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OPINION

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A Declaration For The Increase Of Sight Among The Peoples Of The World

The above is the title of a meditation on Psalm 67 written by Phelps Putnam and appearing in a volume entitled 'The Modern Reader's Book Of Psalms' which was published a decade or more ago but, which only recently I picked up by chance on a second hand book counter. I commend it to all, as an exceptionally fine collection of translations of or meditations based on the 150 psalms in the Psalter. Such authors, as Auden, Tristram Coffin, Louis MacNeice, Padraic Colum, and Sarah N. Cleghorn are included. I felt the Meditation on Psalm 67 so appropriate to the New Year and the time in which we live that I copied it.

"Let us declare that we are the men

And that the weight of seeing is among us.

The nations will be sanc, using our thoughts,

And our words shall penetrate beyond our guns.

We live upon the edge near the lordly lands,

And the world shall eat the harvest of our minds."

A. J. MUSTE,

21 Audubon Avenue,

New York 32, N.Y.

January, 1953.

In Support Of Our Cause

WE receive many letters in support of our cause locally and from overseas. One from the United States just received is so full of love and sympathy that we cannot resist the temptation of sharing it with our readers. It is by Mrs. Helen Le Cheminant:

"Although I never had the privilege of seeing your wonderful father I honoured and loved him through reading things written about and by him.....He was the greatest man that the world has known for centuries and centuries. I deem it wonderful to have lived in the world the same time that he did.

There is only one way that the world can continue to exist and that is the way of love and non-violence. The human race must come to know this or it will not survive and while it must seem very discouraging under present conditions in South Africa you and all of us must fight on for what we know to be the better way. We honour you for carrying on your father's work. You must have courage to continue. Even if you knew you were doomed to failure you must continue for the ideas and the spark must live!

I love India. Though I have never been there in this life time, I am sure I have in a former incarnation. I feel such an affinity for the Indian people that can only be explained in this way. I wish I could help you. Please know that you have the best wishes of many here and that we are doing what we can to spread the idea of true brotherhood."

Here is one from a lady in Capetown:

".....It can't be wrong to resist unjust laws as Christ told his disciples they would be brought before magistrates and judges and all the Masters defied the laws.....I feel a brute to live here in security and comfort whilst others are suffering. It may interest you to know my spare room is kept entirely for non-Europeans. I have just offered it to an ejected mother and baby (Coloured). I can't give much but will do my utmost if there is any way I can help to ameliorate the condition of Africans.....It is encouraging that the South African Liberal Association is being sponsored by so many Capetown University people. Our hope for justice is in the young who have a sense of justice and are willing to be adventurous. The older Europeans can only think in terms of self-interest. They won't see that our interests are bound together.....The Bantu and Indians.....must despise our Christianity, which does not attempt to meet the social needs of our country. I assure you of my deepest sympathy with all oppressed races. The way they have kept to non-violence in face of so much provocation is amazing."

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 24TH APRIL, 1953

What Next?

SO the Nationalist Party has won the election with 91 seats in its favour as against 57 for the United Party and 4 for the Labour Party. The Nationalist Party has a majority of 30 over all parties, including the three Native Representatives in the House of 159, whereas in the last election it had a majority only of 13. We were not at all surprised at these results since we had not the slightest doubt that the Nationalists would win. We would have been surprised if the United Party had won.

With us non-Europeans it is a case of "better an enemy, we know than a friend we do not know." The Nationalists have won because, they were frank and straightforward and had a definite policy, right or wrong. They meant what they said and did what they said. Truth was on their side. The United Party, who form the bulk of the English-speaking people, were hypocrites. They had no definite policy. What hurt them about the entrenched clauses in the Constitution was the way their own rights and interests were being endangered, not how the non-Whites were faring. They did not stand even by the old Cape policy of "equal rights for all civilised people." Had their own interests not been jeopardised and had the non-Whites alone been affected they would have stood

squarely with the Nationalists.

Frankly speaking this country is doomed to destruction because of the utter hypocrisy on the part of the English-speaking people and utterly narrow nationalism on the part of the Afrikaans-speaking people, who honestly believe that the non-Whites who represent five times the Union's population are destined to be the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" of the White man. All this is against the principles of Christianity on which their policy is claimed to have been based and against the principles of all religions. If there is a God no country in the world with such a policy can survive and history teaches us that none has survived.

There are dark days ahead of this fair land blessed with all the resources one could desire. If those resources were wisely utilised there is not the least doubt that this land would be like a heaven on earth. But because of the selfishness, greed, false pride and power-madness of a few, who are out to crush humanity to satisfy their own evil desires, it is doomed to be turned into a hell. That in a nutshell is our reading of the whole situation, in South Africa.

What, in the circumstances, are the non-Whites, who are the victims of this oppression, going to do? That is the question which

confronts them. Are they going to fear the tyrant and submit to his will, or will they fear God and submit humbly to His law with faith in Him, Who alone is the Creator, Protector and Destroyer of all living things on this earth? Let us not lose our heads with the tyrant, for he knows not what he is doing. In his light he believes he is doing the right thing. We who claim to know better and believe that he is doing the wrong thing, may not give way to hate and resort to methods that he is employing against us, but have pity on him and firmly refusing to bend to his will pray to God for His mercy and wise guidance. That is the essence of Passive resistance, which is based on absolute Love, Truth and Non-violence. The time has come when we shall have to bear the Cross as Christ did, drink the cup of poison as Socrates did, embrace the burning pillar as Pralhad did.

Be it remembered the Nationalist Government is now fully armed to fight us. We are doomed unless we arm ourselves with a superior weapon. That weapon is non-violent resistance. But let us also not forget that the

successful use of that weapon demands a very strict code of self-discipline. Unless we undergo that the weapon will not work. If we have mastered it it will never fail us even under the direst circumstances.

We do not think we should engage ourselves merely in violating laws to court arrest. A great deal of constructive work needs to be done among our people, such as educating them to give up all evil habits such as drinking, gambling and many other social evils, to become self-reliant, which they can only do by reducing their requirements to the barest minimum and to lead clean and honest lives. The leaders will have to begin by teaching themselves many of these things so as to set an example to others. If they think that these are things of no consequence and that they are at liberty to lead a licentious life with no self-restraint, we fear they do not know the rudiments of "Satyagraha," (Force of Truth) which is the true meaning of "Passive Resistance." We must therefore not take any hasty action but think calmly and make our future plans wisely.

NOTES AND NEWS

Why There Is Racial Strife

THE following letter under the non-de-plume "An African" appeared in the 'Natal Witness' dated April 21:

Sir,—One afternoon I got on a Corporation bus opposite the Colonial Building in Church Street to go to the Railway Station. As I sat on a seat at the back a young European gentleman ordered me to sit where he felt I should sit. I use these buses eight times each working day. I always use the seats for Blacks. I stand when there are many White folk. I do so of my own volition. Now Sir, has a passenger any right to command another

passenger to sit here, there or anywhere? The conductor was doing his work, I was in one of the three seats at the back. There were no White folk there, so I was puzzled indeed. I gave up going to Durban. Rather I got off near Chapel Street and went to the nearest church to pray for our country. I am sixty years old. I was rushing from a church meeting—I had a lot of self control, but it leaked so dangerously I had to rush for a fresh supply. There was peace in heaven until an angel was selfish. Later there was war. On the other hand "God highly exalted His Son—and gave

Him a name which is above every name, that every knee . . . in Heaven and Earth . . . should bow . . . and every tongue should confess that he is Lord." Is it impossible for White folk to earn respect for their civilisation by being civil to civil fellowmen irrespective of colour? Is it my fault that I am an African—and not a European? Tell us now, please Sir.

Commenting on the above the 'Natal Witness' wrote:

"An African correspondent, who for reasons that are perhaps obvious prefers to remain anonymous, draws attention in our correspondence column today to an incident which is unhappily all too typical of the things that occur among us in the day-to-day relations of the different races . . . "We are always hearing that if the non-Europeans wish to be respected, they must earn respect." It is as well to remind ourselves that the same principle applies to the Europeans. Our position depends on the last resort not on force or superior abilities, but on the respect that we can command. We can only continue to command it if we deserve it."

Non-White Opinion On Elections

A campaign to try and achieve rights for the non-Europeans would be carried on, said a statement on the general election, issued in Johannesburg by the executive committee of the African National Congress, the Franchise Action Council and South African Indian Congress. The aim would be to try and bring about the repeal of Acts which discriminated against non-Europeans, the statement said. Explaining the statement at a Press conference Mr. Albert J. Luthuli, president-general of the African National Congress, said that the campaign would always be non-violent. "But just what form it may take from time to time, I cannot say," Mr. Luthuli said. Asked why there had been no obvious activity by non-Europeans during the past months, Mr. Luthuli said: "Round about November, there was a Government Proclamation which made certain things illegal. Parliament later passed the Public Safety and the Criminal Laws Amendment Acts.

In the light of that fact, it was necessary for the organisation to take stock of the situation. It meant studying our programme and the new situation to adapt our plans and to see what we could do." Mr. Luthuli concluded: "I have hope and faith that White South Africa will one day see reason and give the non-Europeans their rights." The statement also said that in spite of the larger vote in favour of the Opposition, in effect the White electorate as a whole had voted for the Nationalist policy, because the Opposition also stood for the fundamental policy of denying to the non-White people full democratic rights, and its belief in segregation was consonant with apartheid and White domination.—Sapa.

Central African Federation

The Southern Rhodesia electorate has approved the principle of a Central African Federation. Three areas which opposed the federal scheme were the farming districts of Gatooma, Selukwe and Fort Victoria. Africans will refuse to stand for election to the Federal Parliament if Central African federation is "forced through" against the opposition of Africans of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, an African leader in Bulawayo is reported to have said. Mr. Nkomo was one of the delegates to the recent conference of African leaders from the three Central African territories, at which federation was discussed.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, British Labour member of Parliament, according to a Sapa-Reuter's message from London, said, "the Federation plebiscite is a disastrous decision. The fact that 50,000 people in Southern Rhodesia, of whom fewer than 1,000 are Africans, should decide the fate of 6,000,000 Africans is a sufficient comment on the undemocratic character of the decision. We must face a worsening of racial relations in the three Central African territories." Mr. Brockway said that he hoped "my African friends there will follow the line of non-violent resistance, of which they have received an example from South Africa, rather than the methods of violence and terrorism which have been followed in Kenya."

Outstanding Academic Qualifications Of A S.A. Indian

Indians in South Africa will be proud to know that Mr. D. Bisseru, one of their brethren, who had obtained his B.Sc. and M.Sc., with honours at the Fort Hare College, where he lived at the Anglican Hostel when the Rt.

Rev. Bishop Ferguson-Davie was in charge, has been elected a "Fellow of the Zoological Society" in London. He is now working for the Ph.D. We very heartily congratulate Mr. Bisseru on his outstanding achievement and wish him every success in his future undertakings.

DEMONSTRATION IN AMERICA ON ELECTION DAY

(From Our New York Correspondent)

AS a demonstration of support for the non-European majority who had no voice in the recent elections in the Union, representatives from other parts of Africa joined 'Americans for South African Resistance' in picketing the offices of the South African Consulate, 655 Madison Ave., at 3 p.m. on election day, according to a statement by George M. Houser, Executive Secretary. Mr. Houser also noted that April marks the first anniversary of the launching of the non-violent resistance by non-European organizations in their struggle to gain equal rights. Emergency measures aimed at crushing the movement were passed recently by the South African Parliament and a letter from a high official of the African National Congress thus describes the present state of affairs:

"...You will no doubt be aware by now of the fact that this Government has by recent legislation given itself such wide and unlimited powers over the acts of individuals and organizations that practically any act could be deemed an offence if the Police so wish it. To give you an example

two local men have just been arrested for convening a prayer meeting during the course of which prayers were said for our national organization.

"We have good reason to believe that mail is subjected to scrutiny. One is thus unable to write you as freely as one should have liked to. But please be reassured of our great indebtedness for all you have done..."

Leader Of African National Congress To Give Final Address

The drive to gain support in this country for the "Non-violent Resistance Campaign Against Unjust Laws" culminated in a meeting on Wednesday, April 22 at 8 P.M. at the St. James Presbyterian Church, 409 West 141st St., announced Bill Sutherland, 'Americans for South African Resistance' public relations director. The principal speaker at the meeting was Dr. Z.K. Matthews, African National Congress leader, who spoke on the South African elections and the resistance campaign. This was one of the final public addresses by Dr. Matthews before he returns to South Africa.

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LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

BRITAIN 1832—SOUTH AFRICA 1953

A COMPARISON FOR EUROPEANS

By C. W. M. GELL

Reproduced From 'The Forum' (Johannesburg)

II

BY no means hold the Nationalists alone responsible for our present racial predicament, though by applying the doctrine of the *baaskap* with relentless dogmatism and a certain militant arrogance they have brought us to a crisis that has been long maturing. When 'The Star' wrote on February 18, "it is no doubt true that at some time in the future all political parties will have to ask themselves what political arrangements they propose to make to meet the needs of a multi-racial society," it was concerned to point out that this problem confronted the Nationalists quit as much as the Opposition. I only quarrel with the words "at some time in the future." By all the signs and portents, by all the confessions of intelligent men who have no reason to conceal the truth of what they see, the time is upon us now. For, before the attitudes of the various races harden beyond the possibility of honourable compromise, we have to choose between force and consent. The question we have to ask is whether we are to commit ourselves to the defence by all possible means of our present privileged position with all the consequences of civil strife and race war that may ensue; or whether we shall make an effort to go forward to a South Africa commanding the willing assent and loyalty of all race groups, because all are allowed to participate in the direction of its higher political and economic life. The sands of non-European patience and goodwill are fast running out upon our answer.

If we decide for the first course, then our present political set-up will serve the purpose admirably, though we shall have to increase our defence and police allotments as we go along and tighten up the Swart Acts. But if in our hearts a significant number of us opt for the second alternative, we shall encounter the serious difficulty of politicians continuing to mislead the waverers by preaching to their lowest fears. Today we learn of our real predicament from "irresponsible" Churchmen, intellectuals and (if we will listen to them) non-Europeans, because these gentlemen do not have to face traditional attitudes at the polls. But in regard to votes most politicians

are excusably realists. Dr. Malan has told us that it does not pay any party to attempt to achieve the impossible and most politicians set their sights a good deal lower than that. They, therefore, conceal the immense sacrifices we shall have to make in defending our privileges and harp on the risks we would incur in trying to share them with our non-European fellow-citizens. And the vicious circle of politicians and voters egging each other on to disregard the tensions arising outside the White community and threatening it will continue until it is broken by the force of circumstances or we have the wisdom to make our politicians responsible at the polls to at least some all section of educated non-European opinion. The unreality of our politics at this gravest hour in South African history is largely due to the unrepresentative nature of our franchise.

Historical Analogy

There is a marked historical analogy with the state of Britain in the years between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the Great Reform Bill in 1832. I know there are important differences; but the similarities are striking, particularly the *mentality* of the ruling classes.

That was a time, like our own, of great international upheavals dominated by a continental revolution and its ideologies. To be called a Jacobin in England in 1820 meant much the same as being called a Communist here today. England had more or less completed her Agrarian Revolution and the enclosure movement of the late 18th century had created a landless proletariat rather as our Native Land Acts have done. England was, moreover, in the middle of her Industrial Revolution, even as we are today. She knew all that we know today about the drift to the towns, the shortage of urban housing, the squalor of the industrial slums, the over-representation of *plattelands* interests at the expense of urban and industrial ones. In spite of many handicaps, education and higher living standards were creeping in among the lower classes and creating a demand for better social and economic opportunities. It was thus a period of

almost continual civil unrest from the Luddite movement, through Peterloo and the Six Acts which tried to hold the position by repressive legislation as the Swart Acts do today, on through the conflagration of Bristol to the Chartists. Let me quote Dr. G. M. Trevelyan:

"In town and country every person in authority in Church or State seemed to be in league with their employers against the poor (cf. our non-Europeans); they had no tribunes to speak for them; they had no franchise in central or in local government; they had no legal means of trade organisation to make their numbers felt in the labour market. Unfortunately the victors of Waterloo (like their successors at el Alhamein) were less happily inspired in dealing with the crisis that now confronted them at home. They had no economic or political remedy to propose except the severest form of repression."

Rioters in Britain were tried for high treason (un South African activities and "Statutory Communism"), printers and authors for seditious (the 'Guardian' suppressed without trial and lack of safeguards in the Swart Acts), Habeas Corpus suspended (detention without trial under the Swart Acts), public meetings prohibited (as in most of our locations). The British Government of 1819 approved of the ruthless suppression of rioting without enquiry, as our own has recently done. In the 1820's the British criminal law was at last reformed in the teeth of opposition which forecast (quite incorrectly) that the abolition of the death penalty for over a hundred offences would lead to widespread lawlessness ("the nigger only understands the lash"). In 1830, on the eve of the Reform Bill rioting agricultural labourers demanding a wage of 2/6 a day were savagely punished, three being hung and over 400 deported to Australia. It all sounds quite modern, doesn't it?

Rival Factions

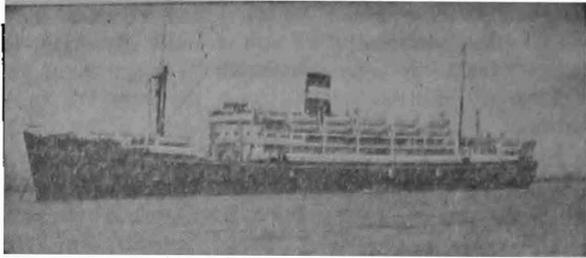
During all this period the British political parties, like our own today, were concerned not with the basic causes of so much discontent and frustration but with their own struggle for power. They did not stand for distinct ideas and national policies; they were merely two rival factions disputing the possession of power, the ins and the outs. What Trevelyan said of Britain and the countries of Europe has a very familiar ring to us: "The Powers did not represent the peoples and the States did not represent the races." On the eve of the Reform

Bill the Duke of Wellington with a disregard for political realities as overt and complete as any South African politician today declared: "The system of representation possesses the full and entire confidence of the country."

But in fact it was not so. For thirty or forty years reform of the British franchise had been actively canvassed in order to base it more broadly and make it more representative of the new industrial and urban classes. But, as in South Africa, it had depended on extra-parliamentary agitation by Cobbett, Hunt and the champions of unorganised labour betting with the sympathetic support of the Evangelicals against the privileged upper classes entrenched in Parliament and middle class apathy—a situation not unparallelled here today. And the arguments with which the opponents of reform justified their stand were very reminiscent of those used against extending our franchise to non-Europeans—opening the gates to "a flood-tide of radicalism" (1), too ignorant, "barbarous and uncivilised" to be entrusted [(1) the term derived from those who demanded a "radical" reform of the franchise] with the vote. Even so late as 1866 (just before the Reform Bill) Robert Lowe opposed any further franchise extension because of "the moral and intellectual inferiority of the wage-earners" and his incautious eloquence on this interesting theme roused the same sort of reaction from those whose self-respect had been affronted as contemporary *herrenvolk* admonitions do in South Africa. Within the lifetime of many of us similar objections were made against giving the vote to British women and led to the not very passive activities of the suffragette movement.

But in the winter of 1830, immediately after the Iron Duke's monumental mis-statement, a combination of causes brought in a Government which preferred constitutional reform to revolution—the return of bad economic conditions (which we have so far avoided), the violence of working class despair (of which we have only had premonitions), the gravity of middle and upper class fear of a social uprising (which clearly inspired bi-partisan support for the Swart Acts), the belief (which we do not yet share) that it could no longer be averted by mere repression, and the example of a peaceful overseas revolution in France in 1830 unaccompanied by social disorder and administrative collapse (such as has occurred in India, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the West Indies.)

(To be Continued)



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London Letter

From Our Own Correspondent

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION

THE House of Lords debate on Central African Federation on April 1 was followed with great interest by people throughout Britain. After distinguished speakers from both sides of the House had discussed the Federation Scheme, the basic ideological factors were raised by Lord Addington. "Federation or not," he said, "unity is still the most vital issue. In Southern Rhodesia there are two most hopeful signs—and I would emphasise the word 'hopeful.' The first is that many Europeans are coming to see that there must be contact and consultation with the Africans on a new level and in an atmosphere free from suspicion and fear. The second is that African leaders are beginning to take the initiative themselves in working out the ideological strategy for Central Africa."

Lord Addington reported that "from Africa alone 90 leaders from 12 different areas have been to Caux in Switzerland where this ideology is not only taught but lived and caught." Among them had been Mr. Godwin Lewanika, founder and first President of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, who on his return arranged the first round table talks between Europeans and Africans. Speaking at such a round table conference, Mr. Hove, the editor of the 'Bantu Mirror' in Bulawayo, reported that national leaders of the European and African trade union organisations were for the first time planning together to influence the greatest number with a positive ideology."

"I suggest," concluded Lord Addington, "that there are thus firm grounds of hope for a solution, both of this particular problem of Federation in these three territories and of the wider problems of unity and race relationships in Africa and many other parts of the world."

Miss Peggy Metcalfe, a Civil Servant, said: "The problems at a conference table are often not as difficult as the problems around the table. In MRA we have a real and vital chance to bring a solution to the divisions and frustrations of the world."

From Finland came Miss Kirsti Hukkarainen, a factory worker, who twice lost her home in the war. "I have been prepared to die for my country," she declared, "but I did not know how to live at peace. I was looking for something so big that it would make a new world possible. In MRA I found it. Applying this ideology in my own life has cured all the deepest wounds in my heart."

Mrs. McArthur Holman, who had recently returned from India, summed up the thoughts of the women present. "If we want a safe world for our children and our children's children and for our own old age," she said, "we must give everything now."

A Lead From Management

In the Digbeth Institute, Birmingham, where the workers' meetings have been taking place during the great strike in Austin's Motor Works, a meeting for trade unionists, mainly from the motor industries, heard industrial speakers on Moral Re Armament.

Mr. John Nowell, General Manager of the Camden Tannery in Cheshire, and last year's President of the British National Association of Cut Sole Manufacturers, spoke on revolutionary change in industry and the nation.

"Moral Re Armament is creating the inspired teamwork of men set free from their fear, hates and resentments," said Mr. Nowell. "It means change for us in management." He told how he had apologized to the trade union leader in his factory, and then adjusted all wages on the basis of what was right. A Works Council jointly led by management and labour, had been so successful that a well known revolutionary leader from Europe had commented: "Here I have seen my boyhood's dream fulfilled. This could never happen under Communism. You men are free—I see it in your faces."

The Healing Of The Nations

Women from many countries thronged the Cowdray Hall,

London, recently to hear evidence of a world force active in over 60 countries, and to be presented with the challenge of what is right and not who is right. The meeting was called by the well-known actress, Miss Lena Ashwell O.B.E. (Lady Simson) and Miss Hilda Pocock, S.R.N.

Lady Simson said "Moral Re Armament is the most powerful and vital instrument God is using today for the uniting of the nations." Miss Pocock told the audience "I went into nursing for the healing of peoples' bodies; I am in MRA for the healing of the nations."

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વિરાજવલુ (સરહારમાજી)	૧	૩
આર્ય વિદ્યાપીઠ (શીક્ષકો માટે)	૨	૧

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THE HYDERABAD CONGRESS RESOLUTIONS

TWO of the important resolutions passed by the 58th session of the Indian National Congress held at Hyderabad (January 17 to 19) are reproduced below.

Foreign Policy And The World Situation

The Congress views with deep concern and grave anxiety the ever growing tension and the deepening crisis in the relations between the Great Powers who have aligned themselves in rival Power Blocs, engaged in a "cold war," and poised to strike with their unprecedented armed might, ever mounting to greater dimensions and intensity, a threatening destruction to themselves and to the rest of the world.

While nations and governments are not seeking war and the peoples of the world, including those of the countries in the rival Blocs, earnestly desire peace, the accumulation of the race armaments continue. The campaign and the psychology of hatred and distrust and the acceptance by the Great Powers, as the basis of their policy, that preparation for large scale and total war alone can lead to the prevention of war, have resulted in grave, incalculable and present risk to world peace. This has rendered the desires of the common people for peace not only ineffective, but has increasingly turned the minds of nations and peoples to the acceptance of war preparations as necessary and war itself as almost inevitable. Thus their thoughts and minds are orientated in the direction of war.

Unceasing endeavour should be made to bring about a change in the opposite direction, creating a climate of peace, and a change in the approach of nations and governments to one another, and as between groups of them, in the direction of reconciliation rather than conflict and power grouping, so that the great objectives embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and its original purposes may be attained, and war prevented.

To this end, greater interchange and freedom of intercourse between nations, particularly between those who now stand separated by the 'cold war' and by other conflicts, should be encouraged; progressive and positive action to bring about a degree of disarmament, and cessation of hostile propaganda and of campaigns

of hate and suspicion, is necessary; and definite initiatives should be taken to resolve at least some of the outstanding issues which stand deadlocked in world affairs. The broadening of the United Nations Organization by the admission of States whose applications have been pending for many years, and the representation of China being regularized by the real Government of China taking its place in the United Nations, are essential first steps of grave urgency.

The Congress appreciates the considerable achievements of the United Nations Organization in the social, economic and humanitarian fields, even though they fall far short, measured against the needs and distress of mankind on the one hand and the potentialities of the earth and the advance of human knowledge on the other.

While recognizing the advance made in the colonial field during the past few years towards the liberation of subject peoples and for their welfare and progress, the Congress is of opinion that this is inadequate and deplors that some national movements for freedom are being forcibly suppressed. Colonialism, inevitably accompanied by race hatred and conflict, exploitation and international rivalry, is a continuing cause of war and human misery, and should be ended.

Congress records its appreciation of and support to the Government of India in pursuing steadfastly unhindered by setbacks, inducements and provocations, the policy of peace and international co-operation, and non-alignment with Power Blocs, and urges the Government to continue to pursue this course which alone enables it to make positive contributions towards international understanding and world peace. It records its appreciation of the peace efforts of the Government of India in regard to the Korean war, which were non-partisan and based on international law.

The peoples of India, with their rich heritage and traditions and their newly-won freedom, have in this time of world crisis a duty to the cause of world peace. That duty they will best discharge by ridding themselves and their national life of all complexes of fear, intolerance, distrust and hatred, and by freeing themselves of economic dependence

on others. By the performance of this duty, they will not only serve their own country but will also serve the larger causes of the world.

South Africa

Congress reiterates its admiration and its appreciation of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa against racial discrimination to which the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa are subjected by the Government of the Union.

Congress notes with deep satisfaction that Gandhiji's message of non-violent resistance to evil has taken root in South Africa and further that in the struggle against oppression and racial violence Africans, Europeans, peoples of mixed racial descents and Indians have made common cause, thus meeting the twin evils of racial discrimination and violence by racial co-operation and non-violence.

The Government of the Union of South Africa continues to flout world public opinion even as embodied in the moderate resolutions of the United Nations Organisation which only calls upon the Union Government to enter into negotiations and allow the facts of racial discrimination to be examined. The Government of South Africa has thus given further evidence

that she does not respect the principles of human rights to which the civilized world has given its approval and also that she dare not allow the light of reason or of truth to be directed to its offences against the laws of humanity and the conduct of civilized nations.

Congress congratulates the Satyagrahis in the Union and those who co-operate with them on their courage and determination as well as on the example which they are setting of racial and communal amity and co-operation which alone can lead to stability and progress in a multi-racial society.

Congress trusts that South Africans of Indian origin will continue to give their whole-hearted support to the Satyagrahis and share their sacrifices in such ways as may be open to each one of them.

Congress further calls upon the civilized nations and peoples of the world to look upon the courageous struggle of the Satyagrahis in South Africa as a struggle of mankind for freedom of opportunity and racial equality and tolerance carried out in the way of truth and peace, and to express their sympathy with the victims of the racial policies of the Union Government and to extend to the resisters every possible support.

BAN ON ENTRY OF INDIAN WIVES AND MINOR CHILDREN

AS a result of the statement made by the Minister of the Interior in Parliament on the 10th of February 1953 regarding the entry of wives and minor children of Indians domiciled in South Africa into the Union, the Department of Immigration and Asiatic Affairs has suspended the usual practice of accepting applications for the entry of such wives and children. Consequently the affected persons are finding great difficulties in the matter.

We wish to inform all these persons who have applied to bring their wives and/or minor children into South Africa and who are experiencing difficulties to report to the following offices:

(1) Natal Indian Congress,

Lakhani Chambers, Saville Street, Durban.

(2) The Transvaal Indian Congress, 4 Kort Street, Johannesburg.

(3) The Cape Provincial Indian Assembly, c/o C. Alli, Klipfontein Road, Elsies River, Cape Town.

(4) Cape Indian Congress, Port Elizabeth, 65 Adderley Street, Port Elizabeth.

(5) East London Indian Association, 74 Buffalo Street, East London, and

(6) Kimberley Indian Association, Box 336, Kimberley.

This must be done immediately in order to help in overcoming difficulties. Every possible assistance will be given to the affected persons by the officials of the above organisations.

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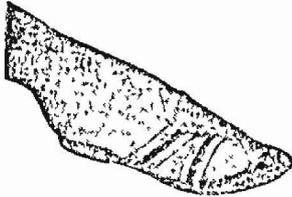
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EVILS OF DRINK

By C. D. MODI

THE use of liquor has been accepted as a modern trend in the social life of our youth but has taken a wrong stride as far as morality and character is concerned. On the enjoyment side and, of course, the romantic part of any social function, where both sexes are represented, liquor might have been and has been a great stimulator of impulses in both sexes and the result has been tragic always, and detrimental to the weaker sex fundamentally.

We continuously read in the daily papers topics on alcoholics. Alcoholics are not born as such and are never "labelled" intentionally, but are the products of the institution of pleasure and enjoyment and to a lesser degree "worry forgetting tots" and also mind relaxers or we may say "happy making tots" These terms I have used are all in one way or another responsible for the building of an alcoholic.

There is constant argument as to whom the word alcoholic should be applied. My definition would be as follows:

Anybody who feels like having a round of spirits without being offered same and who, if offered, would never hesitate to drink the offering, in fact, would be only too pleased to be able to get a few tots extra for the day. That would mean anybody and everybody would be termed an alcoholic if he or she has a habit of even a glass of brandy, wine or for that matter any spirit, daily, in fact, at a certain fixed time, say every evening or so.

Beginning with our main subject I would say the curse has usually started its evil course in the youthful days of one's life. When one never cares for home, parents, elders, society or even religion. The Hindu and Moslem faiths have always advocated teetotalism and spirits of any kind for any purpose is forbidden, so we see that the fundamental causes of broken homes, divorce, suicides and a host of other tragedies including fatherless children, prostitutes and other social evils,

are and always have been and always will be "liquor."

Humility has been cursed from the very day intoxicants were manufactured. In medieval times when the purpose was actually to numb one's brain for surgical purposes or for extracting the truth out of a criminal it was never abused to the extent it has been abused in these modern times.

I am no medical authority on the merits or demerits of the liquor crave but on an economic and social basis I will condemn liquor to the very last drop of life left in me. Not because I hate liquor on the grounds that it has caused economic instability amongst the middle class people but because it is, and will always be, a social disease, an incurable one which no medical science can overpower or defeat.

No social disease can be cured by medicine, remember my words, you doctors, of today. Only by drastic measures taken by Government departments could the evil be eradicated.

The manufacture of liquor should be curtailed gradually. Prohibition comes into effect. Liquor parties should be condemned, liquor advertisements should be banned, liquor stores should be reduced annually coinciding with the curtailment of its manufacture.

If we want to see our children free from this evil disease, practical measures must be enforced and it must be done today and not tomorrow if the next generation is to be saved from it.

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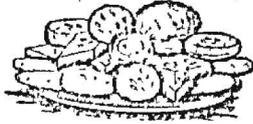
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

ELECTION RESULTS AND OURSELVES

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE mood of despondency which has come on most people should not be allowed to cloud the clear and challenging issues raised by the results of the election. The fact that Dr. Malan has doubled his majority is not the most important thing, in so far as the African people are concerned; nor is his new strength something which will upset our plans.

A large number of Africans who believed that reason could still prevail in South Africa will naturally feel that their White countrymen have let them down. This is not an attitude taken up just because of their white colour. It has deeper roots than that; it is a criticism of the state of affairs by which a white hobo is held up to be a better man, who can be trusted with the vote when a man like Mr. Luthuli or Professor Matthews is not.

As long as colour becomes the criterion by which men and values are judged, so long will South Africa wallow in the morass into which the Malanites will assuredly keep it.

But Dr. Malan's victory raises two new issues—apart from underlining just what has already been referred to. It shows that we have reached the dead end of segregation. And that end shows up the White people themselves clearly dividing on racial lines in a way nothing less than capitulation by one side, is likely to stop. The anti-Malan group has certainly polled a larger number of votes. So have the Malanites. In other words we have reached the point where either side has reached the zenith of its strength. This zenith leaves Malan unquestioned master of the political situation in so far as the White people are concerned.

And because the initiative lies solidly in his hands, he will from now henceforth proceed to consolidate his position in a way which will ensure that his section dominates South Africa for the longest time possible. He will reduce the age limit for registration on the Voters' Roll to white South Africans and bring a new wave of supporters on his side which will increase every year as new age groups qualify for the vote.

By this and very many other devices, into which we are not called upon to go now, he can perpetuate his rule for the longest time possible. This, we

must admit, is the prospect which faces, in particular, the anti-Malan White sections of the White community.

There are two ways out of this, open to them. Surrender to Malanism and see South Africa a racial tyranny, or recast outlooks in the light of the dangers to which colour prejudice has brought us.

Writing strictly as an African, the chances are that a large section of the Whites will prefer to capitulate by slow degrees to Malanism and see in it a lesser evil than joining hands with the African against a tyranny which is now a real threat even to them.

On the other hand, they might recast their whole outlook on colour—and a section of them, particularly among the more highly-educated classes, have already begun to talk of a liberal party which would recognise no colour bar—and see in the African's extended hand of friendship a godsend to take South Africa out of the present morass.

But at this moment in history, all this is sheer speculation. We, as a people, are face to face with a major disaster in our life. By we, I mean both the Africans and the Indians and Coloureds.

Numerically, we are the strongest single force in the country which has the capacity to restore South Africa to the path of sanity. We have already demonstrated, in the resistance movement, that there are in us, as a group, latent spiritual values and moral resources which can enable us as a group to survive every adversity. It will be for our leaders to draw freely on these in the dark years ahead of us—to return South Africa to civilised standards of living.

But it would be wrong if we, the common people, sit down and look for everything to the leaders. In fact now is the time when there should be neither leaders nor followers; we should all be leaders. The Malanites, given a clear mandate by the White electorate will crush, with a singular ruthlessness, our leaders and organisations. Jail is open for everyone of them now. But if it is for them, it is open for us as well.

In this light, a new situation arises which deserves to be seen in new light by the African

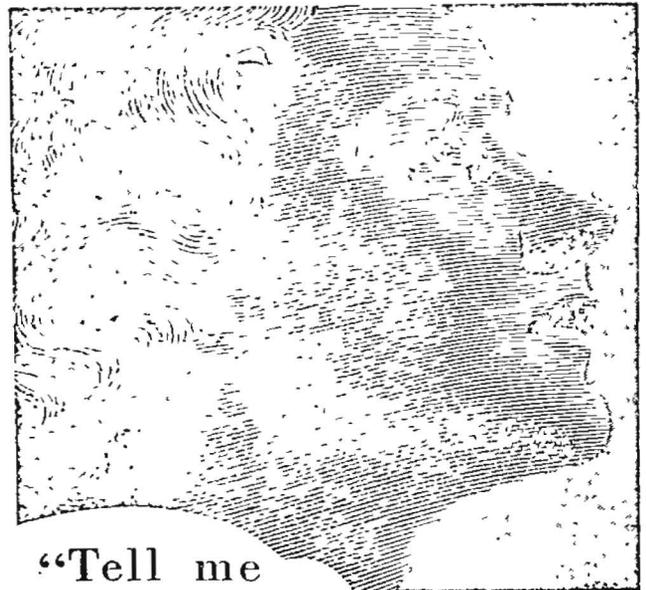
National Congress. Need might arise for a broader conception of unity among those who oppose Malanism; a need which the present framework, within which the non-White political alliance works, would be a little too narrow to accommodate. We might have to think of a broader basis for an all-embracing, non-white unity with a broader outlook than the narrowly political. Something which would enable the non-Whites to pool all their spiritual, material and other resources in an all-out fight against the tyranny of the times.

Nobody should hurry to bring this state of affairs about. Let us all think deeply, earnestly about it all. Those of us who believe in prayer and the Divine guidance of human affairs need to pray now, more earnestly than we have ever done in the past, for the courage to see the truth clearly and act according to it—forgetting for the time being narrow party political or racial or communal gain. We

are all oppressed because we are not White and let us all march together to free ourselves.

But in doing that, let us not forget that there is also a White minority which is in danger of being as cruelly oppressed as we have been for generations past. In building up a broader and more solid form of non-White unity, our plan should be such that it should provide room always for these people in the event they feel they would like to throw their lot with us against the Malanite monster.

As one thinks of the darkness which has descended on South Africa, these are the uppermost ideas which flash into one's mind. We are still too near the hour of the great tragedy. As it recedes farther and farther away from us, we might steadily discover new sources of strength in ourselves and those who abhor the things for which the Malanites stand. Then the light shall have begun to shine a little more brightly on this fair land of ours.



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