

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My First duty as it is my greatest pleasure, is to thank the Synod Missionary Committee for the great honour they have conferred upon me in inviting me to address this meeting tonight.

The Missionary meeting I consider as the pith and essence of The Church, the chief organ of expression of its endeavour, namely Missionary enterprise. I consider it the most important meeting of the synod.

I have been very much at a loss for a fitting subject of address for such a meeting as this, and it is with no small amount of diffidence and uncertainty that I have finally ventured to address you on RACE RELATIONS in South Africa Considered in the Light Of The Moral Law and the Christian Ideal,

The foremost political problem of South Africa and of the world in general today is to find a way whereby the different races may live side by side in peace harmony and goodwill. This solution of this problem rests primarily with politicians because it is a political question, and it might appear to some that the question is first and last a political one, and that therefore it is exclusively the duty of politicians and statesmen to find a solution for it. But the solution of a question which deals with men and society must necessarily involve such qualities as Justice, Equity, and Benevolence, Honour, honesty, and it therefore involves spiritual values and moral issues, therefore directly touches and challenges that body, the Church - with which we naturally associate the highest conceptions of Humanity and Morality.

SEGREGATION.

There is today among some sections of the population of South Africa much disquiet and distrust, seething discontent, suspicion and fear regarding what the future holds in store. Among the Indian population, there are protests and deputations against the Anti-Asiatic Bill, and the Class Areas Bill measures whose aim is compulsory segregation of the Indians. The Government is accused, rightly or wrongly of perfidy and deliberate violation of its promises and word of honour. On the African side also, there are mass meetings and loud protests particularly against the contemplated measure of Segregation of Natives.

To many Africans, this projected measure is a positive nightmare.

Now, Africans, and we may be sure Indians also, do not fear or dislike Segregation as such. In fact, the majority of them would readily welcome it if there was an assurance of fair dealing, equality of opportunity, and Justice in the application of the measure. But such assurance is, under the existing conditions impossible to expect. One of the two races holds the monopoly of power absolutely and it is most unlikely that it will waive an iota of its right real or imagined, or sacrifice a jot of its interests in a settlement which in reality demands a

a sacrifice of interests on each side.

We have no doubt that the necessity for Segregation has arisen from the need of the desire for Racial harmony. the attempt to meet that need is commendable. But Harmony we must remember presupposes Liberty and also Equality-two terrible words which seem always to crop up in the consideration of racial and class questions, and seem to ~~seem to~~ indicate sentiment and passion. The principle of Equality to ^{Montagu} is an expression of Morality and Justice. Ex Absolute harmony can exist only where there is absolute justice and mutual confidence; and absolute justice is only possible between equals. If these fundamental facts were recognised in parliamentary debates and parliamentary laws, even Segregation would be shorn of its terrors, it might then, perhaps make for Harmony inter-racial peace and progress.

But logically, Segregation in any form is really a retrogressive step, and as such can at best be but a temporary expedient. Humanity moves forward or improves by association, not separation; by aggregation, and not by segregation, and if this is not yet the time, surely the day will come, when the Black and The White races will gladly move towards each other.

Further I must confess to total inability to appreciate the applicability of the term segregation to South African conditions which are such that the African and the European are inter-dependant, and cannot by any conceivable means be separated the one from the other, except of course in the Union Parliament. Thorough-going segregation, either geographically or economically is quite impossible. and what is attempted is bound to be some half-hearted measure, worse than useless. But thus far for this.

- The Prime minister's scheme is as you know, three-fold. It comprises
- (i) Political Segregation whereby there will be instituted a Native Parliament, so-called-quite distinct from the Union Parliament but having no legislative powers, and subservient to the Union Parliament, which will legislate for the Natives and tax them as heretofore, without their being either directly or effectually represented in it.
 - (ii) The scheme comprises Industrial Segregation, attempted already in the Colour Bar Bill.
 - (iii) Finally the scheme comprises Territorial Segregation already partially introduced in The Natives Lands Act 1913 with the hardships so well known to most

Segregation on the basis of Justice might prove the best solution of racial difficulties. We are told by its prophets that each race will be able to pursue its ideals, and follow its traditions, conserve its institutions, preserve its race purity, and develop along its own lines, unhindered by the other race.

Segregation to be a success needs to be complete. It must be very strictly just and equal. It must be segregation in truth, Not Discrimination. Otherwise these fine words about developing along natural lines are, in relation to Africans mere words.

We have a good example of Segregation, based on Equality in the Old Testament "And Abraham said unto Lot let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee and between thy headmen and my herdmen, for we be bretheren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself I pray thee from me. If thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.

In that classical example we have a free choice, a true and just territorial Segregation, as against the political, social, industrial and territorial discrimination proposed by the Union's Premier

and so ably supported, not only by his party, but also by several highly placed individuals. Because of this short-sightedness, or insincerity, the scheme of segregation is doomed to failure. It will only cause dissatisfaction and strife in the place of peace and harmony and suspicion instead of goodwill and confidence. A ready-made organization of the African workers for strike, of the foundation of an indigenous African church, Self-determination, and there a re-cries of Africa for the Africans.

It is stated that this one-sided segregation has been evolved as a means of self-preservation, to protect the white man, his off-spring and his institutions against the inroads of African barbarism, and to secure him from rivalry and economic competition. Protection is praiseworthy, but should be extended to all members of the community. The African has as good a claim to protection, and failure to afford him that protection will be an offence against the laws of progressive humanity, and of equality. Self-preservation is the law of the jungle, by which I conceive many weaker but innocent animals suffer from the stronger. Wherever it is, as away the everlasting and ever present question is-"Can I kill thee, or thou kill me?"

Self-preservation is one of the most powerful motives in lower nature which in man is, or should be tempered by reason, judgment, a sense of right and a spirit of sacrifice. In Christian life this primitive law of self-preservation should be superseded by the greater spiritual law of love, and sacrifice.

It is fondly assumed that there is a polarity, a continuous and necessary battle between the interests of the black and the white races that for the Europeans to live, the Africans must die, vice versa. It, surely is a very narrow view of life. Can we not conceive, and conceiving treat the human race as one family, as an unity, and as a living organism, whose several parts and organs are mutually dependant and cooperate for the common good?

We are aware that an injury to any single part or group of cells of a living organism diminishes the efficiency of all the other parts of the organism as a whole. Similarly, the injury to another class or race is self injury, and will as surely diminish the efficiency of one's class or race. This is the law of Nature and it the law of Invariable Science. Life is one, and its purpose is one. There are no antagonistic elements or warring factors in it or its purpose. The Natural and moral law insists that each individual or race furthers its interests by serving the unity at large. Each one realises himself in the proportion as he loses self. It is the law of association with equality and justice. It is the law of cooperative action. Whatsoever promotes these qualities also promotes progress and conversely, whatsoever precludes these qualities, also precludes progress, and ultimately engenders retrogression.

There are in reality only two ways of finally settling differences between peoples, the one is by complete extermination of the weaker, and the other is by complete agreement and harmony.

The law of Human progress is not simply the transference of the laws of vegetable and animal evolution to the human sphere. In the one case the ruthless self-assertion. It is continually- If for Myself, Life exists for This brief period is for My pleasure and My ease, Give Me My rights, I am clear of My way, I want, and I will have. In the other case of self-sacrifice. In the place of the primitive law of Survival of the fittest

ival of the Fittest, the Moral Law ordains the fittest of as many as possible to survive. Progress is an and idealistic growth, and this leads me to my last thought, namely The Christian Ethical Ideal. The masters of morality and religion have insisted on universality of spirit and love as the secret spring of blessedness. Jesus Christ emphasised the brotherhood of man, or the unity of human nature, and taught universal association and equality of man with man. Christianity conceives human society as a spiritual organism in which each individual attains his highest development as he identified himself with his fellows. This principle depends upon the spiritual identity of man and man, and of man and God.

It is therefore possible, by divine grace, and loyalty to ourselves, and the God in us, to transcend the many barriers of class and race, most of which are of our making, and to realise our ideal in practical life.

There are people who are apt to peep-peep at reference to ideals and idealism. But ideals cannot be ignored; they are founded on reality. It is ideals that have always inspired reformers and leaders of the world, urging them on and on to lofty attainments in the improvement of social and other conditions. True ideals must not, therefore be regarded as languid dreams, or mere matters for aesthetic contemplation, impossible of realisation in practical life. On the contrary, they are an expression of a higher and truer interpretation of the Universe, and embody a spiritual reality behind the material realism which men spend themselves in by directing their talent and energy along self-seeking channels.

What is the Attitude of the Church as regards the problems and difficulties arising from the contact of races? Is it one of neutrality and indifference. If so, then the subject has been ill-chosen. Or is the attitude of the Church one of partisanship? If so then the Church is untrue to its trust.

I am happy to say that I derive encouragement from the fact that Christian international organisations, all over the world are more and more engaging in a free and impartial discussions of such problems, with a view to their adjustment. I had the pleasure of attending one such international conference in Glasgow in 1921, and

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The problems discussed were exactly of this order. I find ~~encouragement~~ assurance in the fact that in this very hall, the Dutch Reformed Church convened a conference of Africans and Europeans in 1923 to discuss ~~an~~ question of exactly this type in a true Christian spirit.

The application of the Christian ideal to the problems of race throws a new light—a spiritual light on them. It enlarges the outlook, and gives fuller and truer apprehension of the values involved. Finally, let me remind you that moral and religious reforms originate in a small way, not in nations, but from individuals and small groups, and thence spread outwards in ever-increasing circles, nations and continents are influenced. And also the race relationships are not determined only by party politicians and parliaments. But the nature and scope of such relationships may ~~arise~~ originate in individual, one society, one Church.

Mr Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, I thank you.

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