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13 JAN 1953

INDIAN OPINION

No. 2—VOL.—LI

FRIDAY,
9TH JANUARY, 1953

Registered at the C.P.D. as a Newspaper

Price 6d.

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

DIPLOMACY FROM GLASS HOUSES

NOVEMBER number of 'The Forum' (Johannesburg) writes: Dr. Malan's tirade against India was a diplomatic blunder of memorable size. It was nicely timed for the opening day of the current session of the United Nations, and it bore all the marks of full deliberation. To defend South Africa against criticism led by India, the Union Government resolved to adopt the old strategy that attack is the best form of defence; and, child-like, to cry out, "You're another!"

It is a strategy that is bound to fail. The reasons for its failure should have been apparent in advance to anyone with even a limited knowledge of international politics.

For one does not have to claim profound knowledge of the way the world is going to recognise that India to-day holds a key position in the balance of power that divides the world. A glance at the globe shows that India lies adjacent to both Russia and China as well as next door to such unsettled countries as Iran and Burma. If India chose in a conflict to side with the East rather than the West, the whole outlook would be gravely altered. At the present time, India is following a careful policy not of neutrality, but of independence of both the great power blocs of West and East. She declines to commit herself to either side, preferring to judge every international issue on its merits.

This may or may not be an admirable policy to pursue amid the tensions of the times, but it is a policy that India does follow and that she is free to follow. In these circumstances both Britain and the United States have adjusted themselves to the fact and taken proper account of it in shaping their own attitudes.

Dr. Malan's blast on the subject of India's internal problems crashes into this international situation with the delicacy of a bull in a china shop. It can have produced nothing but embarrassment and dismay among South Africa's friends abroad.

To make matters worse, Dr. Malan showed himself ignorant about what is actually happening inside India. When India attained her full freedom five years ago, she set about providing herself with the legal framework of a modern state. The new constitution, drafted entirely by Indians, includes a bill of human rights. The legal status of the "untouchable" out-castes was revolutionised. The practice of "untouchability" was abolished and the disabilities formerly attached to it were prohibited by law. The power of the new state has indeed been used to fight against all forms of religious and racial prejudice in India. No doubt things as deep-seated as those prejudices will last a long time. No doubt they are not easily removed by the mere passage of laws against them. But the incontestable fact remains that, under Mr. Nehru's wise leadership, India is exerting every effort that a federal Government can make to put in order her own huge, untidy house.

It is true that people who live in glass houses should not throw stones at their neighbours. That is why India has been busy replacing her most exposed glass walls with solid brick. South Africa, on the other hand, especially under the Nationalists, has spent an inordinate amount of energy in extending her glass walls. The world keeps looking with surprise through these walls and sending journalists to report on the curious building operations. This is the time Dr. Malan has chosen to pick up a handful of stones and throw them back at India. It is an action that would be easy to understand in a battle among schoolboys. As a method of national defence, as a contribution to international order and security, and as a novel departure in diplomacy, these tactics have nothing to commend them:



The duty of a lawyer is always to place before the judges, and to help them to arrive at, the truth, never to prove the guilty as innocent.



A man eating meat...but living in fear of God is nearer his salvation than a man...abstaining from meat...but blaspheming God in every one of his acts.

—Mahatma Gandhi.



INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 9TH JANUARY, 1953

Change Of Name Suggested

'INDIAN OPINION' was founded fifty years ago. The necessity for the publication of the paper had arisen then to ventilate the grievances of Indians settled and domiciled in South Africa. These grievances had arisen owing to Indians being discriminated against by the White Government on the basis of their race and colour. Indians, however, who had advanced both educationally and economically claimed equal opportunities with the White man. This was denied to them and discriminatory legislation was passed against them. The fight against such legislation has continued ever since. In the meantime the other communities have made great progress and are now asserting their legitimate rights in this land of their birth. The White Government is averse to conceding those rights and have now made two distinctive groups—the White and the non-White. The policy is to create as many different groups within the non-White groups as possible with the obvious object to divide and rule. Placed under such adverse circumstances the non-Whites have now united into a common front. The question today has become one of White vs. non-White. It is no longer a question between Whites vs. Indians.

In the circumstances the question has arisen whether the name 'Indian Opinion' is not outdated and whether it is not desirable to change the name into one which would embrace all the non-Whites. But then there are Whites too who are strongly opposed to the racial policy of the Government and seek the abolition of the colour bar from the South African legislation and stand for justice for all South Africans. So then it is really not a question of Whites vs. non-whites but of Justice vs. Injustice—Right vs. Wrong. It is felt therefore that 'Indian Opinion' should represent that broader outlook and its name should

signify that. It is felt that there is a lack of true statesmanship in South Africa and that it would be fitting if the paper founded by Mahatma Gandhi would point the way to that. The view has therefore been expressed that there should be a change in the name of 'Indian Opinion' to suit the present changed circumstances. It is felt by those responsible for conducting the paper that the reading public should be taken into their confidence in this matter and to get to know their wishes. The question before them is: (1) Whether the present name of the paper should be changed and (2) If it should be changed what should be the new name given to it?

From a purely sentimental point of view many would be averse to changing the present name. But it is desirable that much importance should not be attached to sentiment and that the question should be viewed from a broader aspect. We would request the reading public to give their views on the matter within one month from the date of this issue. The management will try to respect the wish of the majority but it will be solely in their discretion to act as they deem fit.

One of the new names already suggested is 'The Statesman.'

The Plight Of Indians

THE following letter appears in the 'Rand Daily Mail' dated January 1.

Sir,—The Krugersdorp Town Council's action in recommending to the Land Tenure Advisory Board that Krugersdorp be made an area for European occupation only, and that all Asiatic traders should cease doing business and living in Krugersdorp has come as a deep shock to many European residents of the town. It is a wicked plan, completely unworthy of Krugersdorp, and one which, if successfully carried out, would throw 700 Asiatic men women and children on to the streets.

These people live on a usually modest income derived from trading

with Europeans (they are not allowed to trade in the locations) and have been good and peaceful citizens and rate-payers of the town since republican days.

It is incredible that not one member of the Council, apparently, raised his voice in protest against this scheme. Many European rate-payers, however, are furious that their Town Council should have so much as suggested it. It is an action like this—discrimination on purely racial grounds—which gives South Africa such a bad name overseas. It is un-Christian and undemocratic.—C. R. S. PALMER

The plight of Indians in the Union has no bounds. Indians in Pretoria, Springs and other towns too, we understand, are faced with a similar situation. In the circumstances we have no doubt we are voicing the sentiments of the Indian community in saying how very grateful we are for this voice of sympathy and justice coming from a true Christian. It is like a ray of light amidst the encircling gloom. Unless the volume of the voice grows rapidly the Indians and the non-Europeans will undoubtedly suffer but no one knows what will become of South Africa herself. We are tempted to quote here from a letter we have received from a distinguished European friend the following words: "For the sake of the Europeans as well as for the non-Europeans I can only hope and pray that Justice may be done. If not, we Europeans will ultimately suffer more than you of other races in this country."

It is high time for those Indians who are still apathetic and who are carefully guarding their material wealth while others are suffering, to take a lesson from these happenings. However much they may guard it their material wealth will slip away unknowingly. What will remain with them is their manhood. That will live till eternity. If they have not that they will die like worms and nobody will take any notice of them. That is therefore the greatest wealth and the Government has given them a unique opportunity to prove their worth. Are they going to have faith in God and obey His law or live as slaves of the tyrant. They should rather die at the hands of the tyrant than to surrender to his will and live an ignominious life. God alone is our Saviour and we must dedicate our all unto Him. That is the only way we all have to take. The sooner we realise it the better for us and for all.

Catholic Church Shows The Way

ALL men of goodwill and, in particular, the Christians in all parts of the world will receive with joyful gratitude the news of the appointment of Monsignor Emmanuel Mabhathoana as Bishop of Leribe. This is the first occasion that an African has been elevated to the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church and in important essentials this marks an important turning-point in the history of the Christian Church in Africa south of the equator.

The appointment is an eloquent recognition of the fact that the African, like every other human being created by God, is as devoted to the service of his Creator as any other human being. In a country dominated by wicked racial ideas, the need was very great for the Christian Church to witness for the African in this regard.

But a particularly gratifying aspect of the appointment is that once more the Roman Catholic Church has taken the courageous stand of asserting its unshakable belief in the brotherhood of Man and in the common fatherhood of God. It always seemed strange that in South Africa the Christian Church more often than not temporised when it came to declaring openly for this principle. The Catholic Church has taken a clear and unambiguous stand and this should make it clear to all the world where the Church stands—for it is one thing to declare principles and in our experience it is quite another thing to practice them in dealings with the man of colour.

We speak for every South African of goodwill, regardless of creed and colour when we warmly congratulate the Catholic Church on its decision. And while doing this, we should at the same time warmly congratulate Monsignor Mabhathoana on the distinguished service he has given to the Church and which has enabled him to demonstrate that the people from whom he comes are as good children of the Creator as any found on earth. Monsignor Mabhathoana has won distinguished honour for the African people as a whole and the Roman Catholic Church, by recognising his rare abilities, has won for itself a proud place in the hearts of very many Africans—even outside the Church.

NOTES

A Warning To Those Who Travel From One Province To Another

WE wish to sound a note of warning to all Indians who enter one Province of the Union from another on any account not to do so without acquiring a permit from the Immigration Department. For if they do and are caught they will be running the risk of being locked up in prison immediately and kept there for one night and hauled up the next day before the Magistrate who is empowered to sentence any such person being convicted to a maximum period of three months' imprisonment without an option of a fine. The authorities are so strict that they do not even allow such a person to be released on bail. The practice of examining passengers travelling by train on border towns, whether they hold a permit of entry or not has been done away with for a considerable long time, and no vigilance is kept on those travelling by road. But the law is still there and is being over-strictly enforced under the present Government who is determined to adopt every possible means to coerce the Indians and, on the slightest pretext, to get them out of the country. Nobody should therefore take any risk unless he or she does it intentionally to defy the law and is fully prepared to suffer the consequences.

Government Makes Another Mistake

The decision to reject the idea of the United Nations Commission on apartheid coming to investigate conditions on the spot is a deplorable and unstatesmanlike blunder on the part of the Government. Not so very long ago the Union Government told the United Nations that it deplores colour discrimination. Very many people in this country raised their eyebrows sceptically when they read this. But once the United Nations had decided to come and find out the truth for itself, if South Africa had nothing to hide, it should have allowed the commission to come. As things stand, nobody with intelligence will believe the things the Government says at UNO on its good intentions towards the man of colour when it cannot allow that good to be subjected to public scrutiny. The truth which the Government seeks to hide is that there are very many things which the commission will bring to light which have not up to

now been publicised. For, in all seriousness the non-Europeans have been very modest in stating their case against racial oppression. Their strongest indolments of apartheid have been little more than understatements.

Greater South Africa

In Miniature
In the storm of racial conflict which now rages in South Africa the news report from Johannesburg describing the guests at the Bishop of Johannesburg's children's Christmas party was a ray of light which once more justified the hopes, the sacrifices and the struggles of those who labour for a South Africa where merit alone, and not colour, will be the criterion by which to assess the value of a man. According to the news reports, the Bishop invited the children of all the Anglican clergy in his diocese

regardless of colour, to a Christmas party. African and European children played freely, without inhibitions on the lawn. A young African lady, whose new shoes were an encumbrance to her had no qualms whatever in disposing unceremoniously of them and running about freely in the bare feet Nature gave her. The pleasure of the Bishop's party is a pleasure of the Greater South Africa for which all men of goodwill work. The destiny of South Africa lies along the path where no man shall be penalised for having been created dark; where men of all races shall be bound together by a common love for their country and a mutual regard for each other's contributions to its greatness. When that time comes man shall banish racial hatred from their hearts. The Bishop's little guests showed what a happy country ours will be when that state of affairs is reached.

distribution, nor will it associate with any other committee in South Africa.

The Christian Action Committee of London, which holds the money, is an inter-denominational group of churchmen headed by Canon John Collins, the Chancellor of St. Paul's

The idea of the fund arose when people who read of the racial troubles in South Africa sent money to newspapers and periodicals in Britain to be used to help any victims. Through the committee, churches collected money for the same purpose from their congregations, and finally the funds collected by the newspapers and the churches were put together in the relief fund to be administered by the Christian Action Committee, through the new relief group in South Africa.

Mr. Blaxall said there was sufficient money in the fund at present, but it was by no means a large sum.

VICTIMS OF RACIAL DISTURBANCES

TO GET AID FROM OVERSEAS

PEOPLE suffering in any way through no cause of their own, whether European or non-European, from the results of past or possible future racial disturbances in the Union, will be helped financially by a fund organized by the Christian Action Committee of London, it was announced last week by the Rev. A. W. Blaxall, secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa. This fund will take money from overseas sources only, and no donations will be solicited or accepted in South Africa. The distribution of the relief funds will, however, be administered by a group of people connected with churches in the Union and with welfare and aid societies.

Mr. Alan Paton has agreed to be chairman of the group, and a preliminary meeting attended by representatives of the Society of Friends, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the Church of the Province (Anglican), and other such bodies was held recently.

Mr. Blaxall said the group's task will be to approach directly or circularize ministers of religion and social welfare bodies, and ask them to collate information about people adversely affected by racial disturbances.

Relief will most likely be given to families of non-Europeans whose heads or other wage-earners lose jobs because of strikes or other such action, or

who are killed or wounded in disturbances.

The group will decide whether such injuries or loss of work are due to direct participation in disturbances by those affected, but a principle is that children or wives of men directly involved cannot be held responsible for such action.

Europeans suffering as a result of disturbances will also receive aid if their suffering is no fault of their own.

Mr. Blaxall said the group had already begun its task, and had inquired through church ministers about possible help to riot victims. It had approached the Mayor of Port Elizabeth to ask if people who had benefited from his fund needed further help.

On no account will the group turn over any money to political or semi-political organizations for

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WESTERN CIVILISATION

V—BACK FROM BARBARISM

(C. W. M. GELL)

IN the last article we discussed the revitalisation of Christianity by a new emphasis on inner spirituality. Great as would be the new potentiality of such Christianity within the national compartments of our Western culture, it would have an immense significance beyond.

For, as a result of the aggression of the West and its conquest of land, sea and air, the world has become physically one. In the context of this physical unity, exclusive national and racial cultures have become dangerous anomalies. But all efforts to evolve a world political unity are bound to fail until there is a common spiritual approach to the problem. This is not to advocate a syncretic religion; but rather, a cross-fertilisation of existing religions. So that each religious tradition, while retaining its individuality, distinctive doctrines and characteristic pieties, will become aware of its spiritual fellowship with the other great traditions and will recognise that the many religions are all dialects of the one language of the human spirit, which reflects the Spirit of God. For beneath the multiplicity of forms the quest is one. But the practice of this *sanatana dharma*—the higher spirituality—is not possible when the existing religious traditions are mutually exclusive. Here again, we can learn from the spiritual toleration practised through the ages by the indigenous religions of India. We need to abandon what Radhakrishnan has called "the strange obsession of the Semitic faiths—Christianity, Judaism and Islam—that the acceptance of a particular religious metaphysic is necessary for salvation, and non-acceptance thereof is a heinous sin meriting eternal punishment in hell." The intolerance of those who served a jealous God and sought to work His will by force is written in letters of blood throughout human history. It is practised today by those who imagine themselves to be the agents of an inexorable dialectic of history. Intolerance, like all forms of one-sidedness, is barbaric. The civilised man recognises that he is not alone possessed of the truth and, if a Christian, appeals to the verdict of St. Augustine:

"That which is called the Christian religion existed among the ancients and never did not exist from the beginning of the human race until Christ came in the flesh, at which time the true religion began to be called Christianity."

In this spirit of tolerance towards the outward forms of all religions and respect for their inner motives, it will be possible for the devout of all the great spiritual traditions to work together from their very diverse starting-points for the coming of what Christians call the Kingdom of God. World peace or effective world government, are not possible without a foundation in a world spirituality.

But before this universal ethic can be practised, there has to be performed that task in which, above all others, our generation has failed. Even an age to which the gift of fresh spiritual insight is not given, can draw upon the vast spiritual storehouse of the religious experience of the centuries, provided that it is willing to think out the rational interpretation of that experience in the language of its own time and then to work out its practical application to contemporary problems. Religious experience, of which the mystical vision is the heart, remains a mere dream (except for those rare souls to whom it comes) until it has been interpreted by the intellect and practised by the will. Interpretation is the function of philosophy and its practice is ethics; the two together constitute the essential activity of civilisation. The particular and tragic failure of our contemporary Western culture has been its inability, in terms both of time and inclination, to submit to the rigorous mental discipline and conscious self-control which this process demands.

Mankind's Only Hope

As an instance of this, we may briefly consider the conception, mentioned above, of the Kingdom of God. The idea in its modern form originated with Jesus, who, believed in its imminence as a supernatural event. Time has falsified the dogmatic setting of that intense eschatological hope, but not its spiritual significance. It remains something to be realised, not as an act of God (as Jesus believed), but by our own devoted efforts to live out the gospel of love which he taught and practised to the end. To us is given a great opportunity to recapture the immediacy and urgency which inspired the early Church. Mankind today must either realise the Kingdom of God or perish. Where the first believers set their hope solely on the Kingdom of God in expectation of the end of the world, we

must do it in expectation of the end of the human race. If the Spirit of God cannot prevail over the spirit of the world, we shall shortly abuse our scientific discoveries to destroy mankind. But the Spirit of God cannot conquer the world until it has won its victory in our hearts. This it can only do when we have made the experience of Jesus our own by meditation and thought, and thus learnt to live out his ethic in our lives. To paraphrase Shelley, we have "... to think, till thought creates from its own wreck the thing it contemplates."

The final stage in the evolution of civilisation is ethics; from religion interpreted by philosophy to its practice in action. This is clearly something very different from mere dynamism or unreflective activity. Ethics is the ordering of our whole lives, both in general principles and daily detail, by conscious allegiance to the ideals which have come down to us through the medium of thought from the primal spiritual consciousness.

Defects

The first purpose of these articles has been to direct attention to the central defects of Western civilisation, of which the greatest are misapplication of energy and lack of thought. It would stultify my object if I were to attempt to impose my solution, even if I were vain enough to think that I had one. But I will briefly refer to Schweitzer's ethic of "reverence for life" which, I believe, points our way.

This is founded on the realisation that man is will-to-live, living in a world of living creatures which also will to live. But unlike the animals, man, being endowed with reason and volition, is able partly to free himself from the natural, predatory cycle of will-to-live preying upon will-to-live. What he needs is a compelling moral principle, which Schweitzer discovered after long search in the phrase Reverence for Life. This recognises that all creatures share with man the mystery of being alive and therefore have an equal right to continued existence—since we cannot presume to read the cosmic purpose, in fulfilment of which we and they were created. Thus, ethics becomes the recognition that it is good to maintain and further life, bad to damage and destroy it. Reverence for life wonders, indeed, why life can only be maintained at the expense of other life. It regards this painful enigma as putting us under the obligation of taking life only under the pressure of necessity—either for food or in self defence—and of conducting ourselves towards all forms of life as one who owes a debt for the lives he has

had to end. At no stage may the individual escape his personal responsibility for decisions in regard to living things, whether fellow-men, animals, insects or plants. Individual ethics are absolute as against social or national ethics; and no external authority may ever relieve or mitigate our individual responsibility. The ethic of reverence for life is not merely a negative one of refraining from doing harm (as the Indian doctrine of *ahimsa* sometimes appears); it enjoins the greatest possible activity in the promotion of life and the happiness of life and in the alleviation of all forms of suffering and distress. With the Buddhist, Schweitzer would say: "As long as living creatures suffer, there is no possibility of joy for the man who is full of compassion."

Essence Of Civilisation

Schweitzer calls his ethic "ethical mysticism," since it combines serviceable activity in the world of sense with the spiritual experience of God as Will of Love from which it derives its inspiration. It is the ethic of love widened into universality and, therefore, an ethical expression of the teaching of Jesus in the language of our time. It calls each one of us to be an active warrior for the coming of the Kingdom. As Schweitzer sees it:

"The essence of civilisation consists in this, that the reverence for life which is my will-to-live struggling for recognition does get stronger and stronger in individuals and mankind."

We so often hear the present crisis in the world described as a struggle between Democracy and Communism. But these are only the outward forms. The real tension is within our souls. Democracy is a barren thing indeed, unless the mentality of committee is transformed into a spirit of fellowship by great ideals commonly held and plain tasks commonly envisaged. The real struggle lies, as Radhakrishnan insists, "between empires and material values, supported by organised religions and provincial patriotisms, and the sovereignty of spiritual ideals..." A reborn living faith in spiritual values is the deepest need of our lives. Only religion which demands as its first principle individual change, the substitution of the divine for the dark image in the soul, can create that new heart in the peoples."

The great heresies of our times are the beliefs that man is merely a political or a social or an economic animal, and that his troubles can be solved by changing the hierarchy of power or by developing his control of nature

Some of these external remedies may be necessary to create the conditions in which civilisation may become possible.

But, finally and fundamentally, man is a fragment of spiritual life whose serious business is religion, of which philosophy is the word and ethics the deed. There can be no civilisation unless it is based on this fact. Its two foundations are the recognition that the whole possibility of civilisation depends on the vision, thought and will of individual men; and that, therefore, its price is constant vigilance in defence of the ideal of spiritual and intellectual independence, both against the

tyranny of human authority as represented by Church, State or Society and against the tyranny of the material life which presses so hard upon us today. We Westerners—and not we alone—have to learn again to respect every individual personality as a reflection of the image of God; and each in his own life to develop the full possibilities of that personality by seeking God intuitively, interpreting Him nationally, and practising His Will ethically. This is the pattern of the civilised life, whether Western or Eastern, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist or Muslim.

THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

ACTIVITIES ABROAD

(From a letter received by an esteemed correspondent in Johannesburg)

AMERICAN newspapers featured reports of the resistance band led by Mr. Patrick Duncan and Mr. Manilal Gandhi at Germiston last month.

In Chicago there is growing interest in the Union's racial policies. Roosevelt College organised a special conference on the subject in concert with four other bodies active in race relations. Dr. Edward J. Sparling, president of the college, was in the chair at one session and Dr. Homer Jack, the well-known Unitarian pastor, at another. Professor Z. K. Matthews of Port Harcourt made a deep impression with his discourse, as he has done in all his addresses in the United States.

In New York, a new group has recently been formed under the name of "Americans for South African Resistance." One of its objects is to collect money for the resistance campaign. The Rev. Michael Scott has also been in touch with these and similar activities abroad.

Roosevelt College was founded a few years ago in protest against the colour bar introduced into another Chicago college. It has been a great success, attracting many famous lecturers.

Mr. Patrick Duncan Admired

[Commenting on the Germiston band of resisters, the conservative British weekly, 'The Economist' says: "Few people outside South Africa can fail to admire the courage shown by Mr. Patrick Duncan and others in courting arrest at the hands of Dr. Malan's Government. The name of his father, Sir Patrick



Mr. Patrick Duncan

Duncan, is one to conjure with in the Union; he was widely and sincerely respected among all races. Now his son has associated himself as a European with the movement of defiance against the policy of apartheid. No one can pretend that this decision and the motives behind it have anything whatsoever to do with communism. What effect will it have? So far, the action of this small group of seven Europeans has been coolly received in public, even on the United Party side. . . . Yet a large number of white South Africans are known to sympathise in private with the defiance campaign; and no employers have yet penalised any Africans for taking part in it. Mr. Duncan and his associates have given a lead which some of their countrymen may yet follow.

[Mr. Patrick Baker Duncan, son of the late Sir Patrick Duncan, first South African to become the Governor-General

of the Union, was born on the 29th June, 1918. He was educated in Johannesburg, Capetown (Diocesan College), Switzerland and England (Winchester and Bellin). He joined Colonial Service at the end of 1940 and was posted to Basutoland early in 1941 as Assistant District Officer. In 1945 he was seconded to the office of the High Commissioner, Pretoria and Capetown. In 1946 he served as Private Secretary to the High Commissioner Sir Evelyn Baring. In 1947 he got married to Miss Cynthia Ashley Cooper (daughter of Sir Patrick Ashley Cooper, Governor of Hudson's Bay Company and director of the Bank of England. The same

year he returned to Basutoland. In June 1949 he went to England for 2nd Devonshire course at London University, lasting nearly a year. He returned to Basutoland as Judicial Commissioner (with court hearing appeal cases from the Paramount Chief's courts.) In 1951 he met Manilal Gandhi and began a deep study of Mahatma Gandhi's literature. In 1952 he resigned from Colonial service in order to assist in realising Gandhi's political ideals in South Africa. He is a father of two sons aged five and three and has taken up farming at Basutoland. His residential address is Riverside Farm, Box 77, Maseru, Basutoland.

UN FIGHTS PREJUDICE

THE United Nations last month took further important steps in its struggle to secure racial equality all over the world. The General Assembly adopted a resolution condemning all forms of racial discrimination. The resolution and the debate arose largely from the report of the special committee on colonies. This report contains a notable section on race relations.

The report declares that effective means of eliminating race prejudice and of establishing racial equality should be sought by all States in the form of laws and administrative practices. In addition enlightened public opinion should be encouraged by education. The report points out that, with the evolution of society, so-called "protective legislation," originally intended to shelter indigenous people, may become unnecessary and even degenerate into discrimination. This danger occurs particularly when members of a "protected community," such as Africans, have come to share the general life of other elements in society.

The Committee on Colonies expressed the opinion that it is highly desirable to abolish racial discrimination. This, it says, is now a matter of urgency because, with the quicker pace of economic and social development and the increasing contact between all races, forms of dis-

crimination that were perhaps small in their effects on a largely immobile and isolated community may rapidly become sources of real hardship and legitimately bitter grievance. The Committee regards legislation as an important means of breaking down prejudice.

This latter conclusion is very significant. It means that UN has virtually endorsed the view held by the best sociologists that it is possible to reduce common prejudice by law. This view is based on the experience of New York, Illinois, Massachusetts and several other American States which have passed laws prohibiting racial discrimination in public or private employment and in the use of publicly provided amenities of all kinds.

The Committee on Colonies included among its members the colonial powers and also India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Egypt and Brazil.

An attempt to make this a permanent committee of UN was defeated, but the committee was set up for another three years, Britain promising to cooperate with it for that period, but no longer.

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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

PLAN TO BAN CONGRESS

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THERE is reason to believe that at any time now the Malan Government might declare the African National Congress an illegal body under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The Government Press continues its distorted interpretation of Congress policies. The idea behind all this is to create the impression in the public mind that the Congress is riddled with Communists and that drastic action is therefore justified.

But the facts of the situation indicate plainly that the African National Congress is not and has never been a Communist or, for that matter, Left-Wing organisation.

It was founded in 1912 by the late Dr. Pixley ka I. Seme. The late Dr. John L. Dube was its first president-general. Its aims were to weld together the African peoples of the Union into one political and cultural bloc for purposes of self-preservation. Secondly, it was launched to create a situation in the body politic of the country where the African would be recognised and accepted as a citizen like every other South African.

To start with, it put forward the African case by resort to petitions, deputations, representations and appeals to England under the mistaken view that South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth meant that the Queen of England could influence the trend of Union legislation. Quite unmistakably, it was a body composed of moderates all along the line.

After the failure of the deputations to England—that was during the early twenties—the African National Congress seriously committed itself to active collaboration with the liberals. But then, liberalism at the time accepted the status quo and tended to frown visibly on anything which inclined to what was then called "extremism."

It was partly in revolt against this that during the middle twenties the African people elected the late Mr. J. T. Gumede as their spokesman Number One. In some ways Mr. Gumede was a very impressionable man. Unlike his predecessors in office Moscow cultivated a very strong liking for him—with the result that he was invited to Russia. When he reached the country of the

Soviets he was treated, in his own words, "as though he was the Prime Minister of the Union."

He was aflame with love for the Soviet system when he returned to this country. So serious was his love that he went to Bloemfontein where he harangued the Congress delegates on the virtues of Russian Socialism. I have never come across satisfactory evidence to show that Mr. Gumede was a Communist. On the other hand he never concealed his admiration for the things he saw in Russia during his guided and planned tour of the Soviets.

The reactions of the Congress conference were prompt and characteristic: a vote of no confidence in him was moved and carried. After that Moscow gave up the job of trying to monkey about directly with the leadership of the African National Congress.

A new tactic was tried. Hand-picked Africans were sent from the Union to Leningrad and Moscow for advanced training in Communism. When these returned they made no spectacular bid to lead the masses. Like most good Africans, they joined the African National Congress and a few of them were on and off elected to the executive committee of this body. In the meantime, of course, the Communist Party of South Africa had been brought into being. They spent most of their time as functionaries of the party, than as active Congressmen.

During this time Congress was trying, under the impact of the All-African Convention, to wean itself from the influence of its liberal guides.

Then came World War II. The moderate leaders of Congress decided not to embarrass the Government—in the words of an unfortunate Native Representative Council pronouncement. The Communists, would have nothing to do with an imperialist war.

But when Hitler invaded the Soviets, and Stalin was forced to fight, the local Communists immediately rallied behind Smuts and fought for democracy and liberation.

Events in the outside world towards the end of the war had already made a deep impression on the African people. Everywhere the demand was made that a new and determined

bid should be made to enable the African to emerge recognised as a citizen from the war. But the Congress leaders of the time were inseparably wedded to their policy of not embarrassing the Government. As a result, Mr. Paul R. Mosaka, who once held a seat in the now defunct Natives Representative Council, formed what he called the African Democratic Party. Though it was a movement led by Africans it had no colour bar. Everybody could be a member, regardless of colour.

At the same time a movement of revolt was going on inside the African National Congress itself. This had its origin in the spirit of nationalism which had then taken firm root in the hearts of the African people. It led to the formation of the Congress Youth League, a militant and anti-Communist band of young men and women who worked untiringly to save Congress from falling under Communist domination.

A protracted cold war was fought over this issue and ended with the triumph of the League. Congress became a militant organisation and spurned Marxian violence in favour of Gandhian satyagraha. From then onwards the road was clear for the defiance campaign which has driven the Government to the extreme of planning to ban the African National Congress.

The world needs to know that if and when the African National Congress is banned, it will not

be because it is under Communist influence. It will be because the Congress has emerged as the only single factor strong enough to bring apartheid toppling to the ground.

The persecution of Congress leaders as well as the proposed ban are not blows at a subversive movement for nowhere has the case for subversion been established. They are the desperate blows of a desperate band of politicians against the only body which has shown that it has the strength, the determination, the courage and the following to make mince-meat of apartheid. That is the crime that the African National Congress has committed. It is a crime which can never be tolerated in apartheid philosophy.

It is particularly unpardonable now, after Congress has shown that it has the strength not only to crush apartheid but also to influence the course of events in the general elections next year. It is no secret that the African National Congress, like every democratic body, is vitally interested in the outcome of the elections. If Congress has its way, it would certainly take every lawful precaution to ensure that the Malanites were not returned to power. But Congress's interest would not end there. African Congressmen want to make South Africa the land of the free; where Christ's Golden Rule applies instead of the satanic creed of apartheid which preaches racial hatred and tyranny.

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A CIVILIZATION IN DECAY

By WILFRED WELLOCK

The following is one of a series of articles the author has written on "The Supreme Crisis Of Our Civilization:"

CIVILIZATIONS count time in eras, which blossom and decay. Life is illimitable, and thus progressive and expansive. It bursts into brilliance in periods of vision, contracts and fades, and even perishes when vision fails; and vision does sometimes fail. It is a fact of some significance that all Western civilizations have been short-lived. Only Eastern civilizations, like the Chinese and the Indian, have survived three millenniums. No outstanding vision has inspired Western civilization for several centuries and such as there have been are now exhausted. A new creative era lies within our reach, but there is no certainty that it will come to birth. Our genius has run to quantitative production and consumption, and to power in order to ensure these. Our lordship is over death and destruction, not over life. We have inaugurated the era of world economics and world wars, and devised the means of world destruction. But we lack the power to save us from that fate, which may be nearer than we dream. Is vision, then, to fail? That is the only question that now matters.

A Change In Men And Society

As a result of the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution on the nature of man and of society, the transference, by the compulsion of starvation, of craft workers from well-integrated villages to bleak soul-less towns, to lend power-driven machines to gaunt new factories, was transference from a life which yielded numerous social and spiritual values and thus had meaning, to one which had neither meaning nor a vestige of social or spiritual significance; from a status which embraced personal responsibility, creative opportunity, vocational and social value, independence and local standing, to a condition of abject dependence upon the will of a rich and powerful employer whose primary aim was presently to make money.

In due course, as competition for world markets grew, it became the practice to cheapen production by means of increased specialization. This ultimately led to the techniques of the assembling line, and the chain of repetitive machines,

when the percentage of repetitive labour in some industries reached as high as 95 per cent.

This Spiritual Atrocity

This condition is the negation of everything which has to do with human dignity and the culture of the spirit: it is in fact the negation of spiritual man, man the creator made in the image of God. In this set-up intelligence is a disability, a hindrance to production, as it stimulates a sense of frustration, destroys all interest in one's work and thus lowers production, whence all manner of diversions have to be introduced in order to condition people to function at the sub-human level. Increasingly scientists are being introduced for this very purpose; to such degradation has modern science sunk.

Neither religion nor culture has protested against this spiritual atrocity. Owing to the dexterity by which the new materialism was clothed with the sanctity of religion, a fatal blind-spot has developed in regard to it which even today obscures some of its worst consequences. The glorification of riches, of social status and national power has resulted in a condition of social and spiritual impoverishment, irresponsibility and weakening moral and social sensitivity which is visibly undermining the fabric of our civilization. The transforming of once responsible, well-integrated persons, craftsmen with social obligations and recompenses, into mechanized robots has caused work for the great majority to have no other significance than that of earning money. We thus arrive at a cash-based, materialistic civilization—a society of fragmented persons who live largely on mass-excitements and spectacles and expect to satisfy all their needs by means of money. In this spiritually barren existence religion has no meaning and the church only a perfunctory mission.

Need we wonder that pilfering among the workers, and conscienceless charging of high prices in the upper reaches of society are rampant, and are growing? The course of this evil is the loss of connection between a man's work and his soul. Lack of responsibility in work ends in lack of responsibility in morals. Indeed we are rapidly producing an amoral civilization. Its end will be near unless we reverse many of its processes.

Neo-Materialism Of Our Age

To sum up, the root problem of our age is spiritual, and arises from the rapidly increasing emphasis that has been placed on material values during the advance of the Industrial Revolution, which has resulted in the almost complete identification of human well-being or the good life with maximum consumption of goods and services.

In the West, greed and the love of riches and material abundance, which from the first have been the primary motives behind capitalism, have at last penetrated every section of society. They have neutralized the idealism of the early socialists—the men who stood for a qualitative civilization—and through Marx have passed on the incubus of materialism to Communism. Today a devouring materialism is ravaging the earth's resource at a greater rate than they are being replenished, either by maintaining the earth's fertility or by discovery and invention.

Devouring Earth's Resources

In the London 'Times' (17-8-49), an article on "The Wastage of Raw Materials" drew attention to the urgent need for their conservation, and quoted Dr. R. P. Linstead, F.R.S., at a meeting of the British Association, as follows:

"Man is now making vast raids upon capital resources. It has been stated that more minerals have been taken out of the ground in the U.S. since 1900 than from the whole world during the whole of previous history."

The article also stated that the American Association was told the year before that

"by the end of 1947 the cumulative production of coal during all past human history amounted to approximately 81,000 million metric tons. Of this, 62,000 millions have been mined and consumed since 1900.

The U.S. uses more iron and steel, more petrol, more newsprint, and more rubber, than all the rest of the world put together. She now imports all these raw materials and over eighty others, having largely exhausted her own supplies. Indeed 'Time' (31-15-'51) declared:

"In many ways the U.S., once the owner of seemingly inexhaustible natural treasure, was in danger of becoming a have-not nation."

And what is the goal of Western civilization? It is to reach America's standards of living!

Whither Mankind!

Almost throughout the West it appears to be taken for granted that the real issue today is the struggle for supremacy between the Western or American "way of life" and Communism. This is a tragic misreading of the times, and a world war fought on that issue would be the greatest calamity imaginable. It is an entirely unreal issue, as both these "ways of life" rest on power for the achievement of the highest possible standards of material living. The real difference between them is as to who shall distribute the national wealth and on what principle. As the conflict between these two ideologies deepens, the freedoms of democracy visibly weaken.

From that impasse there is no escape other than that of accepting the guidance of spiritual values and principles. The new materialism, so far from satisfying basic human needs, is producing a spirit of restlessness, and nowhere more strikingly than in the U.S. In the realm of appetites and indulgences there is no end to the multiplication of wants, while the more one has the more restless one becomes.

It is the nature of our life, due to modern industrialism, that is wrong, and it is wrong because it does not conform with man's spiritual needs, that forgotten better part of his nature. When the main motive of labour and industry is switched from satisfying self-expression to money-making, men become machines and societies competitive gladiatorial associations that live on excitements which they miscall sport and on self-indulgences, which they call fun.

A Civilization In Decay

Ours is a civilization in decay. It has become so outworn and unstable that growing fear is shaking its very foundations. If the decay is to be arrested, many of the spiritual rights and values that have been lost during the course of the Industrial Revolution must be restored. This will involve major changes in our economy, in our social, political and industrial organization and techniques: indeed in our entire way of life.

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Karachi December 14.

PAKISTAN'S CONSTITUTION

IT is feared that the framing of Pakistan's constitution may be a source of much internal argument and disension, for it is a matter on which opinion and emotion are very strong indeed. On the one side are those arguing that the constitution should be "Islamic" and on the other, those who say that there is no such thing and that the constitution of the country, while inspired by Quranic morality, should be devised in the light of present day needs and present day thinking. On this issue there has already been newspaper controversy and recently, Mr. A. K. Brohi, Advocate-General of Sind and a well-known lawyer and scholar, published convincing articles to show that any constitution which is based on the principles of freedom, equality and justice, is compatible with the tenets of Islam. Others took up the cudgels against him, but it was not difficult to see that Mr. Brohi got the better of the argument and since he himself is a devout Muslim and well-versed in Islamic learning, the victory was an important one for the Government which is believed to favour a constitution conceived on what may perhaps be called modern lines.

Nevertheless, those who clamour for a rigidly devised "Islamic" state, are vociferous and active. Generally speaking, the leaders in this movement are not intellectually well equipped to carry on their campaign, but as they address themselves to the narrow and ignorant, their own lack of grasp and scholarly deficiencies do not matter when agitating among their own followers. Still, an exception must be made in the case of Maulana Mahdoodi who is prominent in this affair and is generally recognised to be a man of considerable ability and knowledge.

Controversy on these matters generally appeals more to sentiment than to reason and it is to be hoped that when the time comes for public consideration on the draft constitution, dispute will be calm. There are some who feel that the matter could well be deferred until the Government finally overcomes its economic problems, but on the other hand, so much time has already elapsed that prolonged delay could only give rise to the accusation that those now in power are seeking to extend their control of affairs

indefinitely.

Around these matters of public concern, the development of the country and its resources proceeds. In the Punjab, the Thal areas, hitherto a desert waste, has been handed over to a Government-promoted, but autonomous body, the Thal Development Authority. Under the auspices of this body, the land is being reclaimed, levelled, cleared and put to the cultivation of grain, cotton and sugar cane. Landless people are being re-settled and given houses to live in, seed to sow and implements to use. The Authority is placing large orders for tractors, ploughs and irrigation plant. With the assistance of FAO experts, a considerable area has already been brought into profitable use and, in course of a few years, the Thal area will produce a large volume of natural wealth. The sugarcane will be processed at the conveniently situated and newly installed factory at Mardan. This factory is the largest in Asia and has been erected since the partition. Pakistan has always been obliged to spend a considerable amount of foreign exchange every year on the import of sugar, and it is perfectly feasible for Pakistan to grow and manufacture its own requirements of this foodstuff.

Oil prospecting is also being carried on, both in East to West Pakistan, by two major oil companies which, between them, are spending something in the order of ten crores of Pakistan rupees on these investigations. The prospects are described by well-informed people as "fairly good." So far, one or two new producing wells have been brought in in areas already proved, such as at the Attock Oil Company's field, but there has also been an interesting strike of natural gas at Bogti in Baluchistan. A substantial discovery of oil would change the face of the country, especially since it has no satisfactory coal resources of its own.

The passing reference to the cricket matches between India and Pakistan, deserves further mention, for it must be a satisfaction to everyone that this year Pakistan sent a team to India to play five Test matches, as well as games against other representative sides. Having defeated the English touring team last year, Pakistan entered the Imperial

Cricket Conference on the proposal of India which is also something pleasant to observe.

The Pakistan team has done well in India, with an innings victory in one Test match, defeats in two more and one drawn. The fifth match is now going on in Calcutta with the honours so far evenly shared. The Pakistan side is young and perhaps a little overwhelmed by the importance of the occasion. That is something they will grow out of. Meanwhile, they have shown that their standard of play is high and among them are some cricketers who, in a few years, are likely to

secure distinction on many a field. Hameed, the seventeen year-old schoolboy, has been amazing runs during the present tour and must be considered a prodigy. The best critics prophesy a great cricketing career for him.

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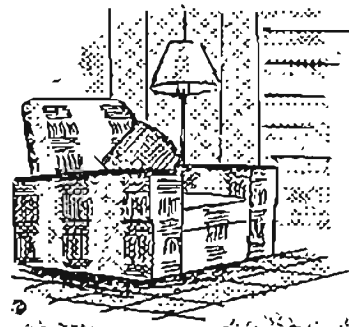
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SPORT IN INDIA

INDIA LEADS IN HOCKEY

IF in one sport India is on the top of the world, that is hockey or more technically, field hockey according to Olympic nomenclature.

Ever since India's maiden appearance in the Amsterdam World Olympiad of 1928, culminating in her overwhelming, run away triumphs over all and sundry, India has had no occasion to look back. Not only has her sequence of magnificent victories in successive Olympiads not been broken but not the slightest hint of a threat has been offered from any quarters. Like a great tidal wave India has swept all opposition: even the expected challenge from Pakistan, "a chip of the old block," as it were, in terms of technique and style was not forthcoming in the 1948 London Olympiad and the Helsinki meet of 1952.

Perhaps the analogy of a tidal wave in an effort to convey India's hockey supremacy is not appropriate. For India's strength lies in artistic stick work bordering on jugglery but at amazing speed, deft passes and perfect understanding—a style modelled on the "wizard" Dhyani Chand, the greatest hockey genius the world has ever seen. Thus India's strength is akin more to the unique fencing skill of a D'Artagnan than the "brute" force employed by a Samson in overpowering the proverbial Lion!

Cricket's Growing Popularity

It is however the British game of cricket that probably enjoys the greatest popularity in India. Thousands flock to the game and millions listen into running commentaries on it. The youngest member among the cricketing nations, until Pakistan's entry recently, India in 27 years of international cricket have had M.C.C. (England), the West Indies, Pakistan, besides many other representative teams on Indian soil and have toured England four times and Australia once for what is known as "Test" cricket. Although India has produced stalwarts in the game like Ranji, Duleep Singhji, Pataudi, C. K. Nayudu, Mahomed Nissar, Wasir Ali, Amar Singh, Vijay Hazare and Vinoo Mankad, their success in Test cricket has been limited.

So wide has been the popularity of cricket that the first complete stadium to be built in India was the Brabourne Stadium in Bombay which is one of the world's most symmetrical

stadia. This is significant particularly as the number of sports stadia in India cannot be said to be consistent with the intense enthusiasm for all sport in the country. It is only recently that the National Sports Club of India have built two fine Olympia Stadia in New Delhi and Bombay, thanks largely to the imagination and initiative of A. S. de Mello who gave India the Brabourne Stadium.

Honour For South African Indian

Mr. Cassim Ebrahim Jeewa, B.Sc., a South African Indian student studying in India for M.B.B.S. degree, has had the unique opportunity of being selected to represent the Uttar Pradesh Northern Province in the National Cricket Championship of India, for the Ranji Trophy, against the Madhya Pradesh Central Province Cricket XI. He is the first South African to play in the National Cricket Championship. Mr. Cassim Jeewa is the son of Mr. Ebrahim Jeewa, proprietor of the Union Printing Works, Durban, who is staying in India for educating his children and grandchildren. Mr. Cassim Jeewa is the captain of the Aligarh University Cricket Team 1951-52. He was awarded University Cricket Colour 1950-51 and best batsman and wicketkeeper prize 1950-51. He is also secretary of the South African Students Association, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1951-52. We congratulate Mr. Cassim Jeewa on his success and wish him good luck.

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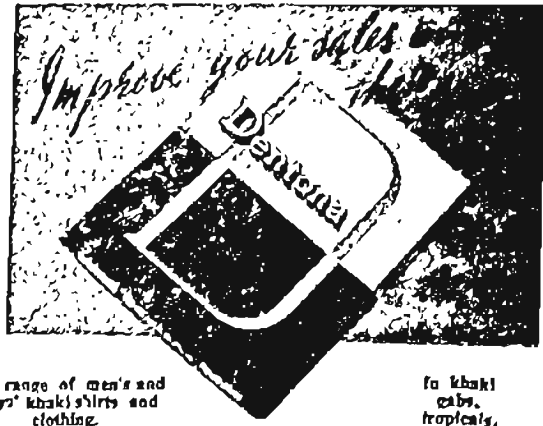
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