a tremendous amount of sufferings and sacrifices, even of being annihilated. But it is better to be annihilated fighting courageously than to live a life of ignominy. It requires some strength and courage to remain unbending and to die without taking a single life of our opponents or causing the slightest injury to them. That is the Godly way which the non-Whites have wisely chosen. To swerve from that noble path which has attracted the sympathy and support of all thinking people of the world would be suicidal. To stick to it at all costs will make the world livable for humanity—a noble cause indeed worth living for as well as dying for. If we

have an unshakable faith in God there is nothing whatsoever to fear. If we lack that faith and give way to cowardice we are done for. Let us therefore be awake and alert and not be alarmed even under the direst circumstances.

The eight thousand men and women who have already undergone the rigours of prison life have won the approbation of the civilised world at home and abroad. Let us not become drunk and lose our senses. This is only the first step. We have yet a long way to go and to pass through blood-curdling experiences. We must prepare ourselves for it.

The Government in its madness believes that the repressive measures already adopted by it has crippled the defiance movement and that what it is about to adopt will crush it. That impression is shared by a section of the South African Press and the people. The present lull has to some extent justified that impression.

Last Sunday there was a meeting held at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, under the joint auspices of the African National and the South African Indian Congresses. Speeches were made strongly condemning the action of the Government. It was also announced that conferences of all the non-White organisations will be held in all the Provinces where decisions will be taken on the future steps to combat the

situation. It will be well to remember that the time now is not for eloquent speeches but for firm and determined action. The correct thing would be to anticipate the worst steps from the Government and to be fully prepared to counteract them with double the vigour. Nothing more is demanded of the non-Whites than sacrifices of the purest type to eradicate the evil without bearing ill-will in the slightest degree towards the evil-doers. It was very rightly said by

one of the speakers at last Sunday's meeting referred to above that we have launched on a Holy War. That demands absolute purity in thought, word and deed. It certainly does not allow of giving way to fear, anger, hatred or malice. It demands quiet but firm determination to die with the name of God on our lips and an undying faith in Him in our hearts. May God grant us the wisdom and courage to give a fitting reply to Mr. Swart by our deeds and not words.

LAW PROFESSOR ON SAFETY BILL

PROFESSOR B. BEINART, professor of Roman Law at the University of Cape Town, said in a Press statement last week on behalf of the Civil Rights League that every member of the public would stand aghast at the scope of the Public Safety Bill.

The safeguards to the Minister's powers under the Bill were illusory.

Professor Beinart is chairman of the League.

His statement continued. The Government, having brought the country to a state of nerves, now wishes to claim that South Africa is in what an English writer has described as a state of "perpetual emergency."

The Bill seeks powers for the Minister of Justice to declare an emergency as and when he, in his arbitrary discretion, deems fit. The measure prescribes no limit to or definition of a "state of emergency."

It is hardly necessary to state that the existing law should be adequate to meet any untoward situation, for a government can always take the necessary measures to ensure peace and order, even calling out the military, but with the constant safeguard that it must be prepared to answer for the necessity of its acts to the courts or to Parliament, which may then pass an Indemnity Act.

When an emergency has been declared then, in terms of the Bill, the Minister (note, not Parliament) may make whatever laws he thinks are necessary for public safety and may impose penalties, confiscate property, suspend laws including Acts of Parliament and even override them.

He may make such regulations retrospective for five days.

The safeguards to his powers are illusory. Although these regulations have to be submitted to Parliament, this cannot be done if Parliament is not sitting, which is for at least half of the year.

But the Bill goes further. It starts off by imposing a limit of one year to the validity of the proclamation but in the same breath allows the Minister to issue another proclamation continuing the state of emergency.

One wonders what the need for this Bill can be when the Government is also introducing the Criminal Law Amendment Bill authorising heavier penalties for crimes committed under certain circumstances and prohibiting support of organized breaking of the law, which action is no doubt directed at the defiance campaign.

One can only conclude that the Public Safety Bill is an attempt to carry on what has been termed "ordinary government by extraordinary means."

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,' 'Justinian' and 'Truth.' Readers are requested to kindly send further suggestions.

Manager 'Indian Opinion.'

CANDID THOUGHTS ON NON-VIOLENCE

WE publish below extracts from an article by the Rev. Arthur W. Blaxall that appeared in the American weekly, 'The New Republic':—

I am myself convinced that any individual whose conscience revolts against certain legislation is entitled to express his conviction by refusing to obey the law if he is prepared to suffer the consequences. I am, therefore satisfied in my own mind that there is ample ground in South Africa for peoples of all races to defy various laws on the Statute Book. As I say, it is a matter for the individual conscience, but when such a mental attitude is deliberately cultivated and trained it is natural that those who love peace above all things, and loathe violence in any form should carefully examine the organization before they give support either morally or practically. I have, therefore, had to ask myself a number of questions which I shall endeavour to enumerate as follows .

Can this movement in South Africa be called a spiritual movement, or is it merely an attempt to secure political advantage? This again is a difficult question. Twice I discussed it in the first six months of this year with Manilal Gandhi, who should be in a position to judge this issue. I gained the impression that at the beginning of this year he was very doubtful, but of late, from correspondence and articles in 'Indian Opinion,' I gather he is impressed with the movement although still critical. It is not without interest that from the beginning the organizers have encouraged the people to observe days of prayer, and although it may be possible to criticize this it must be admitted that it indicates some measure of spirituality. It has been said again and again that the campaign has broken out because the non-Europeans are desperate and have no other way of expressing the fact that they are frustrated beyond endurance. To this must be replied that frustration has either spiritual influence, or an utterly demoralizing one. If it is spiritual influence it produces character which can go to great lengths as the world knows from the life of Mahatma Gandhi and others in other places. To me indications are not lacking that this campaign in South Africa is a spiritual development but I am still waiting to see it consolidate into a steady movement educating the masses to

disciplined character development . . .

As it seems to me the movement has grown by the spiritual force of the non-violence which has been maintained. Many who were sceptical at the beginning have stopped to think. And in many cases thought has led to personal action. It is the type of strength which grows by realization of itself; power of this nature will not be intimidated by threats of severer punishment. There is very little of accepted Communistic technique in this so it does not look to me as if the few "amed" persons exercise any influence out of proportion to their numbers . . .

The serious charge is that there is little leadership among the Africans and that they are entirely led by Indians. This is a serious thing for anyone to say without evidence which I personally do not think exists. I know some leading Africans have refused to take part in the movement, but on the other hand many of those who are risking a good deal are men and women of high standing, and quite definitely not the type who would be influenced by anyone. It is a very serious thing in South Africa when people in responsible positions try to insinuate racial jealousies and antipathies which do not exist, or, if they do, are due to other factors which can be dealt with in their own sphere. Few things are more diabolical than a whispered campaign, a practice which has become all too common in South Africa.

Has the campaign so far justified itself? From several sides I have heard that even if it should be decided to close the campaign as such and dissolve the organization, leaving individuals to do as they may decide, the sufferings of those who have been in jail and beaten are fully justified by the fact that the non-European people have realized the power they possess even without resort to any sort of violence. That worldwide interest has been expressed has also greatly encouraged them, although the more intelligent leaders feel embarrassment when some well intended friends overseas express themselves rather crudely, and are influenced by superficial knowledge of life in South Africa. However, there can be no question that non-European people in South Africa know that the moral support of freedom loving peoples is behind them in their struggle to develop . . .

NATIONALISTS' NIGHTMARE

THE following letter by Mr. C. W. M. Gell appeared in the 'Rand Daily Mail' dated February 3: Sir,—Mr. W. A. Maree, the Nationalist member for Newcastle, is reported to have told the House of Assembly on January 28 that "Natal is located in the area in which India hopes to offload the surplus millions of its population."

Can Mr. Maree answer the following questions?

(1) Is it not true that immigration of indentured Indians into the Union was finally stopped by the Government of India in 1911, despite energetic protests by Natal and the Union Government?

(2) Did not the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913, which was part of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, finally close all other Indian immigration into the Union?

(3) Apart from the trickle of wives and minor children allowed into the Union by the first Cape

Town (Malau Sastri) Agreement of 1927, when has the re opening of Indian immigration ever been made an issue, either by the Indian Government or by our resident Indian community?

(4) As against this clear evidence of India's lack of interest in emigration of her nationals to South Africa for these last 40 years, has Mr. Maree any better basis for his statement than his own inspired guess work and the supposed interests of his party?

The unsupported statements of Dr. Malan and Dr. Dooges that India intends to use Africa as "a dumping-ground for her surplus population" will convince no one but the faithful (like Mr. Maree) that, against all the historical evidence, India has any such designs against any part of the Union.—Yours etc, C. W. M. GELL



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LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

SMUTS BY HIS SON

By C. W. M. GELL

II

IN my last article about Mr. Smuts' life of his father I was critical of the author's historical method because its inaccuracy obtrudes in a rather large number of passages. In this article I want to deal with General Smuts himself as the central subject of the book.

First, I must discuss two singular omissions relating to racial and labour problems—two of what may have been Smuts' blind spots, though the author is responsible for some of their neglect in these pages. Mr. Alan Paton has already drawn attention in the January 'Forum' to the extensive treatment of Afrikaner-British relations and the almost complete evasion of all other racial problems. Not only is the Native Legislation of 1936, dealing with the Cape franchise, the Native Representative Council and the Native Trust, never mentioned; neither is the 1913 Native Land Act, the Native Affairs Act of 1920, the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1945. Yet all these important measures were passed by a Government of which Smuts was either Premier or vice-Premier (in fact, if not in name). The Asiatic Representation and Land Tenure Act of 1946 is briefly and inadequately discussed. Nothing in the book suggests that Smuts had a coherent, synoptic vision of racial problems, such as characterised his approach to all other subjects. It is hard to say whether Smuts was deliberately blind (or rather, reticent) on racial affairs, realising their importance (if not, perhaps, their urgency) and hoping that the logic of events would eventually convince a notoriously short-sighted electorate. Certainly such a view accords with his attitude to some other matters, where patience seemed to him the better part of political wisdom. But there is no doubt that, if this was his real intention he ran the risk of leaving his party stranded in a racial crisis without (if his own deep perception of realities had been lost to it) any guiding principles on which to base its policies. This is the harvest we are reaping today. In all fairness we should perhaps allow that, if the importance of this subject should never have been in doubt, its urgency has only become apparent in the five years since General Smuts lost office.

On pp. 303-7 Mr. Smuts prefaces his father's Rhodes Memorial lectures at Oxford in 1929 with a soliloquy on Native Affairs

which is apparently his own. After not unfairly summarising the ambivalent attitude of the original Whites—the Bible and the iron hand—he doubts that the master-servant relationship will long be tenable now in face of a "national madness of surging unrest." He puts forward, only to reject, a very inadequate presentation of the liberal approach and a curious, half-baked "scientific" approach. He seems to come down tentatively in favour of "the tactical approach" by which the Whites take military and economic precautions against "a day of reckoning." But, as Mr. Paton very pertinently asks, what follows next? Another day of reckoning? And another? And another?

Mr. Smuts tells us that his father looked with disfavour on "over-liberal views and was confident that the White man's "intellectual and administrative superiority would enable him to live indefinitely in a state of semi-overlordship over the blacks." I cannot say that this is an untrue condensation of his father's opinions, but I wonder if Mr. Smuts has really defuncted them correctly. The extracts from General Smuts' lectures on the next five pages certainly suggest a broad, tolerant paternalism towards the rural Africans. But on p. 312 he puts his finger with his usual unerring acumen for the crux of a matter on the question of the detribalised, urban African population, which he recognised to be (depending how it is handled) the creative or destructive element in the evolution of a mixed society. To this problem the quoted extracts of his lectures offer no solution, Smuts being seemingly divided in his mind between the economic inefficiency of migrant labour and the social consequences of integration.

This lecture was given 24 years ago and much has happened since. I think General Smuts' most distinctive quality was that his questioning mind was never closed upon any subject. No doubt he inherited some of the prejudices of his people and he had to bow to others with which he did not wholly agree in order to carry on the business of government. But even as he pegged Indian residence rights in 1946, he offered some sort of parliamentary representation as well. I am not suggesting that it was a fair exchange or that the Indians could do other than refuse it. I merely

instance it as an example of his mind reaching forward despite its limitations and the reluctance of his supporters to some new situation. His mind was always advancing, while those of most of his countrymen were static or in full retreat. I recall that in 1917 he said that our non-European policy must be based on "the granite bedrock of the Christian moral code," which for him was liberal-humanist not Calvinist-predestinarian, and I like to think that, facing the sort of situation we have brought on ourselves today, he would have applied the following doctrine to all men (as Hofmeyr taught him) in the same manner that he applied it to the defeated nations of Europe:

"When you are up against a position as terrible in its possibilities for good and evil, you can only do one thing, even if you fail utterly. And that is the right thing, the thing you can justify to your conscience and to that of all reasonable and fair-minded people."

Smuts' other blind spot was the bread-and-butter issues which mean so much to industrial labour. He was involved in labour troubles in 1913, 1914, 1919, 1922-3 and again in 1947. On no occasion, so far as this book shows, was he really concerned with the basic causes of the unrest; and his tactics of "show-downs" and "teaching lessons" (the phrases are his son's) were both clumsy and inhumane. They helped to lose him two elections. In this respect there is a certain parallel with his great contemporary and friend, Winston Churchill. Smuts' views on the Mines and Works Act Amendment Act of 1925, which introduced the statutory industrial colour bar, is never discussed in the book nor is the Act mentioned.

It is pleasant to turn from these weaknesses to the great aspects of this unquestionably great man—one of the greatest of our lifetime. I need not dwell on his services to the Union, the Commonwealth, the League of Nations and the United Nations, since these have been frequently and deservedly praised. Perhaps Smuts was at his brilliant best in 1919. Though he failed to influence the Versailles Peace settlement decisively, he correctly prophesied where it would fail and why. Nor need we linger on the many delightful scenes of him with his family and his grandchildren, which have been widely quoted by reviewers.

Rather let me close these two articles by extracting something of the basic philosophy which guided the life of this rare combination of thinker and man of action. For Smuts was a great intellectual in the best sense of the word, the only considerable

philosopher South Africa has yet produced whose deeds derived their meaning and impetus from his view of life. Perhaps this is most beautifully expressed in his Recessional Address at St. Andrews in 1934 when, after some sentences of splendid world-and-life-affirmation and acknowledgement of the heroic in the human spirit, he analyses the heart of the modern problem:

"The disappearance of the sturdy, independent-minded, freedom-loving individual, and his replacement by a servile mass mentality is the greatest menace of our time... In spite of our scientific expansion, our essential human rights are contracting... The denial of free human rights must in the long run lead to a cataclysm."

Later he was to say:

"The New Order can only arise under the sign of the Cross in the spirit of service and self-sacrifice, which has carried man from his brutal, bestial past to the height of his spiritual vision. Not in mastery but in service, not in dictatorship, but in freedom, lies the secret of man's destiny."

On another occasion he questioned the adequacy of the purely materialist Marxian worldview: "A house swept clean and garnished but empty of the spirit, still remains a place which seven devils may enter and occupy." He believed in the greatness of the world and the goodness of man of whom Jesus was the great archetype and forerunner. Over it all brooded, he believed, not God in the image of man, but some great Spiritual Principle or Divine Law. Though he set great store by the heroic stature of man, he sought this quality in his moral potential, not in his physical or intellectual vitality. He accepted science as "perhaps the clearest revelation of God to our age;" but he fully recognised our urgent need to bring it under spiritual and ethical discipline before our own inventions destroy us. Superficially science teaches us that "our origin is an accident, our position exceptional, and our fate is sealed with the inevitable running down of the solar system... According to astronomy, life is indeed a lonely and pathetic thing in this physical universe—a transient and embarrassed phantom in an alien, if not hostile, universe."

But his holistic vision, working more profoundly, saw the essential unity of mind and matter, the human soul meeting with spiritual hospitality and response throughout a friendly universe of material organisms evolving in the fulness of time towards beauty and holiness, even as the human soul is.

This was no small man who chided his countrymen for "despising my larger hopes" and

who warned them that "it paralyses a people to live in the past." A great rationalist, a great liberal and a great dreamer of dreams. I am sorry that his son has not found room for his father's plea to South Africans to "follow the larger vision" in racial affairs, for his public acknowledgement late in public life that segregation was dead as a practical policy and for his tribute to Hofmeyr as "the conscience of South Africa." But I thank him, indeed, for the glimpse of his father stopping a friend from picking a rare flower on Table Mountain!

"Worship—and pass on." His faults were great but never ungenerous; and we who sometimes said that he sacrificed our interests to those of the Empire or the enhancement of his own renown will slowly learn how very wrong we were. His ideals matched the grandeur of the African veld, even as his personality did. With a few reservations, which seemed to be relaxing as his life drew towards its close, he stood for the wholeness and mutuality of human relationships. Against the pattern of all our present pettiness, how truly great he seems.

THE WIDER WORLD

By JOHN GILD

"A WHITE POLICY"

THE United Party has published a pamphlet advocating immigration on a large scale. In favour of this "white policy," there are put forward a variety of arguments, all of them muddled or mischievous. The pamphlet points out that there is a danger that non-Europeans are now replacing European workers who leave their jobs on the railways and in other fields of employment. If this tendency continues, "it will make it virtually impossible to maintain the colour bar...The Europeans in this country will become a shrinking white patch in an ever larger black sea...Of necessity this must result in the employment of non-Europeans in spheres normally reserved for Europeans."

Seldom have I read a political pamphlet more dishonest and deceitful in all its implications. Everyone knows that there are only two reasons why the United Party really wants to welcome immigrants from abroad. The first is that such people will vote for the party, not for the Nationalists. The second is that industrialists want more skilled artisans, of whom there is a shortage in this country. The obvious solution to the latter problem is to relax the industrial colour bar and to train Africans and Indians as artisans. Business men would be inclined to support this solution, but the United party is afraid to face the immediate political consequences. It prefers to play the "clever" game of accepting the Nationalists' assumptions about race and colour and trying to beat them by juggling with words and figures. But the figures themselves are ridiculous. To bring 50,000 immigrants to South

Africa every year would mean that an average of 1,000 a week must enter. That in turn means a fleet of ships carrying only immigrants and no other passengers. Where are all these people to find houses to live in? Or schools for their children? To crowd the absurd argument, it is said that immigrants will create a bigger market. Have the pundits of the United party not yet noticed the ten million non-Europeans who would also like to consume goods—if they could do skilled work and so earn larger incomes to spend?

Academic Apartheid

Congress in Natal did well to devote one of its excellent newsletters to apartheid in the Universities. There is an unpleasant amount of deception in this sphere. The sorry record of the University of Natal is properly exposed. But the other English-speaking universities are not as fair as they pretend to be. Capetown declines to allow Africans to study medicine, I am told. It has some kind of private agreement with the Witwatersrand University, whereby the latter takes Africans and Capetown takes Coloureds. This apartheid within a theoretical equality is absurd. For one practical objection is that it greatly increases the high cost of higher education when a student is forced to travel 1,000 miles from his home. At the Witwatersrand University non-whites cannot study any form of engineering; or even a subject like Fine Art, where the obstacle is alleged difficulties in securing drawing models, who would have to be non-European. Although a Chinese was admitted to the men's residence a couple of years ago, the women's residence still refuses to admit a Chinese girl,

The white students in Johannesburg and Capetown are generally against these forms of segregation; indeed, they have often displayed more liberalism than the staff which teaches them. Incidentally, it is said that the white student resisters in Duncan's band at Germiston are likely to get into trouble with the University, if they are convicted by the court.

Self-government For The Sudanese

A new crisis has blown up in the Sudan, one of the most advanced areas in Africa. Britain is very reluctant to relinquish control, but Egypt is forcing her to do so by demanding certain rights there herself. Rather than let the Sudan fall under Egyptian influence, Britain has accelerated the Sudan's progress towards complete self-government, which has been promised in three years' time. Britain's foreign Office hoped to delay matters by claiming the right to continue to protect the primitive Sudanese tribes in the south against the advanced Northern Moslems. But now, to everyone's surprise, General Nafuih has produced evidence, in the form of signed documents, that the tribes are willing to dispense with British protection and are not afraid of Egypt! The issue is, of course, complicated by the British occupation of the Suez Canal zone, which is deeply resented by all parties in Egypt as a continued and unnecessary limitation on their country's independence. If Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden are wise, they will see to it that Britain leaves both Suez and the Sudan voluntarily, while some goodwill towards her remains. I can't help noting that international factors can play a decisive part in emancipating non-western people from European domination. It was so when Britain quickly made Jordan an independent state in 1946 (to embarrass the Jews in Palestine); and it looks like being so in the Sudan this year or next.

Fact And Fiction About Race

One of the most important things today is that non-white people should have in their minds clear, scientific ideas about race. In our country more rubbish is written and spoken on this subject than on any other. UNESCO is doing a splendid job of work in publishing cheap booklets and pamphlets that tell the truth about racial myths. That is the main reason why countries like our own are so hostile to UNESCO and decline to assist

its work. UNESCO's latest booklet, "What is Race?" certainly deserves a warm welcome. In less than 300 pages and illustrated with excellent diagrams, this booklet explains the facts about racial inheritance and, incidentally, exposes colour prejudice for the foolish thing it is. A team of world-famous scientists, drawn from a dozen different states, reached a set of unanimous conclusions. "There are," they say, "no scientific grounds whatever for the racialist position regarding purity of race and the hierarchy of superior and inferior races to which this leads...No evidence exists of differences in inborn mental ability...Differences between people within the same 'racial' group are at least as great as differences between people of various racial or ethnic groups."

These scientists say that they were fortunate in having as members of their team some who had made special studies of the results of inter-marriage between members of different races. This meant that the conclusion that race mixture in general did not lead to disadvantageous results was based on actual experience as well as upon study of the scientific literature. In passing, I was fascinated to read of a special school in New York for 500 gifted children. When these were finally selected, it was found that 70 per cent. were Negroes, who form just about that percentage of the total population.

For 5s. (plus 6d. postage) you can get this booklet from any bookseller or from the agents for UNESCO publications, van Schaik's Book Store, P.O. Box 724, Pretoria.

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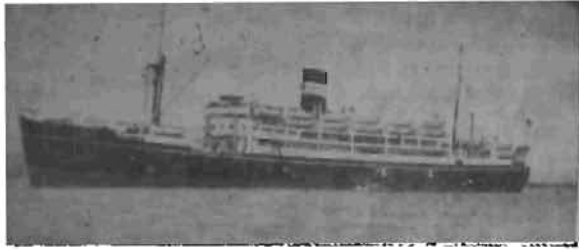
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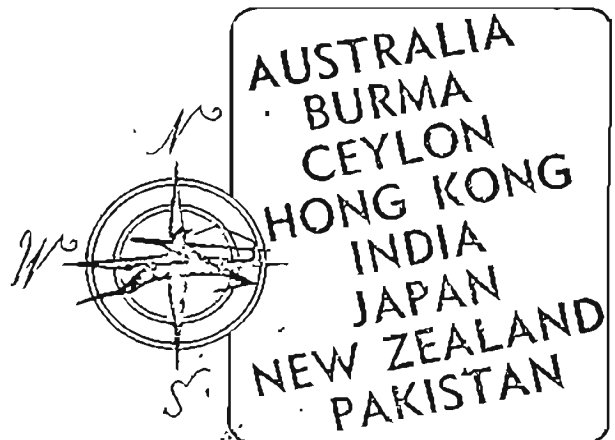
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

"NUREMBERG" DECREES AND DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa are committed to the doctrine of apartheid and the injustices perpetrated by the present Government in the name of that ideology are those of which the Dutch Reformed Churches cannot successfully wash their hands. This is particularly the case at the moment when the Government have gone to the extreme of presenting before Parliament Bills—the Public Safety Bill and the Criminal Law Amendment Bill—the purpose of which is reputedly to crush the resistance movement, but which, in fact, pave the way for the crudest and most pagan debasement of the human personality.

The Christian Church in Germany during Hitler's rise tolerated his perverse racial laws. It refused to see in them a direct attempt to debase the human personality in the end. As a body, the Church did protest now and again, but did next to nothing to take a firm, manly and uncompromising stand against what was clearly to be a complete repudiation of everything precious and valuable in the Christian tradition. Even when the Nuremberg Laws were passed, the Church's attitude was one of passivity.

Now, this statement requires to be explained and qualified. The Church in Germany did not as such accept Nazism. It took up the attitude that it would not interfere in State matters. This meant that although it abhorred Nazism it would not actively advise its members to withhold support from the Nazi Party. The enactment of the Nuremberg Laws, which completed the humiliation of the Jews and paved the way for Buchenwald and Dachau and Belsen, was viewed largely as a secular affair; something which the Church could not fight tooth and nail, even at the expense of having it banned and its leaders imprisoned or shot. In short, the Nuremberg Laws were not regarded as evils with which there could be no compromise.

A complicating factor was that they were directly largely against a theological rival of the Christian Church; Judaism. The Jews were not Christians and very many of the Christians who looked on while the Nuremberg Laws crushed the Jews could soothe their conscience by saying that in any case the Jews repudiated Christ.

Only a few notable Christian men and women risked every danger to denounce Nazism for the evil it was. The overwhelming majority of these were thrown inside concentration camps—some died there. It is to the glory of Christendom that these few did stand forth courageously against evils which Christ would never have hesitated to denounce and oppose.

But the majority in Germany took up an attitude which has striking parallels in the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Churches. In this country, an Afrikaans pastor who would denounce apartheid without mincing words would certainly invite being ostracised. I have followed with keen interest Dutch Reformed attempts to build bridges between the races. Fundamentally, these attempts have been no more than efforts to get more universal acceptance of the creed of apartheid. They have not been real bridges. It is true that the Churches have tried to show up where Malanite apartheid falls short. But when Dr. Malan told the Churches bluntly that they were talking nonsense with their "Bantustan" apartheid, it is very significant that they promptly soft-pedalled on this issue.

In the meantime men and women of all races who do not want anybody to dominate anybody have been slowly making their influence felt. They have done this in their own different ways; none of them co-ordinated. First, there have been the African, Indian and European resisters. When the history of our times comes to be written—that is, if South Africa will survive the dark night into which it is being led by the Malanite Government—men will note with gratitude the stand taken by these people. To be a resister is to invite persecution and ruin these days. But true resisters will go through everything to save their country from the barbarism into which it is being thrown by the Malanites in the name of Christ and Western Civilisation.

On quite a different plane the Catholic and English-speaking Churches have taken a stand against apartheid which, while it does not go far enough, commands respect.

These moves, coupled with others I need not mention, have thrown the apartheidists on the defensive. Because they stand for an evil philosophy they have

refused to answer argument with argument and fact with fact. Because they know that the truth shall always prevail over falsehood and good over evil, they now come forth with their "Nuremberg" decrees to crush the soul out of the African people.

For, make no mistake about these Bills. They are designed to crush the African people and reduce them to slavery. The Dutch Reformed Churches might say that these laws are matters for the State. But since the Government remains in power largely because of their support, the evil things it does in their name must also be laid at their feet as well.

It so happens that in this country, as in Germany, the "Nuremberg" laws are directed against a racially different people. The average White church-goer in the Dutch Reformed Churches can soothe his own conscience and say that after all Minister Swart's "Nuremberg" laws are directed against a racially different people.

A complicating factor here for the Dutch Reformed Churches is the fact that the African is a fellow Christian. Although racially he belongs to a hated group, he owes allegiance to the same God and Christ whom the Dutch Reformed Churches worship. If they accept the brotherhood of Man through the fatherhood of God, they cannot successfully soothe their conscience with too much harping on the racial difference.

In these circumstances a situation will soon arise when the African people will feel that there is absolutely no place for them in the Dutch Reformed Churches. Already, a trend in this direction is noticeable. In marked contrast, Roman Catholicism, which does not discriminate against a man because his God created him with a particular skin colour, is waning to its fold thousands of Africans. It is blessing for the African people and South Africa that there are denominations, like the Catholic Church, which hold on to the ideal of the brotherhood of Man even in the face of Government fury and persecution.

As things stand, Minister Swart's "Nuremberg" Decrees will become the laws of the land. The Malan Government will use them to humiliate a voiceless people. If it were not men and women like Patrick Duncan and Freda Troup, I would be saying that the "Nuremberg" Decrees mark the final parting of the ways between Black and White. But men and women like Patrick Duncan and Freda Troup have risen above the racial mist and shown

that the fight between my people and the Malanites is not a racial fight. By going to prison and suffering every humiliation by our side they have shown that they realise with us that the fight is for spiritual values. We, who resist, truly love all our countrymen, regardless of race or colour. We would rather injure ourselves than harm them. Even when the Malanites whip us with scorpions, we know they are our own countrymen; every white South African like us. If they stand for tyranny and racial hatred; we are foursquare for government by consent and for the brotherhood of Man. If they make laws which make one race hate the other, we stand uncompromisingly for racial tolerance. If, in their desperation, they rely on brute force alone to keep themselves in power, we, in our strength, rely on truth and persuasion. Because they defend a basically immoral order, for them force, whippings, persecution, ruin are the things they hope to see to frighten us into submission. But because Good and Humanity are on our side, we shall not debase the personality of Man and yield to tyranny; nor shall we hate those who plan our destruction. But we shall hate evil tyranny with a determination which no power on earth can bend.

We believe that our own stand confronts the Dutch Reformed Churches with a challenge from which they dare not run away. The things for which we stand are part and parcel of the democratic and Christian tradition. The things behind the Minister of Justice's "Nuremberg" Laws are totalitarian and are foreign to Christian civilisation. I here that these are things are done behind the Iron Curtain at the moment and not in democratic, Christian countries of the West.

Fortunately, although the minutes fly rapidly past, it is not as yet too late for the Dutch Reformed Churches to assure the African people, among whom they have laboured and set up impressive schools and missions, that they are not leading us, as the Government is doing, into the darkness of the night.

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Things In General

Protest Against Safety Bill

About 200 people—most of them Natives—attended a mass meeting on the Grand Parade, Cape Town, last week to protest against the public Safety Bill. Organized by the Cape Western Advisory Boards and Vigilance Associations, the meeting passed a unanimous resolution deploring the attempt of the Nationalist Government to pass the Bill and thus remove the few remaining democratic rights of the non-European community. Mr. Albe Sachs, son of E. S. Sachs, who sailed for Europe on Friday, told the meeting that his father had not run away but had gone to an important job in Europe, where he would bring the state of affairs in Africa to the notice of millions. The speakers, who numbered 11, all emphasized the belief the South Africa was undemocratic and urged that the Government should not interfere in their election of Mr. Bunting as their member of Parliament. "We elected him because he was the best man we could get," one speaker said.

Moral Re-Armament

"I want to build bridges between South Africa and India," Mrs. Marie van Selm of Natal recently told a mass meeting of Indians in the Rajaji Hall, Madras, resting place of some of Mahatma Gandhi's ashes. Mrs. van Selm, who is touring India with the cast of the industrial play "The Forgotten Factor," has given her whole inheritance to further the work of Moral Re-Armament in Africa. She apologized to the Asia peoples for her superior attitude to other races. "Moral Re-armament is a common platform on which all races can meet. It is bringing new relationships in the gold mines of Johannesburg. Farmers are giving better housing and payment to their workers" said Mrs. van Selm. The meeting was presided over by Mr. Peter Howard, author and journalist, who said: "The greatest imperialistic power in the world today is the power of materialism. This power occupies the hearts and minds of the ordinary person and the statesman. It makes us accept lower standards than we should, both personally and nationally, we judge ourselves by our ideas and our neighbour by their actions. These are the hall-marks of materialism. We need a new attitude of living that rises above materialism."

East African Students In India

With the help of a Nairobi businessman, Mr. B. R. Capila, a party of 33 students have gone to India from East Africa. The party consists of 4 girls and 27 boys. The trip has been organized by Mr. and Mrs. Gautam, both of whom are teachers. Mrs. Nirmala Gautam, an art teacher in the Government Asian Girls School, Mombasa, praised Indian art and architecture. She said "your art galleries and museums are thrilling to watch. The different wooden and stone carvings, the idols and temple towers have made us realise what our ancient culture was." The party were special guests at the Republic Day parade. They have visited Bombay, Bangalore, Mysore, Madras, Puri, Calcutta, Tananagar, Patna, Benaras, Lucknow and Simla.

"Mr. M. A. Rahman, First Secretary to the Commissioner for Government of India in British East and Central Africa and his assistant Mr. Mahendar Singh arrived in Blantyre from Salisbury on 28th January. He was on his official visit to select four African candidates, two for the Government of India Cultural Scholarships and the other two for the Scholarships awarded by local donors, one by D. M. Patel and second jointly by Messrs J. S. Kanaber and Gobindaram. During his short stay of two days he visited local schools and met leading personalities of Indian and African communities at the residence of the Hon. Mr. P. Dayaram.

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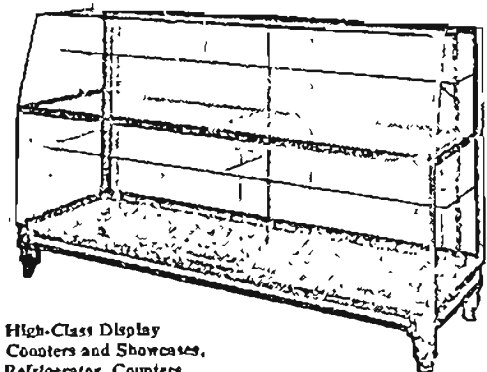
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INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, February 4

INDIAN REPUBLIC CELEBRATION

THE third anniversary of the Indian Republic was celebrated on January 26 with subdued emotions due to the uneasy economic condition of the masses, although there was the usual pomp and pageantry at the official functions. High prices, business depression and increasing unemployment are causing concern and hardships to the masses. From President down to the lowest leader exhorted the public to take a pledge to make the Five-Year Plan a success, as the economic future of the country depends on it.

The President, Dr. Rajendra-prasad, in his message to the nation declared that "India will continue her efforts for world peace, but may not 'appreciate' any move that may bring danger of war near her. Obviously he was referring to Pakistan's joining the Middle East Defence Organisation in the last sentence.

He revealed that the food position was improving and the examination of the claims of refugees from West Pakistan was nearing completion and the valuation of evacuee property was also going on apace.

The people paid their homage to the Father of the Nation—Mahatma Gandhi on 30th January, the fifth anniversary of his death. Tributes were paid in glowing terms to the architect of our freedom. Thousands of men, women and children went to Rajghat in the early morning to pay respect to Bapuji. Rajghat, where Bapuji was cremated, has become a centre of pilgrimage not only for Indians, but even foreign celebrities who visit Delhi do not miss the opportunity to visit Rajghat and lay a wreath and pay respect to the Apostle of Peace. Prayers, mass spinning and constructive work were the main features of the day's programme.

Correspondence has been going on between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan. Although the contents of the correspondence are not revealed officially, it is learned from reliable sources that Pandit Nehru again offered to solve all the disputes by direct negotiations and make a "no-war" declaration. Mr. Nazimudin, the Prime Minister

of Pakistan, rejected the proposal to make a "no-war" declaration by both the countries till the Kashmir question was solved and suggested that all the disputes, if not solved by direct negotiations, should be referred to arbitration. But Mr. Nehru, it is learnt, was not prepared to submit any matter involving basic principles to arbitration. Correspondence is still going on but is not expected to bear fruit.

Being unable to sell cotton and jute to foreign countries, Pakistan is thinking of negotiating a five years' trade agreement with India. India and Pakistan have come to an understanding with regard to making travel conditions easy between the two countries.

In the meanwhile, Mr. G. S. Bajpai, Governor of Bombay, who will lead the Indian delegation to Geneva for talks on Kashmir with high powered Pakistani delegation under United Nations mediator Mr. Graham, has left for Geneva. Sri Mangaldas Pakvasa has been appointed as the acting Governor of Bombay.

Justice Wanchoo, appointed by the Government of India to inquire into all separate aspects of Andhra Province, has completed his enquiry and he will submit his report in a few days. Andhra Congress Committee has presented a claim of Rs. 50 crores as compensation for Andhra from the residuary Madras State. Mr. Bhakhtavatsalam, Minister of Madras, has described this claim as fantastic and has opposed it. It is believed that the new Andhra State may come into existence by next June. Meanwhile separate budgets prepared by Madras State show that Andhra Province will have an annual deficit of Rs. 5 crores.

The Supreme Court has dismissed the appeal preferred by Syed Kasim Razi against the judgment of the Special Tribunal sentencing him to seven years rigorous imprisonment in Bibinagar Dacoity case.

Agitation continues against Sales Tax in Saurashtra. Satyagraha, which was suspended for a few days was resumed on Saturday last. Hartal has broken down and almost all the shops are now open. The merchant community seems to be tired of this fruitless agitation and their interest in the struggle is waning. There was again a clash between the agitators and the police, in which about forty people were injured. The Government released three leaders of the agitation from the jail. They are refusing to take the leadership of Satyagraha now.

Relief works are being started in famine-stricken districts of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

There has been a spate of litigation challenging the validity of one or the other Act on constitutional grounds, since the new constitution came into force, Jamindari Abolition Acts of various States were challenged in various courts without success. Now Orissa High Court has held Orissa Estates Abolition Act valid and dismissed the petition of eight Jamindars of Oanjam district.

President inaugurated the Indian Academy of Dance, Drama and Music at Delhi. Two other Academies, Academy of Art and Academy of Letters will be opened in the near future.

RHODESIA NEWS

(From Our Livingstone Correspondent)

MR. FENNER BROOKWAY, Labour Member of British Parliament, who recently visited Kenya, is reported by Reuter to have said that British methods against Mau Mau Secret society in Kenya might destroy the organisation but would intensify its spirit. The new emergency regulations empowering the authorities to confiscate property would increase bitterness that caused violence.

Mr. Fenner Brookway says "unless something immediate and imaginative is done to win confidence of the African people there is a danger of racial conflict from Capetown to Nairobi."

"The Labour Government" says Mr. Brookway, "had converted suspicions of millions of Asians in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma to an attitude of goodwill. Something of that kind could be done in Africa. It had already been achieved in Gold Coast where self-government had largely been introduced."

Proceeding further, Mr. Brookway observes, "conditions vary in different colonies but in each of the colonies Britain should fix in consultation with representatives of African organisations, a target date for self-government. Britain had only to do this to win at once co-operation of African people. Such a plan would enable Africa

to become a continent of racial harmony."

Central African Federation

Central African federation conference just ended last week in London. The report was signed by Sir Godfrey Huggins, Lord Swinton, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Sir Gilbert Rennie and Sir Geoffrey Colby.

Sir Godfrey Huggins the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister said at a Press conference: "If Southern Rhodesia cannot link politically and economically with Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, she will find herself isolated between two extreme policies—one in West Africa and the other in the South."

Mr. Roy Welensky, leader of the Europeans said: "We have now reached a stage when the decision to federate has got to be taken. If this opportunity is missed, I doubt if it will ever come again."

The new Federation will group together nearly seven million people—6,500,000 Africans, 200,000 Europeans and 15,000 Asiatics.

Mr. O. W. Gulleband, arbitrator in the pay dispute between the African Mineworkers Union and the mining companies awarded pay increases of from 1/2 for African miners groups and 1/8 a shift in the higher groups.

Bharat Wins The Castle Shield

The final league positions for the Castle Shield, are as follows:

Name	Played	Won outright	Lost outright	Won on ratting	Lost on ratting	Draw	Points
Bharat	6	4	-	1	1	1	29
Barbarians	6	2	1	1	-	1	21
Sables	6	2	2	1	-	1	19
Lions	6	2	2	1	-	1	19
Liberalians	6	1	3	1	-	1	13
Alpha Barbs	6	-	3	2	1	1	13
Victoria Falls	6	1	2	-	2	1	13

NYASA CHIEFS OPPOSE FEDERATION

CHIEF MWASE presided over the Conference of Nyasaland African Chiefs held at Lilongwe last year and at which the following resolutions were passed:

1. This Conference of Chiefs re-affirms the decision that African people of Nyasaland reject federation in principle and condemn the propaganda being carried on by the so-called Round Table talks, presided over by responsible Government officers directed at persuading Africans to accept federation.

2. This Conference deplores the fact that the Secretary for South African Affairs, Provincial Commissioners, Administrative Officers and officers of various Government departments have engaged themselves on propaganda work to persuade Africans to accept federation despite the Africans' solid opposition.

3. This Conference of Chiefs regrets to know that the Government is encouraging and making use of people of doubted honesty to preach a new way in trying to get the Chiefs and their people to agree to federation against their free consent, and in the face of their strong and solid opposition to the whole federation scheme. As a result of this action on the part of Government, the Chiefs and their people have lost confidence in the Government of Nyasaland.

4. Furthermore, this conference of Chiefs refutes the allegations made that Nyasaland African Congress influenced and is still influencing the Chief in rejecting federation in principle, as the Chiefs themselves clearly understand the implications which federation would bring into their country.

5. This Conference of Chiefs wishes to testify that to the best of their knowledge, the Nyasaland African Congress has never engaged itself in intimidation as has often been alleged by supporters of federation in order to stop Africans to accept federation; and wishes to certify wholeheartedly that the Congress has all along been working in the best interests of Africans and peace and order of the country in general. That the Congress has not at any time indicated to interfere with the existence of Chiefs or their hereditary duties.

6. That this Conference of Chiefs views with concern the action taken by Government officials intimidating African civil servants with either dismissal or forced transfer.

7. That this Conference re-affirms their natural claim that Nyasaland is a country belonging to the indigenous people, protected by treaty with H.M.G. that no law could be enacted by any Government to entitle any other races to become lawful inhabitants of this God-given land without the express consent of the Africans themselves.

8. That this Conference demands the following constitutional changes to enable the African people of this country to have full share in the Government of Nyasaland:

(a) African members of District Councils to be elected or selected by the Africans themselves, and that the chairman be an African.

(b) African members of Provincial Councils be elected or selected by Africans and that the chairman be an African.

(c) African members of Protectorate Council be elected or selected by Africans and that the chairman be an African.

(d) African members of the Legislative Council be increased to 18, and that these members be elected or selected by Africans themselves.

(e) Africans be elected or selected by members of Protectorate Council to be members of Executive Council."

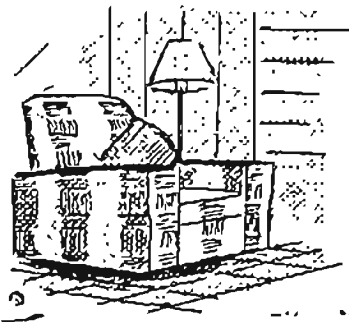
The Conference sent the following telegram to the Colonial Secretary: "Chiefs and African people of Nyasaland send their sincere and undivided loyalty to Her Majesty the Queen and the British Throne. Strongly adhere to the treaties made between Her Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria with the Chiefs and African people of Nyasaland. Strongly reaffirm their unanimous opposition to federation in principle. Stoutly reject further discussions on federation proposals. Sending delegation."

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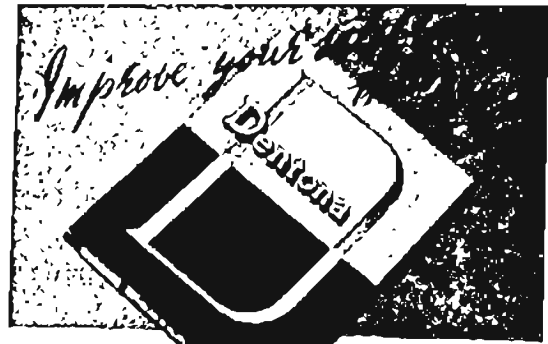
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