

MEMORANDUM ON THE FIVE MATTERS OF DISCUSSION PUT FORWARD BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES FOR DISCUSSION BY THE CONFERENCE OF MEMBER CHURCHES, TO BE HELD IN JOHANNESBURG FROM 7th TO 14th DECEMBER, 1960; SUBMITTED BY THE:  
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1. THE FACTUAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:

A. When studying the Racial situation in South Africa, we find that we have to do with a process of acculturation. The primitive cultural patterns of the black peoples in the country has been confronted with the Western pattern of culture borne by the white people. The first contact between the white inhabitants of the Cape and the Southward migrating Bantu, was in the nature of military clashes on the frontiers. This was followed by impact on the cultural level. It must be noted that the white component in this situation consists of two main groups who in recent years exhibited a growing tendency towards becoming a single entity. The black component, on the other hand, preserved a distinct diversity of cultural patterns, and can linguistically be classified in four main groups. In spite of linguistic affinities within the same group, each consists of multiple tribes, each with his own traditional institutions.

This situation differs essentially from similar situations elsewhere and should be considered on its own merits. Any consideration of the South African situation without regard to the historical background, the disparity in numbers, difference in cultural level and the fact that the white population is permanent, will remain unjustifiable in the face of the facts.

B. The direction this process of acculturation should take, has been the subject of discussion and discord. A minority in this country, backed and abetted by world opinion as expressed by the United Nations Organisation, the World Council of Churches, parts of the international press and other bodies in the spirit of the time, prefers development towards the formation of a multi-racial integrated society. This preference is inspired by a

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variety of motives ranging from economical to humanistic considerations, the latter of which finds its most extreme expression in communism. Development in this direction will lead inevitably to the destruction of the existing cultural entities together with the diverse social structures, to ever-increasing friction resulting from contact and competition in every walk of life, and ultimately to the destruction of order and the intensification and multiplication of discrimination, racial enmity and bitterness. Development in this direction brings into being what anthropologists call a "critical situation of acculturation" in which various aggravating factors would be active, such as:-

- (1) disparity in numbers, resulting in the closing of ranks by the smaller component for the sake of the preservation of identity;
- (2) cultural distance, i.e. total difference between the colliding types of culture, resulting in the prolonged existence of unstable personalities and an unstable society for generations to come;
- (3) historical factors, such as military clashes, adversely conditioning the relations between the white and black elements, for generations;
- (4) racial appurtenance as different as that of these two components can only be eliminated by generations of intermarriage. In the meantime the social visibility resulting from difference in physical type forms a strong deterrent to mutual acceptance.

Over against this so-called solution which the various instances want to force on South Africa, it is the conviction of the vast majority of the people of South Africa that the speediest and only just solution lies in the development towards separate attainment of full nationhood for the existing units - the only way of ensuring a permanent pattern of co-existence in which law and order will not be disrupted and in which the highest degree of justice and peace for all individuals and entities concerned can be maintained. In the main this was the direction taken in South Africa since white and black first met in the Cape. Development in this direction ensures the right and freedom of the black peoples



to full and undeterred self-realisation, with the stimulus of the Western civilisation in their midst. It will also give the whites the opportunity of determining their own Christian destiny, thereby making a contribution towards the future of Africa which no other people can make. At the same time this direction ensures the right and freedom of the white people to preserve their Western culture and nationhood and hand it over to their children intact. Government policy in this country aims at the gradual handing over of the government in the historical homelands of the Bantu to the indigenous peoples. But this can only be done after a dependable foundation of cultural and economic progress have been provided for ultimate political independence. Through this policy the whites at the same time admit that they have no claim in these territories, and even abandon all claims of reaping the economical benefits resulting from development within the territories themselves.

This policy requires the firm ending of the process of integration, a process occasioned by various factors, especially the industrialisation of large numbers of Bantu in the white territories. It is inevitable that in doing this, individuals and even groups, may suffer temporary hardships. This calls for the greatest possible degree of understanding and tact on the side of officials. On the whole the authorities have tried their utmost to minimise these hardships in spite of the fact that the overall programme of policy is often severely hampered by these considerations.

C. The time required for a process of development towards a harmonious pattern of existence depends on the direction the process takes. The period required for development by way of integration towards a single unit, considering the aggravating factors in a critical situation of acculturation, is indeterminable. This much is sure, that it will require centuries of agony for all concerned, and will offer no safeguard for the retention of Western standards. The direction taken by the government, which requires

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only the adoption of elements of western culture by the Bantu and the impregnation of their own therewith, leads to what could be termed a simpler situation of acculturation. Development according to ability, without the pressure of foreign competition, together with the preservation of identity, as well as the elimination of a large field of possible friction, shortens this process compared to the alternative. Even this process will require a period of at least three more generations, depending on the continued absence of aggravating factors other than cultural distance, which could lead to a prolongation of the period required.

D. The role of the Church in the decision on the direction in which the process of acculturation should be led, was a considerable one. Already in the 18th Century more than a century before Christian Western Europe's notorious "scramble for Africa", the Church in South Africa set an example to the people and government for a pattern of separate existence for black and white; in the 19th century, after experimenting in integration, the Dutch Reformed Churches openly bore witness for separate existence before foreign (British) and local (Transvaal and Orange Free State republican) governments; while in the 20th century the Churches had attained the position that the pattern of separate existence became official policy. Even to this day only the Roman Catholic Church in South Africa has officially declared itself unequivocally in favour of full integration, at the same time practising it. The principle of separate development was not an invention of the present government, which is now open to the criticism of the Churches, but was advocated and implemented by the Church itself as the only possible permanent pattern of existence at a time when "colour problem" was an unknown concept to most of the world.

Since the infiltration of the humanistic ideals of Rousseau into ecclesiastical thinking, especially that of the Western world, South Africa was almost continually subjected to another "Christian" approach of its problems. Incepted by the London Missionary

Society/.....



Society in the 18th century, this approach was sustained through the years by missionaries and clergymen who neglected their true task of evangelising both white and black, in favour of active participation in politics and of co-operation in some cases with leftish groups. Some of these people remain foreigners in this country and usually leave it on retirement, thus refraining from subjecting themselves and their children to the pattern of existence they so ardently advocate. Their attacks on South African Churches and world-wide slander of all white Christians in South Africa brought Christianity as a whole, even their own form of it, in disrepute among the Bantu and renders the great task of christianising the relations within the South African society nearly an impossible one.

## II. THE ACTION OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE ATTAINMENT OF JUSTICE AND PEACE:

A. The insistence of the Church on separate development as the only justifiable pattern of co-existence has already been referred to. Seen against the background of the factual situation in South Africa and the benefits deriving from separate development for both the white and black peoples, this was a very substantial contribution towards the attainment of lasting justice and peace.

B. This insistence was part of the prophetic action of the Church towards the government. The prophetic action as one dimension of the threefold office of the Church cannot be at variance with the other two, namely the priestly and the kingly actions. Thus no true Church testifies for anything it is not prepared to pray for and to bring into practice in its own existence. Acknowledging the government as a fellow servant of God whose existence serves the salvation of man and the glory of God, the Church fulfills its prophetic task at all times with due regard to this fact. Continually informing the government on its God-ordained position and counselling on good government is the primary task of the prophetic-apostolic action, while criticism of government actions is never more than a secondary task. Sinking to the level of becoming the professional fault-finder within the state, can only be detrimental to the prophetic office/.....



office of the Church. Criticism should follow in the wake of information and counsel, and not precede it. Thus the Church, while advocating separate development as a permanent pattern of existence in South Africa, at the same time bear witness that this pattern of existence is meant to end all "baasskap" of white over black, and to achieve full equality for all concerned - not vice versa.

Most certainly the Church demands good government from the authorities "that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way"(1 Tim. 2:2), conducive to law and order, promoting justice and freedom. The Church is fully aware of the fact that the demand for freedom and justice means the denial to all men of rights and liberties which threatens the justice and freedom of others. The Church, insisting on separate development as a permanent pattern of existence, must also accept the responsibility to demand that official policy will be translated into practice in a fair and just way in order to minimise as far as possible the hardships caused by the ~~measures~~ necessary to stop the process of integration. This prophetic demand must be accompanied by intercession for, support of, and subjection to the government. At the same time the demand for support of and subjection to the government must be made to all citizens. The pattern of existence the Church advocates, in effect, calls for the sacrifice of a certain degree of personal comfort and of personal happiness for the present, in order to attain, and establish more lasting peace for posterity. While guarding against violation of justice with regard to even the most humble citizen, the Church can never commend selfishness as a virtue.

C. The apostolate of the Church is executed by the existence and functions of the Church in totality. The proclamation of the kingship of God can contain nothing more and nothing less than Christ, the Word incarnate. Listening carefully to the Word by means of exposition of Scripture and theological labour, and proclaiming this Word clearly in every situation, the militant apostolate strikes/.....



strikes every relation within society - between employer and employee, government and citizen, individual and individual, group and group, people and people, this generation and the following. The christianisation of the relations between people, or bodies of people, is at present attempted with the full consciousness that the Servant Lord meant these relations to be relations of service and ministration. It is the powers of evil and darkness which strive for chaos in the relations, giving birth to suppression and exploitation, mutiny and sedition, defamation and hate.

Alas, the climate of mutual distrust is promoted by some of the advocates of integration. Especially those who, making use of every means of publicity and in the name of Christianity, undermine the very basis of Christian charity. They present a grave encumbrance and render this task a difficult one.

### III. THE MEANING OF THE GOSPEL FOR INTER-RACIAL RELATIONSHIPS:

A. At the outset it must be stated clearly that obedience to God is the one and only objective of the proclamation of the Word incarnate within any contemporary situation. It is clear that recent observations and statements on the South African situation are to a great extent conditioned by the mental climate which was mainly brought about by the devastation of the Second World War, the roots of which however, go back to the revolutionary spirit of the French Revolution. The war against the satanic racial ideas of the German rulers was won with the participation of African colonial people. The devastation wrought by this war gave birth to the search for a new approach to human relationships. This new approach was not a conversion to God whose sacrificial atonement in the Word incarnate forms the only firm basis for human relationships. It became instead a return to the humanistic concepts of freedom, equality and the brotherhood of man. In the field of international politics this concept led to the founding of the United Nations Organisation, a body which provides an international platform/.....



platform even for professed atheism. The bid for the annihilation of all diversities between peoples and nations; the incorrect assumption that diversity is the cause of all strife and the fear for another devastating and even annihilating war; the growing tension between East and West with the resulting rivalry for the favour and support of the millions of Africa; the emotional approach to all colonial peoples; all combine for the formation of a climate conducive to distorted exegesis. Thus the interpretation of the Gospel which led to the hysterical reprimands to which the South African Government and the Dutch Reformed Churches were subjected after the disturbances earlier this year, did not even lead to the same, let alone intensified, reaction when white men, women and children were subjected to barbaric atrocities in the newly-independent Congo. Now, more than ever, sobriety and balance are necessities for ecclesiastical diction. As a Church of the Reformation, we refer to the criteria for Scriptural interpretation expounded by the great Reformers, viz. its authority, sufficiency and perspicuity, the application of which prohibits exposition of Scripture by any criterion not supplied by Scripture itself.

B. The resolution of the second assembly of the World Council of Churches raises many questions as to the mental climate which made it possible. The general tendency towards unconditional equalisation stands out very clearly in the condemnation of ANY form of segregation based on race, colour and ethnic origin as contrary to the Gospel, incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ. This absolute condemnation does not exclude segregation by mutual consent nor does it exclude segregation that is beneficial to all concerned. Even the divine dominion does not escape this condemnation. Scripture is clear enough on the fact that it was God Himself who separated man in diverse peoples (ethnic groups) and gave to each its own inheritance/.....



inheritance, as reference to and study of Gen. 10 and 11, Deut. 32:8, Acts 17:26,27 adequately illustrates. It appears further that the World Council identifies segregation with discrimination, while the pattern of existence in regard to which the Church bore witness in South Africa, i.e. total, vertical segregation, aims at the abolition of all discrimination. What is more, the Church holds that integration into a single unit opens the door for discrimination on a wide front. The mere granting of the privileges of Western civilisation does not guarantee equality when the recipients have not acquired the Western standards conditional to the responsible enjoyment and appreciation of these privileges. Far from working for the abolition of segregation, our Church intends, in subjection to God and in obedience to the Lord's injunction to serve Him and through Him all people, to keep to the road it has followed and advocated in the past centuries; further to point out that statements such as this resolution serve the intentions of the demonic powers at work in the world, especially those of atheistic communism, and is in itself contrary to the Gospel, incompatible with the Christian doctrine of man and with the nature of the Church of Christ.

C. The nature of the Church of Christ is such that the Word it proclaims in the world, has in itself the power "to pluck up and break down, to destroy and to overthrow, to build and to plant" (Jer. 1:10). It is not the function of the Church in itself therefore to create new relations between people. This is the function of the Word to which the bearer himself is subjected. As apostle the Church is overshadowed by the Word it proclaims, and fulfills its function in the belief that it is the Gospel itself which masters the politics, culture, economy and communal life of the people to whom it is preached. Existing relations are not necessarily abolished, but christianised. The letter to Philemon furnishes an illustration of this action of the Gospel. The

sufficiency/.....



sufficiency and validity of the crucified Christ is outraged by any attempt to absolutise any particular form of Christianity. This also applies to the absolutising tendencies displayed in the resolution referred to above. In the formulation and execution of missionary policy this knowledge must have preponderant influence. The identification of the Christian Church with the white man and his foreign civilisation had dire consequences in Africa. Only when the Gospel itself gave birth to a Church within a particular society, can that Church be the true servant of God and the people it ministers to. The apostolate of the Church is realised firstly within the particular national unity in which the Church finds itself, when every sector of the people and the national existence is confronted by the Word incarnate. The Church identifies itself with the guilt of the people and exists in solidarity with the people. Its functions as overseer, deacon and witness are realised from its position within the people where it forms a fellowship around Word and Sacrament. Secondly the apostolate of the Church is realised amongst the peoples of the world. This happens with the full acknowledgement of the existing realities of the diversity of divine ordinance, as illustrated by the growth of the early Church. An aspect of this universality is the ecumenical contact, the constant reminder to confirm the call and election of the Church (II Peter 1:10,12). Instead of absolutising verdicts such as the resolution referred to above, the ecumenical movement will render a great service to human relations by inquiring into the role of the international press and radio in the demonisation of human relations. The most disturbing fact of ecumenical criticism of the South African situation is that it concurs with the criticism of communism and Afro-Asian heathenism. What manner of spirit can account for this attitude?



IV. CONTEMPORARY HISTORY IN AFRICA FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH:

A. The rapid social changes taking place in Africa derive from external influences, mainly political and economical. As has been pointed out, the concept of the unity and equality of all men gained a powerful influence in the post-war era. This concept was incorporated in the United Nation's Charter's declaration of human rights. The psychological situation which promoted this concept supplied a strong impulse to the Pan-Africanist movement which was originated by an American Negro more than half a century ago with the objective of liberating Africa from colonialism and imperialism -- meaning in practice deliverance from white "suppressors". It also became the source of ambition of a few self-appointed African leaders, trained at European institutions where they made contact with the Pan-Africanist movement and the ideology and techniques of communism. The call for independence from colonial rule, gaining momentum from all these factors, gave rise to "African nationalism", a term applied to a phenomenon which is neither African in its origin nor truly national in as much as it is at variance with the traditional institutions of the African peoples, and refuses to take diversity of nations and tongues into account. Thus African nationalism is in fact a form of internationalism. The search for an all-Africa consciousness already has become the source of discord between leaders who offer themselves as leaders of the African power bloc, and also between the hereditary chiefs and the Pan-Africanist champions. The increasing pressure for deliverance from white rule, the unleashing of barbaric forces by the destruction of the traditional deterrents of tribal authority and the conflict of ambitions, already hatches the germs of a new devouring flame over Africa.

For many years Africa found itself almost exclusively under the influence of the West. Since the second world war the competitive influence of communism entered the African scene by

gradual/.....



gradual economical and political infiltration, fanning the flame of premature and spurious African nationalism, aiding and abetting revolutionary movements, beaming a continuous stream of propaganda on the receptive minds of Africa's millions in English, French and Swahili. This certainly does not happen for the good of the African peoples, but for the mobilisation of Africa's population and wealth in the communist bid for world domination. The West counters this challenge by high bidding for Africa's favour - offering inter alia the willingness to sacrifice the future and lives of the few million whites on the continent. In spite of the West's aid programmes and the granting of independence, communism's offer of the same aid plus an ideology seems to gain ground rapidly. It so happens that this ideology is highly infectious in the contemporary situation of mistrust and suspicion of all colonial authorities - which means in effect, suspicion and mistrust of the white man and his word, every word he speaks, even the Gospel.

Economical development by Western incentive did not always go hand in hand with the development of the human material involved. In fact, Westernisation in the economic field came into conflict with the cultural pattern, often resulting in the destruction of elements of the traditional social structure, thereby destroying the only solid foundation for stability needed for co-ordinated development. Drastic changes in the social structure leads to a loss of the sense of direction by the people involved and seriously harms the personalities of individuals and societies.

B. The contributions of the West towards the contemporary situation during the years of Western dominance in Africa are considerable. Even the most antagonistic criticism cannot deny the eminent contributions of the West to the development of Africa in the cultural, social and economic fields. The arrival of the white man brought an end to tribal wars, famine and pest, and inaugurated an era of comparative calm, rapid growth of population, immense/.....



immense development in all fields of human existence. Slavery and cannibalism was replaced by an existence worthy of human beings. Serving Africa with their standards of civilisation, their money and their lives, the whites made modern Africa. The most important contribution however, is the spreading of the Gospel - testified for by the presence in Africa today of about 20 million black adherents of the faith.

Apart from these positive contributions of the West to the rise of modern Africa, it also rendered a negative contribution. Modern man has ceased to take God or idol into account. He sees the earth only as the domain of man, who is good, reasonable and decent. Mutual relations are determined by the unalienable rights of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness". "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". This new humanism resulted in a firm stand against the domination of one race by another, even against any form of extended political trusteeship. Thus all forms of colonialism was branded as alien to the rights of man, and a new form of more subtle colonialism emerged which replaced political domination by economical domination. It is assumed that Africa's problems will vanish the moment self-government is granted. The criticism of the colonial powers was initiated by the United States of America and was followed by the self-criticism of the colonial powers, who developed a guilt complex towards the coloured populations in their colonies. This, in turn, led to the development of a guilt complex towards all coloured peoples. The surrender of white domination that ensued, came at a time when it was still sufficiently clear that political independence for most African peoples was a premature development and presented a grave danger to stability. The growing number of African states in the United Nations will soon lead to a preponderant influence on world affairs. Surely the gift of freedom cannot be begrudged any people, but freedom without order and responsibility is no freedom, and when

nationalism/.....



nationalism speaks a foreign language, the freedom which crowns it, will inevitably be conducive to cultural disruption and disorder.

C. The combination of all these factors led to the presentation of distorted perspectives on Africa. In the eyes of the world Africa is the scene of the brutal oppression of all blacks by all whites. To this view the history of the white man in Africa is one of exploitation and injustice. The monumental contribution of western civilisation to the emergence of the new Africa, the **unprecedented** social security and prosperity the African peoples now enjoy, are ignored and passed over. Moreover, this distortion is not limited to the foreign view on the African scene, but has been planted in the hearts of the African peoples themselves. They are today grappling with a foreign concept of freedom, subjected to a form of internationalism (African nationalism) which was not born in their own hearts. Their frustration finds an outlet in the cultivated hate for the white man; a hate that was cultivated by foreign instances.

D. In this situation very great care must be exercised in the use of the words freedom and justice. Africa was confronted from outside with mainly three different ideas of freedom. The Christian Church preaches Christ as the Deliverer of man from the bondage of the powers of sin and darkness. Only those bound to Him by faith, are free. Freedom in this sense is the highest form of responsibility, the realisation of which calls for justice and order. However, it is not the Word of God that today supplies Africa with the concept of freedom; this concept is being supplied by communist atheism and by secularised Western civilisation. The communist concept of freedom calls for the liberation of the African peoples from their colonial (Western) oppressors by means of mass revolt, or by any other means, legal or illegal, accompanied by the restriction of individual freedom in favour of the mass and the/.....



and the destruction of the existing social order. This concept means a new form of slavery without justice and order. To the secularised Western concept freedom is the right of self-determination, followed by the departure of the colonial powers as part of the Western bid for Africa's goodwill - badly needed both politically and economically in the contemporary set up of world affairs. But premature self-determination without the ability for responsible existence as a free people, coupled with the threat to the existing social order, leads to personal and social chaos, even to anarchy.

Clarity on which of these concepts of freedom and justice impulsive World Council statements on the realities of the contemporary situation, should be sought. The apostolic task of the Church commands a firm stand not only against the communist doctrine, but also against that of a secularised Western Christianity. This stand will have to include opposition to the United Nations Organisation and the very basis on which it rests. Witness in this respect is a challenge to the ecumenical movement.

E. The comment of the Church on developments in Africa is long overdue. We commend the following to be considered:-

(a) It is clear that unrest in Africa was stirred up not only by agitators but also by ideas. But these ideas are foreign ideas fed to a minority of the African people over the years. African nationalism speaks English and French. Is it possible even to think of American nationalism with Russian as medium? It is obvious that these ideas have not yet been grasped by the African mind, except in a few isolated cases. Freedom in the Congo meant the right to rape white women.

(b) Colonies and colonial governments:

(i) A Christian theological interpretation of the concept of "colony" must precede all Christian comment on colonialism.



- (ii) The Church demands of the colonial government nothing more and nothing less than good government, the presupposition for "a quiet and peaceable life, godly and respectful in every way".
- (iii) The Church should reveal bad government by the criterion of the fact that it endangers law and order, justice and freedom.
- (iv) The Church should insist that the government uses the power deriving from its God-ordained position, for the maintenance of law and order and the protection of freedom and justice for all. Further the Church should warn the government not to yield to forces which could promote chaos and anarchy, but at the same time the Church should constantly warn the government against the use of power not in the interest of law and order, justice and freedom.
- (v) The Church should bear witness to the subjects of the colonial powers that they intercede with God for the government - every government - and "that every soul be subject to the high powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God" (Rom. 13:1).
- (c) The Church should condemn the headlong departure of some of the colonial governments, for it is a sin to depart when chaos ensues and when by the disruption of law and order the justice and freedom of any man is harmed. This departure does not take place without selfish motives, viz. the attempt to make Africa an ally in the struggle with the East, the fear for loss of influence and prestige, the refusal to carry the burden of the new Africa with its new problems.
- (d) The approach of Africa, its people and problems, the self-criticism and guilt complex, are unbiblical. Earth is not the/.....



the domain of man alone, man whose rights are determined by the United Nations and whose problems can be approached and solved from the side of man only. The Christian concept of revelation says: God became man! He is here! This can be denied but not invalidated by the demonic powers. Africa too is never without God; on Africa too, as on any other continent, the first and the last word is not the charter of the United Nations, nor the "resolutions" of the World Council of Churches, but the Word of God: Jesus Christ!

- (e) The Church should protest against the inundation of Africa by the products of both heathen, atheistic culture and of secularised christian culture. These products are innoculated in an organism which to a great extent is still naturalistic in character, and cause an uprooting of personality in the absence of a positive background of these products, i.e. confrontation with Christ. It is clear that economical advancement cannot compensate for mental violation. Because they themselves have lost the Christian presuppositions of their own culture, the Western dispensers of economic aid are unaware of this violation.
- (f) The process of equalisation in sway in the contemporary situation rests on the presupposition that diversity is dangerous to world peace. Sin has ceased to be an operative concept, that is, the Biblical concept of sin, as the existential corruption of man. This existential corruption - NOT the diversity of peoples given by God Himself - is the cause of strife, hate and war. That peace would be guaranteed by uniformity, is a fabrication of Satan. Peace is peace in Christ who atoned for the sin of man, the cause of all strife, and presented lapsed-to-death man with life - life with diversity in abundance, but christianised diversity. The fact that even Churches lend themselves/.....



selves to the furthering of this process of equalisation, is a sign of spiritual decline. This attitude is not inspired by God the Holy Spirit, but by a worldly and materialistic spirit. Theology on the basis of reason at the most can be good philosophy, humanism with Christian traits, but can never bear the name of Biblical-Reformed theology.

V. FACTORS WHICH CONTRIBUTE TOWARDS THE EXISTENCE OF AN EXPLOSIVE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:

The basic factors contributing toward an explosive situation in South Africa are comparatively clear.

The party-political directions of thought on the problem of the relationship between the diverse peoples living in the country are mainly these:-

- (a) That of total integration on all levels of existence,
- (b) That of partial integration, which is in fact a step in the same direction as the first,
- (c) That of separate development.

The effect party-political combat in the press and on the platform has on the minds of the Bantu, must not be underestimated.

Nor was the Bantu of South Africa spared the ideas that has been in agitation in the whole of Africa in recent years, the foreign origin and disruptive nature of which have already been pointed out.

While these two factors merely influence the Bantu towards distrust and suspicion of the powers that be and of the white man in general, the active build-up towards an explosive situation is provided by a small but very active communist element with the (witting or unwitting) connivance of what could be called fellow-traveller organisations and individuals. A world authority on communism during a visit to South Africa observed that publications deriving/.....



deriving from these sources which he had read, was completely Marxist in inspiration and fully in accord with the latest Moscow "line". These elements seize on legislation of an irritating nature which is necessary for the evolution of the pattern of existence the government is establishing gradually, and make use of Bantu political organisations to give their objectives the respectable label of Bantu nationalism. They make use of any means to promote their cause and exploit every opportunity for unrest to the utmost. A few clergymen, humanistic rather than Christian, have lent themselves to the furtherance of the ends of these elements, the objectives of which need no discussion.

The growing literacy of the Bantu people and the modern journalistic trend towards sensationalism and the "colouring" of news and comment to promote circulation, combine to provide yet another factor in the build-up of a revolutionary situation.

It is clear that reversal of the policy advocated by the Church and laboriously executed by the government who receives very little credit from the rest of the world for the painstaking responsibility with which it tries to handle the very unique situation in South Africa, either by external pressure or internal volition, will mean only one thing: the betrayal of the white AND the black man, and their deliverance to the chaotic presuppositions of international communism. When brought about by external pressure, it will be murder; when by own volition, it will be suicide. If they do not feel free to promote the cause of separate development, could not our Christian brothers in the World Council at least desist from adding to our burdens?