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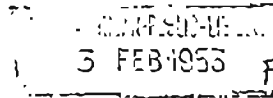
FRIDAY,
30TH JANUARY, 1953

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INDIAN

OPINION



Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903



Imagine a world without God, and then we shall see: Without God the Universe loses its meaning; without God our ideals are dreams and our hopes are bubbles; without God's faith feet stand on nothing; without God man sinks down, essentially to the level of the brute. But with God, a real God, and a God of infinite wisdom and love, the Universe is alive, hope lights eternal fires; love reigns in all worlds; and there is no good thing on earth or in heaven that is not waiting to be ours.

—J. T. Sunderland.



Not all the armies of all the empires of earth can crush the spirit of one true man and that one man will prevail.

—Terence MacSweney.



Long, long is the way, rugged is the ground and the weary steps must be trodden with bleeding feet, and bleeding hearts.

—Dr. Rash Behari Ghose.

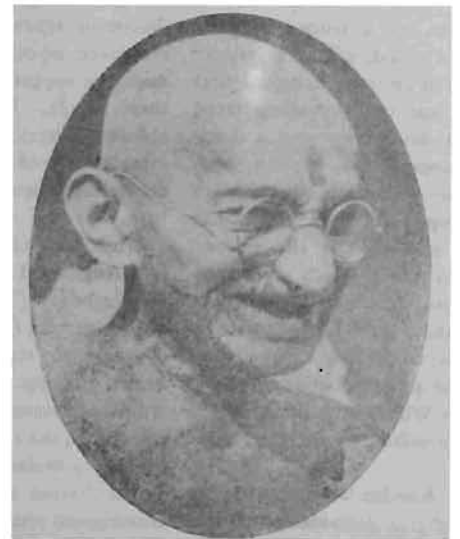


THUS SPAKE THE MAHATMA . . .

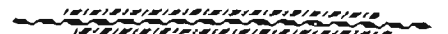
In every great cause it is not the number of fighters that count, but it is the quality of which they are made that becomes the deciding factor. The greatest prophets, Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed—they all stood alone . . . But they had living faith in themselves and their God, and believing as they did that God was on their side, they never felt lonely.

★ ★ ★

Passive Resistance cannot proceed a step without fearlessness. Those alone can follow the path to the end who are free from fear, whether as to their possessions, their false honour, their relatives, the government, bodily injuries or death.



Five years ago on this day we lost him . . . With choked voices and bended heads, with heavy hearts and welling tears . . . we lost a prince among men—God lived in him and he lived in God. Even now we long for the touch of that vanished hand and the voice that is no more . . . and no more that divine touch to soothe. His stature reached the heavens—the greatest man of our ages gone by and ages to come.



INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 30TH JANUARY, 1953

Talk Of A Truce

THERE have been talks of a truce on the resistance front for some time now. Its advocates, who include outstanding men on all sides of the colour line, argue that the defiance campaign has made a definite impression on the White people of South Africa and that it has done this in such a permanent way that the Government has been forced to recognise it.

In view of these two facts and with an eye on the general elections in another two or three months, these people have for some time now been urging the leaders of the resistance movement to call a truce. Such a move, it is said, will be a realistic gesture of goodwill designed first to prevent the prevailing racial tension developing into a deadlock; second, to impress and, therefore strengthen, that section of European opinion which has begun to recognise the reasonableness with which the non-European has put forward his case and, thirdly, to create a situation which might make consultation and negotiation between the non-Whites and those White sections willing to do this, possible.

The case for a truce seen in this light is formidable. If the non-Europeans can declare a truce at this stage they would not lose the initiative which they have bought at very great cost—in terms of human suffering and sacrifices. On the other hand, one of the immediate gains would be the creation of a situation in which the Europeans would have to demonstrate their own goodwill by returning a slightly better Government than Dr. Malan's, free from duress.

In this light, such a truce would not in any way be the abandonment of anything by the resisters. On the contrary, it would strengthen their case immeasurably by showing that the non-European appreciates the difficulties with which some of his White countrymen are faced

and that in so far as lies in his power, he is not willing to do anything to complicate things for them unnecessarily. This, we believe, is the case of the advocates of a truce in a nutshell.

The other side of the case deserves to be stated as well. The resister notes with appreciation that his sacrifices have made a favourable impression on sections of European opinion. He notes, also, that this section has not gone out of its way to show much understanding of his own difficulties. Add to this the fact that the Government is drafting draconian legislation to crush the resistance movement in which it might be supported by some of these people. In fact, "reasonableness" has not stopped the introduction of the hated influx control measures at Port Elizabeth.

While men of goodwill might be strengthened by a truce the resister believes that it would be a futile gesture for him to say he is going to strengthen an unknown quantity. With the Government determined to be unreasonable, the resister feels that for him to declare a truce would be justification of everything the Government has done to date to humiliate the non-European people and would enable the Malanites to go to the country and say: "See? We cracked the whip and the leaders of the resistance movement went skulking into their funk-holes. Firmness is what the non-Whites understand. If you return us to power, we promise to deal more firmly with them and make mincemeat of the resistance campaign."

It should be recognised that the resister regards himself as a man of honour and principle and rightly believes that in the face of brutality and unreason, with which there can be no compromise, he would rather go down fighting than capitulate in the vain hope that the race-haters might see better reason.

A complicating factor is the attitude of the United Party, which might form the next Government. In the fight against Malanism, it does not fight with the will to win. This weakness places the resister in the position where he has every reason to fear that he might fall into a trap where he might be betrayed by the very people whom he shall have helped to come to power. In the absence of any definite and concrete proposals for reform, the resister has every right to doubt the intentions of the United Party.

In our view, however, the South African situation is more than normally complicated and where opportunities present themselves of reasonable and honourable compromises, neither the non-Europeans nor the Whites should let them go. Equality with the Whiteman does not and should never mean that we non-Whites have everything our own way. It means as it should mean that at all times we shall gladly meet the other man as far as we would like him to meet us.

Against this background, the call for a truce is something that deserves the serious consideration of the leaders of the non-White people. Particularly is this the case when it is remembered that as these remarks are being written Parliament has before it a motion by Col. Pilkington-Jordan asking the Government to meet the accredited leaders of the non-European people. The motion is obviously supported by the United Party, of which Col. Pil-

kington-Jordan is a member. The South African Labour Party has already committed itself to consultation with the non-Europeans. Even the Liberals, through the Institute of Race Relations, are working on plans to meet the leaders of the non-European people.

From these moves it is quite clear that the anti-Malan sections of White opinion want to meet the non-European people. The principle is one which should be acceptable to men and women who have pledged themselves to use only persuasion and non-violence to ensure respect for their wishes. The terms on which such consultation shall be made is strictly a matter for the leaders of non-European thought.

The non-Europeans would be quite justified in ignoring the appeals for a truce—because there always lurks behind them the threat of treachery, either intended or not intended. The non-European can argue that he has not got the time to waste taking risks with the destiny of ten million souls. But if we want to build a united nation and not just set up a black tyranny in place of the White, we shall do well to remember that a statesman can afford to negotiate from strength. And the situation in which all of us as South Africans are, calls for statesmanship. For this reason alone, a positive response to the appeals for a truce until after the elections is something which the leaders of the resistance movement should sincerely and urgently consider.

NOTES

Parliament To Be Asked To Seek Non-European Co-Operation

Notice of a motion that it was essential, in the interest of national unity and internal peace, that the Government should seek the co-operation of accredited and responsible non-European leaders, with a view to the removal of existing racial tension, was given in the Assembly today by Col. R. D. P. Jorban (U.P., Rondebosch.)

Institute To Convene Interracial Conference

A nation-wide conference of responsible people from all races is soon to be called by the Institute of Race Relations. This was decided at the Institute's council meeting in Cape-

town. The resolution said that as it was urgently necessary to re-establish contact with all races this conference should be called without delay. The council welcomed the establishment of labour bureaux with their aims to increase the Africans' chances of finding work and to reduce the African labour wastage provided these bureaux were not the only means through which Africans could find work. Mr. J. D. Reinhardt Jones was re-elected president.

D.R.C. Worried By Officials' Discourtesy To Africans

The discourtesy towards Natives sometimes shown by States and railway officials is listed by the "Kerkbode," organ of the biggest Dutch Reformed Church, as

complicating factor in South Africa's race problems. Quoting an account of Native urbanization by Prof N. J. J. Olivier, the "Kerkbode" states in a leading article that only a minute proportion of the Africans streaming into the cities are Christians and a high percentage are almost completely uncivilized. "What they learn from their first encounter with White people is certainly not calculated to simplify this great problem. "At the third-class ticket office, the police station, the labour bureau and other points of contact things do not always go well. 'He who has an ear to hear overhears more than one rough word that makes one shudder, while the strictly matter-of-fact attitude typical of the ordinary official—and excepted of him—does not leave much room for humane, let alone Christian considerations. "High wages, bad reading matter, strong temptations, much drink and a crowd of other dangers confront these inpouring masses, but the friendly word and Christian helpfulness are far to seek in our over-hasty society." The "Kerkbode" appeals to every believing Afrikaner to become a missionary by word and deed in his own surroundings.

Government Paper Demands Indian Boycott

"Transvaler" (Nationalist) suggests a boycott of Indian traders by Europeans as a means of persuading Indians to leave the country. "There is fear among the Indians that the Apartheid laws of the Government will in the long run compel them to leave the Union in large numbers," says the newspaper. "If this should come about few Europeans and non-Europeans would shed a tear. "The time has arrived when every member of the public should help to speed the departure of the Indians. We have often remarked on the sad phenomenon that Afrikaners, who are an example to their fellowmen in different spheres, still buy from Indians, thus jeopardising the future of their own people and their posterity. "Let all Europeans stop buying from Indians for six months and the problem will be half solved already. Everything cannot be expected of the authorities, and success can only be attained if the public plays its part. Can anyone who calls himself a Nationalist refuse to help?"

Afrikaner Clergyman On Whiteman's Fears

Total apartheid was fair and liberal if it was fairly and liberally applied, the Rev. I. Reyneke,

an executive member of the South African Institute of Race Relations said at the Institute's discussion on racial tension and racial policies in Cape Town to day. A policy of integration," he said, "might lead to the creation of a non-White block holding the balance of power. This block might force the passing of legislation leading to universal adult suffrage. "It is not inconceivable that in 30 years time all adults in South Africa—Black and White, educated and uneducated, civilised and uncivilised—will have this suffrage. Then we will have a new tyranny—the tyranny of numbers. "If this comes to pass, many White people will say "This is no place for me.' "But the Afrikaners will say 'We cannot withdraw. South Africa is our home. We have no back door. We must hold what we have. We can see what is coming and wish to prevent it.' On the policy of the institute, Mr. Reyneke said, "we are here to create good relation between Black and White. We must champion the cause of the non-Whites, help them and comfort them. But don't let us forget that by placing one section of the community we may harm the race relations we are seeking to promote. "We must consider the good things, the positive accomplishments. The Government will spend £8,000,000 this year on African education. There are more African children at school in South Africa than White—but you won't hear Michael Scott say that at U.N."

Indians Pass Resolution

On Defiance

The steering committee on the 58th session of the Indian National Congress passed a resolution calling on the "civilised" nations to look upon the struggle of the satyagrahis—passive resisters in the spirit of the late Mahatma Gandhi—in South Africa as a "struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality." The resolution called upon South Africans of Indian origin to support the passive resistance movement and to share the "sacrifices" of the resisters. The resolution also referred to the Union Government's "offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilised nations."

A European's Fine Gesture

We must take note here of a wonderfully pleasant experience our representative had in Durban last week. He had gone to some Indian merchant to collect

funds for a school being built at the Phoenix Settlement. A European quite a stranger to our representative overheard the conversation he was having with the Indian merchant and without any solicitation offered to donate the sum of £10—10—0 because he considered the cause of education to be a great cause, for the future of the world depended on the enlightenment our children received and which allowed of no distinction based on class, colour or creed. The greatness of the gesture was in the spirit in which it was made. We are profoundly grateful to this European friend.

Medical Journal On Skin Colour

Colour in the human skin depends on many factors, some hereditary and some environmental, but not all of them known, according to an editorial in the latest issue of the 'South African Medical Journal.' Although it is fairly certain that skin colour is determined genetically, it is by no means certain, how many pairs of genes control it, states the article. "But," it continues, "there is too much subjective bias in these matters, and adequate and effective research into this important problem will not be possible until prejudice has been eliminated, so that an objective reassessment can be made. An appreciation is necessary of the underlying principles and arbitrary assumptions determining the features of race; but the way in which skin colour is inherited should make clear the dangers of relying on her layman's concept of how these things are determined." Skin colour and hair form are not correlated, states the journal, and these traits are inherited independently. But, what is "perfectly clear on the basis of the genetical determination of skin colour," is that a child born of Coloured parents, but with a skin indistinguishable from that of a White child has a skin as pure "as that of the original Caucasian ancestor."

Israel Delegation To U.N. Condemns Racialism

Speaking on racialism in South Africa, Mr. S. Ellisbir, Israel delegate to U.N. said, "this question has a special significance for my delegation. In the course of their long history, my people have known only too intimately the full meaning of racial discrimination and are sensitive to its implications whenever they occur. It is the consideration of our own

history and of general principles which must guide our policy in any case where the issue of discrimination arises.' He added, "We hope that the Union of South Africa will realise the ever-growing sensitivity of many people and states in regard to the matter under discussion. We hope, too, that the Union of South Africa will find the way to comply with the wishes of the majority of this organisation." In conclusion he said, "If this discussion will lead to direct negotiations between the parties with the aim of finding an honourable solution—it will mean great progress along the path of the peaceful co-existence of different peoples of differing origins and races."

Churches Condemn Race

Bias

All forms of racial discrimination were strongly condemned by members of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches meeting at Chichester (U.K.) After a long discussion in private, the committee reaffirmed the Amsterdam Assembly's protest against the exploitation of non-self-governing peoples and the flagrant violation of human rights, involved in racial discrimination. Mr. Clifford Morehouse, of the United States Protestant Episcopal Church, said that the churches had failed to act on recommendations of racial equality made by the Amsterdam Assembly, and he urged that no further statement should be made until the local churches had carried out these resolutions in their day-to-day life. Mr. Kenneth Grubb (Great Britain), chairman of the Commission of the Churches of International Affairs said that Christian leaders of liberal outlook in South Africa had told them that it would not be advisable at the moment to issue an emphatic protest about the present situation there. Dr. Henry S. Lelper (U.S.A.) told a press conference later of a Negro who, after being asked to leave a white church in America, was told, "We hope you don't feel badly about this." The Negro replied, "Oh no, I was telling the Lord about it in my prayers, and he said, 'Son, you don't need to worry, I have been trying to get into that church myself for 25 years!'

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LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

COMMUNISTS ADVOCATE A NEW RACIALISM

By C. W. M. GELL

OUR South African Communists, both European and non-European, have always posed as the only sincere champions of racial equality and, conversely, as the only effective opponents of racial discrimination. The recent outburst of anti-Semitism throughout Eastern Europe and Russia must, therefore, lead to a good deal of heart-searching among those genuine idealists who have felt drawn to Communism for racial reasons.

Of course, I am not writing this article in the vain hope of converting any confirmed Communists who have already surrendered their consciences and intellectual freedom in the blind pursuit of an inexorable dialectic of history and the infallibility of the Universal Communist Party and its Russian directors. Such people have so toughened their digestive systems by generations of eating their own words that they are now willing to swallow anything and say they like it. They were organising resistance to fascism throughout the Western world in 1933-8, sabotaging the war effort of the "imperialists" in 1939-41 (after the Stalin-Hitler pact), leading the same imperial war effort in 1941-5 (after Germany had attacked Russia), turning again to industrial sabotage after 1945 (during the "friendly" period that preceded the Cold War), and finally trying to wreck the economic recovery of Western Europe by thwarting the Marshall Plan (though they only succeeded in their own satellite, Czechoslovakia).

Anyone who believes that this chauvinistic record is inspired by the desire to better the lot of the common man has lost the use of his critical faculties. Its sole motive is the furthering of the long-range strategy of the Communist Party, (1) to consolidate its power and control in the Russian heartland ("socialism in one country first") and (2) to disrupt the economic and political strength of the non-Communist rimlands with a view to installing their Communist Parties in power by a *coup d'état*. These two current processes were seen at work in the three years after the war, during which nine once-independent nations in Eastern Europe became Soviet satellites. The only one which has recovered its independence, while retaining its Communism, began with a strong indigenous Communist movement which the others lack-

ed. But the outcasting of Jugoslavia from the Communist fold refutes those few unswerving devotees who still maintain that the People's Democracies are both genuinely democratic (i.e. represent the majority opinion of their countrymen) and genuinely independent. We of the world outside the Iron Curtain might have given Communism the benefit of the doubt in regard to Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary, which were previously governed by feudal and semi-fascist autocracies. We were very doubtful, though badly informed, about the Baltic states. We were pretty sure that the Russians were lying about Poland. But we were downright certain when Czechoslovakia's turn came. It has been that unhappy country's melancholy privilege to provide the final irrefutable proof of, first, German intentions (March 1939) and then Russia (1945).

And it may, therefore, be no coincidence that this most "western" of Slav nations was the focal point of the new anti-Semitism. For of all the Slav peoples the Czechs—the Bohemians of history—have the longest and most valiant record of intellectual independence in the face of the most adverse political conditions. No thoughtful observer of the present tragedy seriously doubts that among the reasons for the newest persecution is the intellectual individualism, religious distinctiveness and international contacts of the Jews, which factors would be more operative in Czechoslovakia than elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Every violent revolution eventually consumes its revolutionaries. Because of their intellectual heritage Jews have always been among the revolutionary leaders of Eastern Europe. But for this very reason these same men become a danger to the monolithic police dictatorship of the Communist Party (the mis-called "dictatorship of the proletariat"), when the latter is trying to consolidate its power into a permanent form. Having become the Bonaparte of the Russian revolution, the Kremlin clique now has to purge its "deviationists," its go-ahead revolutionaries as well as its counter-revolutionaries. In these circumstances the turn of the Jews was as sure to come sooner or later as that of the Ukrainians, Armenians and other racial minorities.

Personally, I shed no tears over Slansky and his associates.

Having plotted successfully the overthrow of their country's freedom against the undoubted wishes of a large majority of its population, they ironically received from their political friends the fate they very justly deserved at the hands of those they betrayed. It is not their well-earned execution that one mourns, but the palpably false grounds on which principally they were convicted. For by identifying them against all the reasonable evidence with Zionism, the Communist authorities have deliberately paved the way for a new persecution of the 500,000 Jews remaining in East Europe and the 2 million or so in Russia—common people leading undistinguished lives.

To pretend that this is just a recrudescence of the Nazi type of anti-Semitism would flatter the Communists. It is both more or less than that. Less, because anti-Semitism was one of the cardinal, evil principles underlying the whole Nazi *herrenvolk* ideology. Communism, as such, is not racialistic and, indeed, is opposed in principle to all forms of racialism. But the new persecution is more horribly immoral even than the Nazi business because, while the latter was faithfully following its own filthy principles, the Communist form of anti-Semitism represents a shameless, cynical betrayal of professed principles in the interests either of preserving the present Soviet regime or of an unabashed political opportunism. Possibly the Russian motives combine something of both these elements. The evidence accumulates of a gigantic purge throughout Russia and Russian-controlled countries in which Jews are prominent victims and which may be either a failing Stalin's death struggle against younger competitors or a mortal combat to decide his successor. Equally strong, however, is the evidence that Russia is seeking to make the maximum trouble for the Western powers in the strategically important, rich oil-bearing lands of the Middle East by exploiting the Arab hostility to the Jews and Israel. An abortive coup in Pakistan two years ago, Communist provoked riots in Persia and Egypt, the present unrest in Iraq, the activity of the Russian embassy in Beirut and personal attacks on Israeli ministers all point in the same direction. That Russia was one of the chief original sponsors of Israel, which is something the notably short-memory Arabs now overlook, would count for nothing against Israel's refusal to become a semi-satellite and her continuing but unavailing efforts to secure the emigration of Eastern Euro-

pean and Russian Jews to a new and freer motherland.

I am not mainly concerned here with Russia's real motives which we cannot yet know with certainty. The point I want to make is that the whole basis of present Communist philosophy is so false that dishonouring of international, legal and moral obligations as well as the ruthless disregard for human life and of declared principles, whenever an opportunist advantage seems to present itself, are only to be expected from such rotten premises. Communism, first of all, says that this world is all. We do not live, as all the great spiritual traditions assert *sub specie aeternitatis* (under the gaze of eternity); we live only to make this best of this world. Anything that improves material existence—the greatest material good of the greatest number which only the "dictatorship of the proletariat" is supposed to be able to achieve—therefore justifies itself and any means whatsoever used to attain that improvement. Secondly, since this world is all and man has no soul which is part of the Great Spiritual Principle, individual men are unimportant. They are expendable units of a social mass moving forward under a new regimentation to its predestined heaven on earth. Individual persons, communities, races, nations may be sacrificed at will in order to advance "the cause," which in practice has come to mean the Party interests within a Communist society and Russia expansionist ambitions in international affairs. This practice is a slight, but only a slight, deviation from basic Communist theory. For this envisages, thirdly, an inexorable dialectical materialism—that is, an inevitable, irreversible historical process by which power passes from economic classes to class until it finally comes to reside in the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as a prelude to "withering away." Strictly speaking, the frantic activities of Communist agents are largely unnecessary, since they only seek to hasten something that will come to pass anyway. But since this world is all, each man will naturally try to bring heaven in a being before he himself passes into oblivion and, in any case, the Hegelian Marxist dialectic provides the perfect justification for every human action—that whatever happens is good because it is part of an inevitable process towards a desired end. Such an outlook, in which consideration of right and wrong are irrelevant, can only lead to the most thoroughgoing material selfishness. And that, in fact, is what Communism essentially is. For nothing in history (either before

his day or after) conform to Marx's arbitrary termination of the struggle for power process. A power group of proletariats does not differ fundamentally from any other power group. As one group succeeds another and establishes its own privileges, the "withering" process recedes indefinitely into an unrealisable future.

Communism's great appeal is, however, based upon a misunderstanding of its philosophical implications. Of those who embrace Communism freely and do not have it imposed on them, the small intellectual elite of genuine idealists are captivated by a creed which promises to effect so great a degree of social justice. They do not at first see that the lack of scruple which the theory encourages and the practical politics of its historical emergence must preclude the attainment of its ideal. Bad means never reach good ends, for ends and means are inseparable parts of each other. These idealists are not, in fact, dedicating themselves to the high ideals which Communism proclaims, but to a small group's interpretation of those ideals at a particular moment in history, which is a very different thing. And they must accept of the unquestioning loyalty of automata every tactical somersault and about-turn dictated by that group in its callous pursuit of monetary tactical advantage. This is in practice the very reverse of idealism, but by the time the usual idealistic recruit realises it he is too deeply involved (or his mind has become too irreparably warped) to back out. He is by then irretrievably committed to undeviating subservience to the policies of his Party and his State in a pragmatism unparalleled in history.

And the great majority of willing adherents to Communism have so little to lose that they accept blindly a system which promises them the earth and their fortunate neighbour's riches as well. Communism seems to such people to be all things to all people. What they have to realise is that it is only so for as long as it suits it to be so—i.e. for as long as it suits the immediate purpose as the local Communist Party or Russia's imperial policy.

Many of the first category of Communists joined the movement in the '30's in a genuine revulsion from Nazi anti-Semitism. Many of these Communist recruits were Jews. Today the Communist press in Western Europe, which is skilled in the art of standing on its head, explains that Slansky and his colleagues were not executed for what they were, but for what they did. But they were made to confess to having done some-

thing which they almost certainly did not do, something which raised a suspicion against all Jews in Communist countries. Their "confessions" deliberately implicated a whole racial group which once again is now suffering dispossession and the concentration camp (in East Germany under former Nazi police officials). Despite the theory, this is racialism in practice and Communist attempts to pretend otherwise remind me of Dr. Malan's claim that the Group Areas Act is non-discriminatory.

An alliance with the Communists offers our non Europeans in South Africa no more abiding hope than the Jews of realising their legitimate aspirations. At best they might exchange a pigmentocracy for a class autocracy which would probably liquidate the pigmentary aristocracy but would even more certainly subordinate the development of this country to the needs of a European homeland and the freedom of the individual to the rigid, ever watchful discipline of the Party and the secret police (of a far more efficient brand than our present types). At worst, it would use the coloured peoples of Africa for as long as they were helpful in Russia's power politics and sacrifice them without compunction or regret when some other advantage offered.

Russia is now wooing the Muslim world. I remember seeing the few surviving Kazaks straggle in a north-west India in the later years of the last war. This nomadic Muslim people of several

hundred thousand trekked from their steppes in central Asia rather than submit to forcible abandonment of their religious freedom and their conversion into an industrial proletariat. After a painful, persecuted journey of many thousand miles, the few remaining thousands crossed the Karakoram into India, a weary, starving, emaciated, plundered remnant. They had been found to be "unassimilable"—a term whose overtones we understand well in this country. They suffered and died because in the land of no racial discrimination they valued their own racial and religious traditions, neither seeking to impose nor be imposed upon. And that is the fate of millions of Jews today in the Communist states—ordinary men and women leading humble lives, most of them, tortured because of race, because their persecution may assist Communist power politics and intrigue in other lands. If there is good and evil, the system that does thing is evil, and its ethos unutterably immoral.

Perhaps I may be allowed to recall words I wrote in an article last year: "The case against anti-Semitism or any other form of racial intolerance among Europeans is exactly the same in principle as the case against the *baaskap*—that it is a denial of the Oneness of humanity or the intrinsic value of the individual personality." Since the class theory of Communism denies the first and its materialism the second of these two humanist

doctrines, the inhumanity of Communist practice is not accidental, but a logical and inescapable consequence of its inhumane philosophy.

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' and 'Candid Opinion.' Readers are requested to kindly to send further suggestions.

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Photo shows some of the delegates to the Gandhian Seminar laying a floral wreath on the sacred 'samadhi' to pay homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi.

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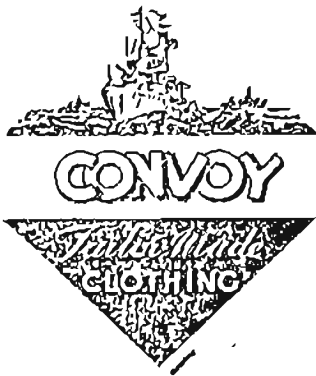
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

HEADING FOR TROUBLED WATERS

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

ONE of the greatest triumphs of the resistance movement has been to make people in all racial and political camps think seriously over the problems which gave rise to the defiance campaign. Perhaps nowhere has this been so noticeable as in the White community. For this reason, events in that community at the moment move so rapidly that the careless might lose count of them.

A case in point is the attempt being made to bring into being an all-White organisation which will enjoy enough African confidence to make racial co-operation between the African and the White people once more attractive.

It would appear that already, two different groups of White people are rivals for the African's favours. On the one hand are those who met recently in Johannesburg and formed themselves into a South African People's Congress. On the other are the men and women—mainly liberals and university people—who are trying to agree on a political programme which will restore South Africa to the path of racial sanity.

The first group—the Whitemen who have brought into being the South African People's Congress—is reported to have already been given the blessing of the African National and the South African Indian Congresses. Its declared aims are to remove every form of colour bar as well as to give every South African the opportunity to rise to any height to which his abilities might entitle him. This is a courageous statement of intentions; something very necessary in the present times when White people who claim to be democrats hesitate and equivocate; torn between loyalty to Christ and democracy, on the one hand and crude self interest, on the other.

The second group—the liberals, do not seem to be quite clear on what they want and do not seem to agree, as these notes are being written, on how to work for its realisation.

This is unfortunate in the extreme—although the attitudes and behaviour of the two groups might or might not be eloquent. The very name of the South African People's Congress is rightly or wrongly suggestive. People's Congresses, Leagues and Associations the world over, have varied in their political hues from rose pink to red. In

South Africa the red political colour has been proscribed by law. But the law has not made political pinkness a crime. For this reason, if the average African sees in the new South African People's Congress an organisation with a predilection for going socialistic, he would not be entirely to blame. It would be for the new Congress to convince him that it is not what its name suggests it might be.

This body might be seen also from the narrowly African standpoint. In this light, I am surprised how the African National Congress in particular could have been so unimaginative as to bring into being a political group with whose ultimate intentions it might not agree. Either a stupidity one cannot explain has enfeebled the Congress mind or the Congress is fast losing its political soul.

Whether the Congress in the Transvaal was aware of it or not, it seems to have plunged headlong into a political trap whose ultimate aim is to crush the spirit of African Nationalism. At the moment there are people in this country, people belonging to certain political camps from the extreme left to the extreme right, who plot and scheme by day and by night to influence Congress policies in the direction of their own choosing. The South African People's Congress might be quite a harmless organisation of honest White men and women who seek to restore South Africa to the path of racial sanity. Or, it might not be. It might be a "front" by which ideologies hostile to the cause of the African seek to undermine the African National Congress itself and finally neutralise the spirit of African Nationalism. They would then one day set up the People's Congress as the voice of the oppressed people of South Africa and set before our people goals we had never dreamt to attain for ourselves.

In these days Congress leaders cannot say they have been too careful or circumspect. The African National Congress has, by taking a firm stand against Malan'sism, shown that it is the only political body with the courage to take and strike blows effectively against oppression and the tyranny of colour. In this connection it finds itself attracting all sorts of political friends and allies; some of them

genuine; some distinctly parasitical in intent and others with clearly treacherous motives.

Of course one cannot label an organisation before it has shown by deed what its real purpose is. For this reason, it would be wrong and unfair to accuse the South African People's Congress of having any particular motive, other than what it has made known to be its goal. But even the White members of this body will be fair enough to realise that the African can't afford to be credulous. If we are suspicious and seek to be assured that we have nothing to fear from political organisations which want to work with us, it is because our experiences of working with similar organisations in the past have produced the unhappiest results.

I do not, by this, mean to throw suspicion on the motives of the South African People's Congress. But I do suggest that, firstly, the name is very unfortunate because in the African's mind it has connotations of something which is basically anti-African and, secondly, that it is in the interest of the African people themselves to be a little wary about jumping into the arms of White political pressure groups whose political hue they do not actually know.

This is particularly the case at the moment because almost every White pressure or political group, from the extreme right to the extreme left is making every effort to build a bridge between itself and the African people. Even the apartheidists spend time, money and thought to win over the African. The Institute of Race Relations has arranged a national conference to build its own type of bridge between itself and the Africans. Other groups are equally at work to set up their own bridges. In these circumstances the African National Congress needs to show an independence of thought which a body leading 9,000,000 voteless souls should show. It seems to me Congress on this occasion has been in such a haste to join with the White people that it has lost its sense of perspective.

And this haste will be particularly tragic if it transpires later that the White people who are truly behind the South African People's Congress are either from the extreme left working underground or are the agents of apartheid. If they are neither, well and good.

The liberals, of course, have not concealed their own political hue. They are trying to strike a mean between the "hasten slowly" school and the younger men and women who realise that now is no longer the

time to do that because it is no longer the Whiteman who sets the pace of political progress but the African. Since the African does, he will insist on his own terms for co-operation. Most of the liberals cannot as yet shake themselves off from the mentality in which they think of themselves as members of a ruling caste. Consequently their hedging about is a means to strike a bargain with the African which will not expose them to the charge of being disloyal to a social order which gave them exclusive privilege. Alternatively, very many of them might not be convinced that the evils we are fighting are evils at all. They might be irritants and pinpricks, as so many of them often say.

But even they, when finally they do come up with their own group, will have to be treated with care—just as we plead that the African National Congress should have been less hasty in committing itself to working hand in hand with the South African People's Congress, if Press reports reflect the position in correct light.

On the other hand White awakening to the fact that the African is now a political power to reckon with is very healthy. But our leaders must always be very careful to ensure that they do not follow policies where the African National Congress is merely the stooge of one non-African political group or the other. A leader who betrays Africa's pride in that way is a false African Nationalist and a traitor to Africa.

Finally, the leaders of the African National Congress owe their people the duty to make a clear, public statement outlining the beacons by which their policy is guided in their relations or dealings with non-African political organisations and pressure groups. I realise that there is a certain timidity about telling the truth these days. But if the people will not be allowed to drift to disaster, the African National Congress will have to take them into its confidence. To wait until Swart bans it might be too late.

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NON-EUROPEANS "MUST BE CONSULTED"

CHURCH CALL TO DR. MALAN

CONSULTATIONS between the Government and accredited representatives of the non-European sections of South Africa, in an effort to understand the causes which had led to racial tension in the Union, was urged in a statement issued by the executive committee of the Christian Council of South Africa and sent to the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan.

At the conference of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in Capetown, speakers called for immediate round-table talks on the colour question between the Institute and the South African Bureau of Race Relations.

The Christian Council, presided over by the Archbishop of Capetown, the Most Rev. G. H. Clayton, met in Capetown recently and issued the following statement:—

The executive committee of the Christian Council of South Africa desires to express its profound sympathy with the non-European Christians of South Africa in the circumstances in which they find themselves.

"It recognises that many of them are conscious that the operation of legislation and administrative action, based on racial discrimination, deprives them of the opportunity of self-development which is their right.

"The absence of any constitutional methods by which they can find a remedy is calculated to give them a sense of frustra-

tion and hopelessness."

The statement said that the committee understood and sympathised with the motives which had led many to associate themselves with the civil disobedience movement.

"But it feels bound to point out that obedience to the law is a Christian duty, and that disobedience is only justified when such obedience involves disobedience to the dictates of conscience.

"It desires to represent to those in authority that it is of the first importance that an attempt should be made to understand the causes which have led to this position of acute racial tension; and for this purpose, it strongly advocates that there should be consultation between representatives of the Government and accredited representatives of the non-Europeans.

"Further, it is of the opinion that there is grave danger of injustice done, so long as persons, who are accused of an offence, are deprived of the right of defending themselves in the courts, and it urges that this right should be restored," the statement concluded.

The Christian Council of South Africa consists of the following churches: Quaker Society of Friends, Salvation Army, Presbyterian Church of South Africa, Congregational Union of South Africa, Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) Baptist Union of South Africa

of the Native to-day arose from the fact that for the past 40 years he had been told that the system under which he lived—with the Buoga, advisory Boards, the N.R.C.—was a training ground for his ultimate assumption of human rights.

The Native accepted that system as a starting point. That situation had been destroyed by the blunt statement of the present Government that the Native people would have to be satisfied for always with an inferior status, under White domination.

It was the substitution of *baasskap* for trusteeship.

Mr. M'timkulu made a plea for faith from the White population which brought a long

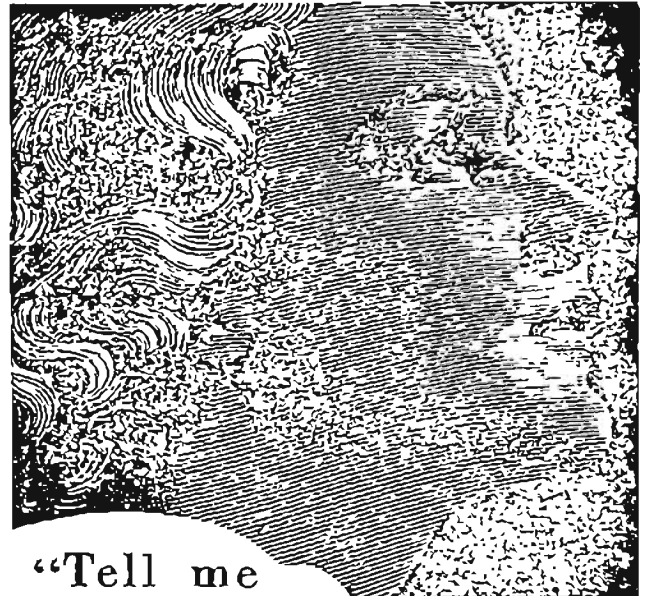
ovation from delegates.

"Fear of being swamped indicates something fundamentally wrong in our relationship between Black and White. The White man does not trust us," he said.

"What we need is faith. The White man asks us to have faith, but he is not prepared to have faith in us. There can be no consultation between two groups who do not trust one another.

The African National Congress have not looked for a Gold Coast, where the White man would be forced to pack and go.

The demand of the Native to-day was for a partnership between White and non-White.



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MOVE FOR "ROUND TABLE" OF ALL RACES

A CALL for a conference between the South African Institute of Race Relations and the South African Bureau of Race Relations (Sabra), as an essential step in resolving racial tensions in South Africa, was made at the annual meeting of the Institute in Cape Town by the Rev. H. P. Junod.

Successive speakers—among them Mr. D. M. Buchanan, Mr. H. R. Godlo, of East London; Chief A. J. Luthuli, of Natal; Mr. D. G. S. M'timkulu; Professor B. Z. Beinart and Dr. E. G. Malherbe—called for an immediate round-table conference of people of all views.

"Now is the time to call such a conference" said Mr. Junod "The first, and absolutely essential one is with Sabra. We must do some

thing to stop this schizophrenic action over the African and these two bodies must come together.

"It is no use any longer to bombard one another with pamphlets.

"There is already a great change of heart," he added. The fact that the Dutch Reformed Church is convening a conference of all churches on the question is a sign of the times."

Supporting the suggestion, Dr. E. G. Malherbe said that such a round-table conference should be sponsored either by the Institute of Race Relations, Sabra, or one of the universities. This was the psychological moment at which it should be done.

Mr. D. G. S. M'timkulu, of Durban said that the attitude

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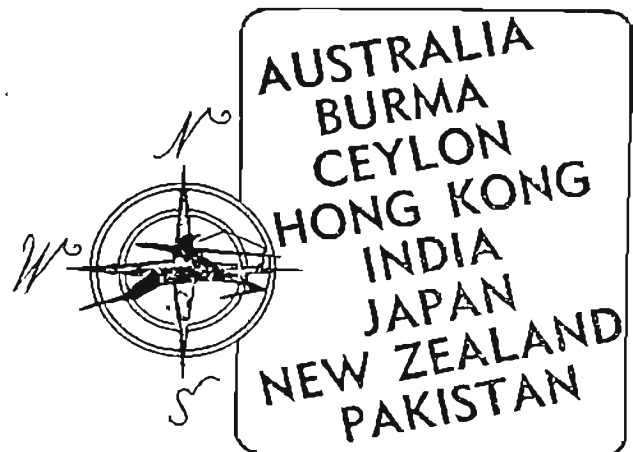
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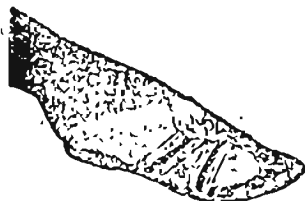
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DUAL STANDARDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By O. CALDECOTT In 'Peace News'

SOUTH AFRICA'S apologists are apt to point out in defence of the Union, or in mitigation of her racial excesses, that there are many other countries where the Rights of Man are not fully achieved and where the denial of democratic rights is a feature of government.

And they add that, in the light of Soviet tyranny, the Southern States of the U.S.A. and Kenya, South Africa has a fine record of social welfare work, of selfless encouragement to Native aspirations and of educational opportunities for the people of colour.

This argument not only persuades South Africans that, since they are not as bad as some, they have no cause to heed "unfriendly" strictures, but it also induces in liberal critics overseas a feeling that the world is being unnecessarily beastly to South Africa. It is necessary to clear this matter up.

Those social orders which in the past have, in the words of Professor Laski, failed "to recognise the claims of personality" have either collapsed or survived only by the exercise of the grossest oppression.

There have been and there are many such, and each and everyone of them has forfeited its claim to moral authority and the allegiance of its citizens—the ancient regime in France, the Tsarist regime, Chiang-kai-Shek's government and the British rule in India.

In condemning South Africa's failure to accord just and equal rights—or at least the possibility of such rights in the foreseeable future—we in no way excuse or condone present or past oppression on either side of the Iron Curtain.

There may have been other societies in which poverty, bad housing, racial separation and illiberalism have prevailed but they all succumbed when their members recognised that the claim of men to equality of status as human beings had hope of being recognised. It is because the non-European has realised this to be true of South African society that he is now groping his way towards the formulation of a revolutionary method.

And it is no good at all arguing that collectively and individually white South Africa gives much to the non-European through welfare bodies, charities and missionaries and that

the non-European should be grateful, respectful and appreciative because the White master has been kind to him.

To argue this and to expect this is to accept the dual standards underlying white South African thinking—which loses sight of the fact that it is inferior status, the denial of dignity, the implication of a different nature, needs and rights which gail and hurt the non-European and pervert the Black-White relationship.

No matter how kind the individuals with White skins, no matter how "understanding," the failure of White South Africa, even at its best, to concede that non-Europeans are entitled to claim the same rights as Europeans—the vote, social security, freedom to move and settle and own property—this failure is at the root of the matter and is the over-riding indecency of the colour bar society, whether it be in South, East, Central Africa or the Southern States of America.

Organised charity and individual kindness can at best palliate in a basically unjust society.

Although I have not seen a copy of it, 'De Kleur-Krisis en die Weste' ('The Colour Crisis and the West') by Dr. Ben Marais has, apparently, made a considerable impact in South Africa where it is rare to find a Minister of the Dutch Reformed Church expounding critical views on segregation policies.

Dr. Marais, whilst firmly urging the solution of total separation and the creation of separate states, has some pro-

found things to say about present policies, which, of course, are far less moral even than such total apartheid would be.

"We Whites," he writes, "are a small island in a great sea. Our danger does not consist only in intermixture but also in the fact that, to maintain ourselves we may try in an

unworthy, selfish and un-Christian manner to hold the non-European under and, in our own interest, make permanent his inferior position by depriving him or withholding from him rights to which he is entitled. In the long run this cannot be sustained. A people that does this digs its own grave."

WORLD QUIZ IN APARTHEID

IN preparing his book on apartheid, Dr. Marais set an international colour quiz.

A questionnaire was sent to 20 eminent churchmen and theologians from all over the world, asking them their opinions on the problem of apartheid and the church.

Dr. Marais chose, especially, "strongly-Reformed" churchmen. "These groups stand nearer us than any other section of Protestant Christendom," he said.

Among them were members of the Gereformeerde Kerk of Holland, the Hervormde Kerk, and the Christian Reformed Church of the United States.

And they voted solidly against apartheid.

This was a specimen question, with its answers:

Q: Do you believe that the Bible gives justification or leaves scope for a policy of enforced racial segregation within the Christian Church?

Dr. G. Brillenburg Wurth (Netherlands): Never more!

Professor Karl Barth (Basle): Not

Professor Emil Brunner (Zurich): Of course not.

Professor Dr. Franz J. Leenhardt (Geneva): No.

Dr. J. H. Bavinok (Amsterdam): No. I don't believe that,

Dr. H. Berkhof (Driebergen): No. That is a sin. Gal 5: 28.

Professor Wilhelm Vischer (Montpellier): No.

Professor Borkelbaoh v.d. Sprenkel (Utrecht): The Bible gives a clear judgment against racial segregation.

Professor N. Dahl (Oslo): No.

Professor Samuel Zwemer (Princeton): No.

Dr. Karl Hartenstein (Germany): My answer is a clear no.

Professor Barth, the most famous theologian in Europe, answered enthusiastically "No!" to every question about apartheid. To one suggestion he replied: "No! Nazi-theology!"

Professor Brunner said in one place: "All the attempts of some churches to give scriptural foundation for a factual race discrimination are sheer hypocrisy. They know quite well that it is a mere camouflage of quite other motives and reasons."—The Star.

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The picture taken at the Golden Wedding celebration on Saturday, January 17, of Mr. and Mrs. B. Purmasir of Durban, shows some of the large number of guests invited.

BRITISH COMMENTS ON PROFESSOR HAARHOFF'S SPEECH

ACCORDING to 'Peace News' last year's Borge Memorial Lecture (intended "to promote a better and wider understanding of the international obligations of Christian peoples") was "a dreadful potent." The guest lecturer was Professor T. J. Haarhoff, head of the Classics Department of the University of the Witwatersrand. This is what 'Peace News,' the socialist weekly, says of it:

It was perhaps a pity that a Professor of Classics should have been selected for the purpose, for while Professor Haarhoff's address was generously studded with cultural ornamentation (even the limerick on the young lady of Riga was presented in Latin) this was no very satisfying substitute for the illumination we might have hoped for on racial issues.

We do not think it unjust to say that Professor Haarhoff regards the racial issue as between the Afrikaans-speaking and the English-speaking sections of the South African community as of primary importance; in any case he gave this matter the first place in his lecture.

He gave no indication that there was any realisation among White South Africans of the character of the upsurge towards the sense of human equality manifesting itself throughout the African continent that would make for true partnership in the mixed communities instead of the pseudo-partnership we so often hear vaguely expounded, and which is so obviously a euphemism for keeping things as nearly as possible as they are at present.

His single mention of the movement of non-violent resistance against the resented laws of racial discrimination, that had so far resulted in 7,500 court sentences for black people, was a reference to a comment of the President-General of the Bantu National Congress who had said that "the Bantu chiefs of Natal, more than 200, had warned their people against the passive resistance movement on the ground that the Indians were using the Bantu people as a political pawn." The Professor did not say whether in his view the passive resistance movement has no more significance than this; and surely in a lecture under this title this has some importance.

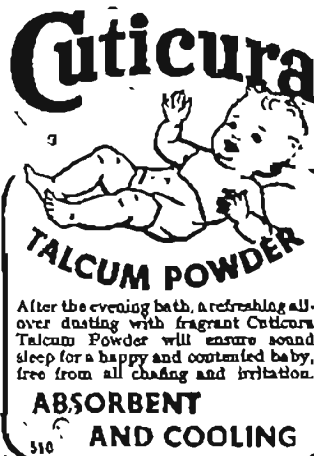
The immediate practical proposals he had to offer were that

there should be a limited number of Parliament working in conjunction with the European members who now represent them, one Indian member working with a sympathetic European, and one or two "coloured" members.

We have devoted some space to the character of this lecture, because we take it for granted that the Professor Haarhoff, who is attached to the Witwatersrand University, represents the best of white South African opinion; and that being so one can only regard with the profoundest pessimism the prospects in South Africa during the next decade.

Death Of Mr. Hajee Amod Jeewa

The death occurred on Wednesday the 27th inst. at Bombay, of Hajee Ebrahim Amod Jeewa, proprietor of the Union Printing Works, Durban, at the age of 58, through a sudden attack of apoplexy (pressure of blood to the brain.) The late Mr. Jeewa was the Proprietor-Editor of the journal 'Indian Views' from 1919 to 1934. He proceeded to India during the year 1947 for the exclusive purpose of educating his children and grandchildren. His 3 sons are all studying for the M.B.B.S. degree and his daughter is preparing for the M.A.B.T. exam. in Bombay and another daughter is in the 2nd year of M.B.B.S. at the Calcutta Medical College. The late Mr. Jeewa leaves a widow, 2 brothers, 7 sons, 3 daughters and a large family and a circle of friends to mourn their irreparable loss.

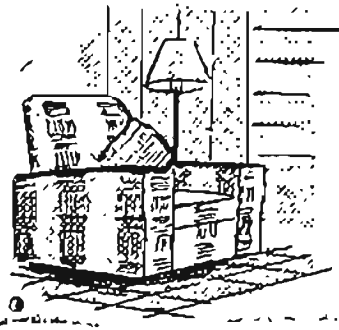


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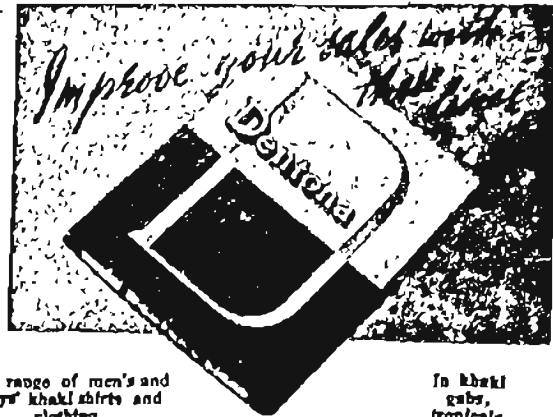
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