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P.O. ANERLEY,
South Coast,
Natal.

19th November, 1952.

Dear Steve,

Many thanks for your letter of November 12 and for the cheque for £30 enclosed, for which I return the receipt.

I should just like to tell you that I never said that force must not be met by force. I am not a pacifist and do not object to the use of force against lawless people. But the moment you start to talk about a united white front, you are doing two things. You are excluding every black man from having any part in your civilisation, and you are forcing every black man who wishes to take part in it into the ranks of hooligans and rogues. The black minister who saved a white child in Port Elizabeth is a ~~direct~~ ^{true} upholder of our civilisation. What do we do with him? Do we bring him in, or do we inexorably force him out into the ranks of his own kind where his voice will be lost and he will be ~~ruled~~ ^{ruled} by the violent? May I never be tempted to join a united white front against legitimate black aspirations. I am willing to join in the defence of law and order, but never any united white front.

Why should there not be divisions in our small white community. Do you mean to tell me I must make common cause with men who are determined, at any cost whatever, to prevent the advance of other men. There are certain great ideals of liberty and justice which must be unwearyingly pursued, no matter how difficult the circumstances, and many of these difficulties which face us now have been manufactured by ourselves.

I do not know about leaving the ivory tower and getting into the hurly-burly. Certainly I am prepared to go a long way in working for a party which will fight for equal rights for all civilised men. My own view, however, is that this should be a Liberal Association until after the elections. Whether it will be in time or not is a matter that neither you nor I can control, but, at least, in the meantime, we can do our duty.

There is only one ideal which can possibly be opposed to the terrible finality of no equality in Church or State, and that is equal rights for all civilised men. Some fools think there is a

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middle way between these two, but there is not. Why, equal rights for all civilised men is itself a middle way between white domination on the one hand and black domination on the other, neither of which will be tolerable for any decent men. I am coming up to Johannesburg in December to speak on these very things, and shall hope to see you.

Yours as before,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'A.S.P.', written in dark ink.