

OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903



*Live your own life, for
you will die your own
death.*

—Latin Proverb.



*This is a longer way
and a lonelier
than ever the way of war
and there, will await no
laurels
for those who march in
the first line
save the gladness which
comes
through the crumbling
of petty powers
and the removal of subtle
slaveries
save also the deep peace
which pervades
when God is at home in
the lives of His people.*

—M. Louis Haskins.



*One inch of progress is
worth a yard of complaint.*

—Booker T. Washington.



Frustration Is Cause Of Race Troubles In Africa

—FATHER HUDDLESTON

THE underlying causes of unrest in the whole of Africa are the deep-seated desire of Africans for advancement, and their resentment at repression and frustration, said Father Trevor Huddleston in a Press interview on his return from Kenya.

He said that Sir Percy Sillitoe, Britain's intelligence chief, who was now in Kenya, had thus described the problem:

"Africa is like a sleeping giant who is just beginning to wake up, and we are feeling the movement as he stretches his limbs.

Father Huddleston said that the Mau Mau movement had no connection at all with the passive resistance campaign in the Union.

The Mau Mau was a revolting secret society, based on black magic and superstition. It was confined to the Kikuyu tribe, which comprised only a fifth of the rural African population. It was definitely anti-European and violently anti-Christian.

The resistance movement in the Union was not anti-European but an urban protest against oppressive legislation. In spite of the burning of some location churches in the frenzy of mobs which ran amock, it was not anti-Christian.

He felt that it would not die down until the Africans were assured by acts, not words, that the Government was sincerely willing to make concessions.

The stumbling block to consultation between Africans and their European rulers in South Africa had been the Government's insistence that no discussion would be held except on the basis of apartheid.

"The Government should meet the leaders of the defiance campaign or it will get no further.

"I find it most depressing that the African people are losing trust in Liberal Europeans whom, they feel, do not represent non-European opinion."

It was encouraging, however, to find that Mr. Strauss had advocated freehold land tenure for Africans.

It was also heartening that the Nairobi Municipality, in spite of the bloodshed and horror of Mau Mau atrocities, had, this year, voted £2,000,000 for Native housing—more than the Johannesburg City Council had voted in the last five years.

Concessions which might be made to Natives in the Union, in Father Huddleston's opinion, included, the abolition of passes and the inclusion of Natives on the common voters' roll, subject to stiff qualifications which would exclude all but the well-educated, cultured African professional class.

He was convinced that the election of a small number of educated Africans to Parliament would be an excellent safety-valve.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 12TH DECEMBER, 1952

One Step Further

"Let not fear and sorrow pain you,
Tample the thorns under thy tread and along the blood-stained track.
Travel on!"

—TAGORE.

THIS week has brought the good news that the Defiance Campaign, has, not only the active support of the entire non-European population, but also of the liberal Whites. This event is unique in the history of South Africa and its racial rule. The non-Europeans have always had the moral support of many liberal-minded Europeans, but as one unjust law after another continued to come, a spark of doubt, even towards the liberal Europeans began to kindle, but that spark will die an early death now that young South African Europeans have decided to state their active protest by joining forces with their non-European brothers against the country's unjust legislation.

This non-violent fight, that has justice, righteousness, equality and love on its side is sure to draw more and more recruits, of all colours that have helped to make South Africa the country that it is today. All these hands have worked for the good of their country and to-day the same hands have joined together to save it from disaster and ruin. The time is now ripe for each one, man, woman and child, of any race, colour or religion to do his or her duty, by helping the Defiance Campaign to move still another step towards victory.

Some of our non-European brothers and sisters

have as yet not felt this urge to fight for their rights or they have tried to ignore it owing to other interests. Whatever the reason, we appeal to them to widen their visions, to see beyond the four walls of their own homes, to see the brighter and happier future and not be deterred by the very rough and steep path that leads to it. It is not the time for petty selfishness or the tendency to be each for himself. This attitude more than anything else is bound to be detrimental to the movement, that we all have accepted. Having accepted it, it is now our duty to do all we can, at any risk, even at the risk of our lives if need be, to help this common cause, for the common good. We must remember that it is far greater and worthier to leave the legacy of full freedom, equality, human rights and the pride of our race, for our future generations, than to leave for them money, inequality, insults and a colour prejudice which will dog their steps all their lives, which will make them ashamed of their race and which will create men and women, unsure of themselves groveling before a master, who is master only because of his colour. It is time to think of this, to think of what you want to leave as a legacy to your children, whether you are being fair to them, with mistaken ideas about your duties towards them pre-

venting you from giving active support to the Defiance Campaign. What better legacy can we leave than the legacy of full independence and human rights, equality and the

pride of being one of God's children in this huge family, of various colours, races and religions that are one in the eyes of God and that should be one in the eyes of Man?

NOTES

Apartheid Blamed For Riots
SPEAKING at a meeting at Showhe Dr. Bernard Friedman (U.P. Hillbrow), blamed the Government's Apartheid policy for the recent racial violence in South Africa. Dr. Friedman said there is no connection between what is happening in Kenya and the riots in South Africa. He said that no Government can rule unless it has the respect of the non-Europeans, and the Nasionale Party have forfeited this respect. When a Government relies on force alone, it shows a bankruptcy of policy, and the defiance campaign is a result of the Nationalists' Apartheid policy. Dr. Friedman added that the United Party intend to build the bridges between the White and non-Whites that have been broken down by the present Government. The United Party will do "everything that the Government is prevented from doing by its policy of "Baaskap." Dr. Friedman said the Nationalists' cry was that they were safeguarding White civilisation and preserving peace, but their policy was having the opposite effect. "The Government must accept responsibility for the recent racial troubles and deaths in South Africa," he said. Replying to a questioner who asked: "If the U.P. do not favour Apartheid, do they favour integration?" Dr. Friedman said: "The Native policy of the U.P. is social separation, and economic integration in accordance with the Fagin report and political representation to conform with the legislation of 1936."

Swart "Wrong" On Mau Mau

The 'Observer' (London) said last week that it was incorrect and dangerous to contend that the internal situations in Kenya and South Africa were similar. This independent Sunday newspaper commented editorially: "The drastic emergency regulations applied in Kenya have given the South African Government the excuse it needed for increasing the severity of its own laws against the leaders of the passive resistance campaign. So far, the Union Government has handled the passive resisters cautiously, giving the impression that it has kept a wary eye on British public

opinion and on possible repercussions at the United Nations. Now, encouraged by the recent isolated riots in the Union, and provided with an opportunity to justify itself by basing its action on the Kenya model, South Africa's Minister of Justice, Mr. Charles Swart; has promptly announced a new programme of punitive action. The 'Observer' said that Mr. Swart's contention that the situation in the two countries was similar was incorrect. While the Mau Mau was predominantly committed to violence and was supported by a minority of Africans in one tribe, the passive resistance campaign in South Africa was non-violent in character and had the moral support of at least the mass of non Europeans in the Union. —(Sapa-Reuter.)

"May Have To Expel S.A."

Mr. Roy Douglas, organizing secretary of Britain's league of Young Liberals, said at Bury St. Edmunds last week that next year, after the general election in the Union, Britain might have to consider expelling South Africa from the British Commonwealth. Mr. Douglas said successive British Governments had shown "far too much tolerance of the vicious racial policy which Dr. Daniel Malan is pursuing in South Africa. "If Dr. Malan is elected again next year, we must give most serious consideration to the question of whether the time has not come to expel South Africa from the British Commonwealth of Nations. The British tradition of justice has nothing whatever in common with this vicious recrudescence of fascism." —(Sapa-Reuter.)

Warning To Native Agitator-Teachers

Allegations that some Native teachers are encouraging resistance to the law are made in the Education Gazette by Dr. de Vos Malan, Superintendent-General of Education in the Cape. Dr. de Vos Malan adds that if political propaganda in the schools is proved, then those schools will lose their Government grant. "It has been brought to my notice that in certain districts a number of

teachers are zealous in encouraging disobedience or resistance to the laws of the State, and that in certain schools Native teachers are using their position to further political aims, or to contaminate the minds of the pupils entrusted to them, with subversive doctrine," he writes. This was a flagrant breach of trust, and a serious threat to the expansion of Native education. The agitators formed only a small minority. Ninety eight per cent of the schools in the Cape Province were mission schools dependant on grants from the Central Government. Mission schools could expect to enjoy a curity only as long as they merited the trust and confidence of the State. "I consider that teacher agitators, even though a small minority, will bring discredit upon the teaching profession as a whole and will ultimately undermine security of employment for all. Sober-thinking teachers should oppose the teacher-politician with all their strength, in their own interests and in the interests of their school."—Sapa.

Apartheid In Universities Opposed

The National Union of South African Students has attacked the policy of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk in advocating separate universities for Europeans and non-Europeans. In a statement the executive committee of the Union said that there was no justification for the apartheid in university education. They totally rejected the Church's policy as outlined in Pretoria by the Rev. P. E. S. Smith. "The purpose of university education is, in our opinion, to pursue and study scientific truth, which is the same whatever the race of the investigator. In order to do this it is vitally necessary that students should come in contact with members of their racial and cultural groups," it was stated.

'Cancel Smuts-Gandhi Pact' Cry By Natal Jeugbond

The Natal Nationalist Jeugbond (Youth Movement) at its first provincial congress at Glencoe urged the 'cancellation of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, which, it was said, permitted South African Indians to bring into the Union wives and minor children from India. Replying to a suggestion that all Indians who had come into the country in the past 20 years should be sent back to their country of origin, Mr. W. A. Maree, M.P., who presided, said he feared that this was impracticable at present. The Union

could not at present afford to antagonise world opinion by such action. The best course at present was to cancel the Smuts-Gandhi agreement, and separate Indians into their own group areas. Conditions might later arise where it might be possible to negotiate on repatriation. Mr. Maree said the negotiations had broken down, because India made it a condition that the Group Areas Act be withdrawn before the talks continued. Now the United Party, through Mr. Strauss, had announced that if returned to power it would do all in its power to secure repatriation by negotiation. This could only mean that, to achieve its objects, the United Party was prepared to suspend the implementation of the Group Areas Act or to withdraw it. It was necessary for the United Party to tell the country clearly what its intentions were.

Beach Apartheid Move Critics

"The decision of the the Durban City Council to approach the Government to amend the Group Areas Act so that 'effective segregation' can be enforced at such public places 'as bathing beaches once again alligns the Durban Municipality with the Nationalists,'" says a statement issued by the Natal Indian Congress. The statement adds: "The Durban City Council should have openly expressed its support for the Nationalist Government's stand on the so-called constitutional crisis for the Council too sought from the Provincial Council powers to remove the testing rights of the Supreme Court on the question of apartheid on the beaches. The Council did this because it is aware that as the law stands it can enforce segregation only when it provides equal facilities for both white and non-whites. "Because the Provincial Council has refused to give the Durban City Council powers to segregate on a basis of inequality, by insisting on retaining the testing rights of the Supreme Court, the Council now has decided to appeal to the Nationalist Government who have like the Council made it clear, through their action that they do not believe in providing equal facilities. The Council wishes to have the Group Areas Act amended in order to legalise its unjust and illegal treatment of non-Europeans on the question of civic amenities. "We condemn the action of the City Council as a mean act to deny adequate facilities to non-White burghers of Durban who pay

rates and taxes and yet are denied civic amenities financed from the common purse to which all races contribute."

India Will Keep Out Of War, Cold Or Hot

Whether there was a cold war or a shooting war, India would keep aloof, said the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, last week at a meeting at Bombay. He said that Russia's attack on the Indian resolution for an armistice in Korea was "unkind to us." India would continue her efforts for peace in Korea, however. "We are afraid that the Korean tension might, at any time, lead to another war," he

said. Mr. Nehru said that what ever was happening in Korea, it would have repercussions in Asia, Europe and everywhere else. "India as a big country, is sure to be affected," and that was the reason why India, in the last 10 or 15 days, had tried to contribute what she could for ending the Korean War. He appealed to his countrymen not to fight among themselves. In the Middle East and the Near East several changes amounting to a revolution had taken place in the last few years. In South Africa a racial war was going on. It was the Africans who were bearing the brunt of "exploitation," Mr. Nehru said.

BIRTH CONTROL

By GANDHIJI

THERE can be no two opinions about the necessity of birth control. But the only method banded down from ages past is self-control or *brahmacharya*. It is an infallible sovereign remedy doing good to those who practise it. And medical men will earn the gratitude of mankind, if instead of devising artificial means of birth control they will find out the means of self-control. The union is meant not for pleasure but for bringing forth progeny. And union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent.

Artificial methods are like putting a premium upon vice. They make man and women reckless. And respectability that is being given to the methods must hasten the dissolution of the restraints that public opinion puts upon one. Adoption of artificial methods must result in imbecility and nervous prostration. The remedy will be found to be worse than the disease. It is wrong and immoral to seek to escape the consequences of one's acts. It is good for a person who overreaches to have an ache and a fast. It is bad for him to indulge his appetite and then escape the consequences by taking tonics or other medicine. It is still worse for a person to indulge his animal passions and escape the consequences of his acts. Nature is relentless and will have full revenge for any such violation of her laws. More results can only be produced by moral restraints. All other restraints defeat the very purpose for which they are intended. The reasoning underlying the use of artificial methods is that indulgence is a necessity of life. Nothing can be more fallacious. Let

those who are eager to see the births regulated explore the lawful means devised by the ancients, and try to find out how they can be revived. An enormous amount of spade-work lies in front of them. Early marriages are a fruitful source of adding to the population. The present mode of life has also a great deal to do with the evil of unchecked procreation. If those causes are investigated and dealt with, society will be morally elevated. If they are ignored by impatient zealots, and if artificial methods become the order of the day, nothing but moral degradation can be the result. A society that has already become everted through a variety of causes will become still further enervated by the adoption of artificial methods. Those men therefore who are light-heartedly advocating artificial methods cannot do better than study the subject afresh, stay their injurious activity and popularize *brahmacharya* both for the married and unmarried. That is the only noble and straight method of the birth control. ('Young India,' 12-3-'25)

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WESTERN CIVILISATION

II—IS THE WEST CIVILISED?

(C. W. M. GELL)

BEFORE seeking a positive definition of civilization, we may observe three typical Western forms to which the 20th century has given rise. The first and least important philosophically although disastrous in its effects, is Fascism in its various guises. The dissociation of reason and instinct, owing to the moral decadence of religion and the bankruptcy of thought, led to a breakdown in the traditional balance of society. The moral shock of World War I and the consequent moral and social disorder of large parts of Europe created a demand for authority and leadership. A disintegrating society was ready to follow anyone who promised salvation. In these circumstances a new activism arose in the Fascist and Nazi attempts to re-establish national, social unity on the emotional and psychological basis of a historical myth, inevitably unfolding according to the dialectical necessity postulated by Hegel.

Simultaneously a parallel evolution based on the partial truth that man is an economic animal gave birth to Communism. In so far as the will to power of the Communist Party exceeds its concern with human welfare, Communism strongly resembles Fascist activism and in practice has the same totalitarian aspect. But it has the advantage of a philosophical dogmatism of deceptive simplicity and of an appeal (however delusory) to generous ethical ideals of social justice and to the powerful passion for social vengeance.

In both Communism and Fascism we have classic instances of a failure in traditional religious and intellectual leadership leaving the way open for the forces of instinct and passion to use the charismatic function and exploit religious emotions for the sake of power. Christopher Dawson has rightly said:

"We have learnt that barbarism is not a picturesque myth or a half forgotten memory of a long-passed stage of history, but an ugly underlying reality which may erupt with shattering force whenever the moral authority of a civilization loses its control."

The third form, the American way of life, is an exaggerated example of what is popularly considered as distinctively Western. Most Americans are inordinately proud of it. But revelations about corruption in public life, the extent of the traffic in drugs and an orgy of hysterical witch-hunts and malicious smear-campaigns

have made them aware that there is sickness, too, in their civilization. Nor is this surprising when we examine its basis. A writer in the magazine 'Fortune,' trying to explain the American way of life, quoted Theodore Roosevelt: "I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life;" and went on to suggest that the energy of American life is based upon (very ill defined) beliefs in the perfectability of man and the natural rights of the individual. American civilization," he said (ironically borrowing the buddhist phrase without acknowledgement) was "a process of becoming."

"What the purpose of the 'becoming' is, and where it leads to, are not yet questions for the American way of life.... Thus far their mission has been the mission of action—the mission of the will."

In this respect then the American way of life is akin to Fascism and Communism, being an expression of that activism which gives activity primacy over thought. It is superior to both, since it is not confined merely to questions of material power and racial or class sociology, but in that its ideals are inadequately defined and its purpose hardly considered, it falls short of civilization. Confident, though less confident than they were, that material progress and economic competitiveness will bring their own rewards, Americans know that they are progressing; but know not whether. They, perhaps more than other Westerners, deserve the accusation of Dr. J. S. P. P. P.:

"The world of work is becoming our entire world; it threatens to engulf us completely, and the demands of the world of work become greater and greater, till at last they make a total claim on the whole of human nature."

Europe, on the other hand, shattered by the physical and moral devastation of two World Wars, her cities ruined by saturation bombing and her conscience tormented by the guilt of genocide and the massive brutalities of her racial and class antagonisms, has abandoned even the dynamism which was so characteristic of Western Civilization. Yet if this present mood of doubt and pessimism, which has caused a near paralysis of the European will compels reflection upon the sterility of our civilization the contemporary apathy may prove to be the midwife of regeneration.

For our brief review of the deficiencies of the scientific and activist aspects of Western Civilization suggests that its shortcomings lie in the divorce between thought and activity. And this at once brings us to question of what civilization really is. For man has not only to assert himself in and against nature; but among and against his fellow-men. How he does this must depend on what he is himself. No man can be thought civilised who is not master of himself. All the features of Western Civilization that we have so far discussed are, therefore, only external attributes—the outward and visible symbols of what should be an inward and spiritual grace. The essence of civilization lies within us. In Schweitzer's words, civilization consists in "realising all possible progress in discovery and invention and in the arrangement of human society, and seeing that they work together for the spiritual perfecting of individuals which is the real and final object of civilization." Progress can be material or ethical, but only in so far as it is ethical does it mark an advance in civilization.

In the light of this definition we can see that the word 'civilization' is commonly used in two different senses. When we speak of the civilization of ancient Egypt, of Indian, Chinese or Western civilization, we really mean a social culture: an organised way of life based upon a common tradition. But what makes a culture civilised is its purpose and this is provided by its religion. In the broadcast sense, religion is the spiritual purpose of society as organised in a social culture; and the culture derives its form from the higher laws of life which are religion. Religion provides the pattern of the ideal society at which the culture aims. When the religion of a society ceases to be genuinely spiritual and becomes purely secular or materialist, the social culture loses the real potentiality for civilization. The City of God always stands higher than the City of Man or the City of Matter. A culture (a "civilization") is, therefore, a material way of life and a spiritual order, in which religion should provide both the principle of continuity and the dynamic inspiration of social purpose. This is what Radhakrishnan meant when he wrote that "civilization is based on a vision." Religion, spiritual or secular, provides the vision which is translated into action through the practice of ethics. The relation between spiritual religion and ethics has been finely described by Radhakrishnan:

"Religion is the soul's attitude, response and adjustment in the presence of the supreme realities

of the transcendent order; ethics deal with the right adjustment of life on earth, especially in human society. Both are motivated by a desire to live in the light of ideals. Religion springs from the conviction that there is another world beyond the visible and temporal with which man has dealings, and ethics require us to act in this world with the compelling vision of another."

Civilization, then, is the conception and practice of ethics as the means to spiritual freedom, as well as its expression on earth. It is a practical rationalisation of the spiritual purpose of society. As Schweitzer said recently:

"Civilization does not fall into our laps like a ripe fruit. The tree must be consciously cultivated if it is to bear fruit. It must be the work of free men who have in their minds a vision of the ends to be achieved. The world has no such vision to-day."

We can now answer the question which is the title of this article. For our almost completely secularised, scientific culture is without positive spiritual content. "It is an immense complex of techniques and specialisms without a guiding spirit, with no basis of common moral values, with no unifying spiritual aim." By definition, therefore, it cannot be called civilised.

Indeed, we are plainly confronted with the stark alternatives of barbarism or oblivion, if we continue along our present course. Our Western culture is exhibiting all the signs of a collapsing civilization—the disappearance of tolerance and justice; insensitivity to suffering which, combined with the submergence of the individual in the mass, is leading swiftly to, fully developed inhumanity: love of peace and material comfort with its concomitant, the selfishness of individuals and their disinclination to lead a life of self-sacrifice; the decay of philosophical ideals and the refusal to submit to the discipline of thought; the rise of strange cults and the almost pathological craving for an authoritative creed or ideology; the deliberate denial of the Oneness of humanity by the wanton segregation of mankind into groups based on blood, colour, soil or class.

Nor do we lack warning of what we are preparing for ourselves. Radhakrishnan wrote in 1939.

"Man, as he exists to-day, is not capable of survival. He must change or perish. So long as our passions of greed and selfishness are unconquered, our outer con-

(Continued from page 517)

MAU MAU AND DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN CONTRASTS

By FATHER TREVOR HUDDLESTON

THE Minister of Justice in the Union of South Africa, Mr. Swart is reported as having said recently that the disturbances in Port Elizabeth, East London, Kimberley and other places were "a projection of the Mau Mau terrorism in Kenya"—a statement recently repeated and underlined by Dr. Malan.

As I have just spent several weeks in Kenya, meeting Government officials, missionaries and many others, it may be of some interest to examine Mr. Swart's statement.

I have been involved in matters affecting race relations here for more than nine years.

Of Kenya I can only speak as a visitor, but at least as one who has been there during the emergency and has been able to hear every aspect of Mau Mau discussed by those who know the situation intimately.

Superficially, of course, there are points of resemblance between the defiance campaign in South Africa and Mau Mau in Kenya. Both movements are openly anti-Government and therefore by implication anti-European.

It is worth remembering, however, that the defiance leaders in the Union have repeatedly declared (and I believe honestly) that their campaign is directed against what they consider to be unjust and repressive laws, not against any particular racial group.

Pattern Of Defiance

The pattern of defiance has been consistent with these statements. Moreover, it is now proven that the riots in Port Elizabeth and elsewhere have been the direct result of the defiance campaign.

Unless and until the Government is prepared to appoint a commission into the causes of these tragic outbreaks it is legitimate to believe—as I do—that they are more the symptoms of the general unrest which pervades the whole Native population than the planned and deliberate resort to violence which the Government would like us to believe. It is a very different thing with regard to Mau Mau.

There are at least three features of Mau Mau technique which mark it off as distinct from movements elsewhere in Africa.

First, it is in origin a tribal movement—originating in and almost entirely confined to the Kikuyu people. It should be remembered that the Kikuyu, though the largest tribe in Kenya, represent only one fifth of the total African population.

Primitive Superstition

Secondly, it is a reversion to primitive superstition. Entry into Mau Mau is dependent upon the taking of an oath, the verbal form of which is linked with heathen blood-rites and other ceremonies based on Kikuyu lore.

Thirdly, it is avowedly anti-Christian and involves for those who take the vow public apostasy from the Christian faith and the withdrawal of their children from mission schools.

The strength of Mau Mau stems from the fact that in the unscrupulous hand of a powerful demagogue it has achieved a unifying force by combining primitive tribal superstitions and fear with political and economic desperation.

It has an extremely strong "Nationalist" appeal and a discipline or fear which penetrates to the masses of simple folk and makes it very hard to resist.

S.A. Campaign

None of these features applies—at least at present—to the defiance campaign in South Africa. It is certainly not in any sense a tribal movement.

Indeed, its leadership and its strength lie in 10 urban areas among the thousands of detribalised Africans who have been already integrated into Western industrialised society.

The leaders of the defiance campaign have stressed from the start that it is a non-European as opposed to an African movement. Its inspiration is in fact very largely of Indian origin and is based on the Satyagraha of Mahatma Gandhi.

No one who has any real knowledge of the racial tensions in South Africa could see in the defiance campaign a reversion to heathen superstition. Nor, as far as I am aware, has any leader attempted to play upon this element of African thought and behaviour.

Not Rural

The reason for this is not hard to discover. Defiance is not a rural movement in origin, or, so far, in development. Superstition and witchcraft are regarded as the enemies, not the instruments of the progress that South African Natives desire.

Any attempt seriously to use such instruments in what is avowedly a political movement would certainly wreck it at once. For one thing it would give the impression that apartheid, Africanisation of the African, was desirable.

Finally, in its attitude to Christian missions there is a radical difference between the defiance campaign and Mau Mau. Hostility to

all forms of Christianity is integral to Mau Mau and indeed the missions have been singled out for violent attack.

Faithful Christians go in fear of their lives if they attend church or send their children to mission schools.

It would be untrue to say that mission institutions have not been attacked in South Africa. In the recent East London disturbances two churches were burnt down and a nun was killed.

But, as a missionary myself, I am convinced that what hostility has been and is being shown towards the Christian Church in South Africa is a by-product of the movement rather than an integral part of it. It springs from the feeling that European missionaries are, after all, Europeans and are therefore incapable of really desiring African advancement.

I am sure, however, that the leaders of the defiance campaign and all the more intelligent of their followers deplore this attitude even though they have for the most part lost confidence in any kind of European liberal or Christian leadership.

But, to one visiting Kenya from South Africa, perhaps the most striking difference lies in the attitude of the two Governments concerned and in the reflection of that attitude upon the European communities.

Sanity, Balance

In Kenya, despite the appalling senselessness with which Mau Mau developed and spread into being as a major threat to peace, there has been an astonishing sanity and balance about the measures devised to meet it.

Hysteria has been at a discount. Plans for social and economic development have been announced and will be implemented just as quickly as the disturbed state of the country allows.

It is surely significant that the Nairobi City Council should, at this most critical moment, vote £2,000,000 for Native housing, in the coming year.

In South Africa, on the other hand, it would be hard to point to any single piece of legislation during the past five years that has not been, in one way or another detrimental to African advancement.—'Natal Daily News'

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WESTERN CIVILISATION

(Continued from page 515)

quests (of the physical world) will only be the material for the exercise of our inner barbarisms." Schweitzer declared in 1950:

"We are at the beginning of the end of the human race. The question before it is whether it will use for beneficial purposes or for purposes of destruction the power which modern science has put into its hands. So long as its capacity for destruction was limited, it was possible to hope that reason would set a limit to disaster. Such an illusion is impossible to day, when its power is illimitable. Our only hope is that the Spirit of God will strive with the spirit of the world and will prevail."

Christopher Dawson said in 1948: "The events of the last few years portend either the end of human history or a turning point in it. They have warned us in letters of fire that our civilization has been tried in the balance and found wanting... The recovery of moral control and the return to spiritual order have now become the indispens-

able conditions of human survival. But they can be achieved only by a profound change in the spirit of modern civilization."

Faced by the H bomb and the threat of bacteriological warfare most men know in their heart of hearts that what these thinkers say is true. But it would not be worth the trouble of saying it, if there were not still a possibility of averting the final catastrophe; and such a hope, however tenuous, is clearly implied in the above warnings. We have to rediscover a spiritual basis for our culture—to re-integrate the religious and ethical with the secular and scientific. The elements of this new synthesis do not have to be created from nothing; most of them exist in some form already. But the great material emphasis of our culture has destroyed their traditional harmony. That is what we must seek to rebuild by setting up for ourselves a new order of priorities.

(To be Continued)

SOUTH AFRICAN MOTION HEAVILY DEFEATED IN UN ASSEMBLY

A SOUTH AFRICAN resolution proposed by Mr. G. P. Jooste—that the Assembly finds itself unable to adopt two resolutions from the Special Political Committee—was heavily defeated in the United Nations General Assembly.

Forty-nine voted against the South African resolution and in favour there were six, South Africa, the United Kingdom, Australia, Belgium, France and Luxembourg. There were nine abstentions.

One of the two resolutions to which Dr. Jooste was referring was that a commission be set up to study the racial situation in South Africa. This was approved by 35 votes to one, with 23 abstentions.

This resolution came from the Special Committee after it debated South Africa's policy of apartheid, which was found to be "necessarily based on doctrines of racial discrimination."

The South African delegate told the Assembly that his Government would consider the decision null and void.

The three members of the Commission were not named. This was left to the President of the Assembly.

Voting on the resolution was taken in three parts and the vote on the operative paragraph obtained the necessary two-thirds majority by a margin of only one vote.

Mr Jooste, in making his proposal, warned the Assembly that the establishment of the Commission would constitute a clear case of intervention by the United Nations in South Africa's internal affairs.

After the voting had ended, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, the British Minister of State, said his delegation had repeatedly made it clear that placing this item on the agenda and discussing its substance had been entirely out of order.

Britain had always held that the matter was outside the competence of the United Nations and had abstained from voting on it in the committee.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, leader of the Indian delegation, said the Assembly should not shut its eyes to the growing intensity of the policy of racial discrimination. In South Africa there was a case of the oppression of the rights of an overwhelming majority by a minority.

"Human rights and fundamental freedoms are being denied these people on the ground of race and colour," she said.

She added that it was an imperative duty of those who represented the Coloured races of mankind "to show that we are on the march and that we will not be subjected to indignities in the name of White civilisation."

PANDIT NEHRU AND EAST AFRICA

A suggestion that at the Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference the Indian delegation should raise the East African question was rejected in the Council of States on November 28 by Prime Minister Nehru. The suggestion was made by Prof. Ranga who said that this should be done to see that the interests of African and Asian people in East Africa were properly safeguarded. Pandit Nehru said that the suggestion was important; but it was not India's hat to raise any question in the Commonwealth affecting her interests or affecting the interests of any other country in relation to her. For in-

stance there was the South African issue which India had raised in the United Nations. She did not propose to raise this issue or any other issue in the Commonwealth Conference because she did not consider the Commonwealth Conference to be a supranational body to which she should go and appeal. Prime Minister Nehru recalled that India's policy in Africa was one of co-operation with Africans. Indians had been advised not to claim any privileges at the cost of Africans. Pandit Nehru said that Indians were not there to exploit Africans but to live in co-operation with them.

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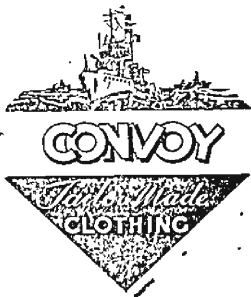
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

TACTICS TO BREAK RESISTANCE

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

SPEAKING in the Free State recently, the Prime Minister gave as one of the reasons for his refusal to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into the recent disturbances at Port Elizabeth, East London and Kimberley the fact that the findings would serve no useful purpose as the blame would be put on the Police. This is a shocking admission from the head of the Government, for it boils down to this: That the Government already knows what happened and that this will not reflect creditably on it. Secondly, the Government is of opinion that the Police can do no wrong. Although human lives were lost and damage to property done, the Prime Minister will not appoint a commission to find out why this happened lest the Police are caught with the wrong foot forward.

But if this is shocking, it ought to drive home the point that was made by Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe, President of the Cape African Congress. He put the blame foursquare on the Government for the riots at Port Elizabeth and demanded a commission of inquiry to enable him and the African people to show how the Government was responsible for the tragic events.

The Prime Minister's refusal to enable Dr. Njongwe to make the exposures he was going to make on the events at Port Elizabeth already shows out in broad outline the strategy adopted by the Malan Government to break up the resistance movement.

On the facts now known to every well-informed African, it is obvious that the Police were given instructions to use force against the African people regardless of the consequences. This was done specifically after the respected leaders of the African people had been haltered and muzzled by the Swart ban. There were no recognised public figures to control the mobs and advantage was taken of this to manoeuvre the masses into the position where they became violent.

It must be understood very clearly that the people who committed the unpardonable crimes at Port Elizabeth and elsewhere were not the resisters. The record of the resistance movement so far has been absolutely clean. In the heat of controversy some people might tend to find a spurious connection between the defiance cam-

paign and the disturbances. There is no such a thing. The violence was merely a mob reaction to the provocations from the Government side. If the leaders of Congress had been free men, they would have been present at the gatherings and stopped all violence.

But it would not have paid the Government not to have violence from the Africans. Against the background of what has since happened and the Government's refusal to appoint a commission of inquiry, it seems clear that the riots have been received as a blessing on the Government side. The Malanites have distorted the facts and held out the riots as a local variant of the Kenya Mau Mau. The intention here has been to appeal to the crudest emotions in the white community for purposes of getting the white community solidly behind the Government.

In this regard we must concede that the Government has achieved a measure of success. According to Press reports, one of the resolutions passed by the special conference of municipal associations in this country urged the Government to take every possible step to crush the resistance movement.

The Durban City Council, which is always heart and soul with Malan when the interests of the man of colour are concerned, has since endorsed the resolution of the municipal associations and loudly proclaimed its support in advance for measures the Government might take to crush the resistance movement. We see in this the pattern of Malan's strategy slowly being revealed in action.

The Malan Government is committed to an oppressive policy towards the non-whites. As election time nears, harsher measures will be adopted against the resisters and situations might even be provoked in which the tragedies of Port Elizabeth might be enacted all over again—for purposes of rallying the white people solidly behind the Malanites.

In the light of these developments, situations might very well arise when the leaders of the resistance movement will be called upon to adopt other tactics to defeat the Government's move to use riots for purposes of getting itself returned to power.

It has already been suggested, among others by Dr. Xuma,

that the resistance campaign can be called off on certain conditions. Presumably Dr. Xuma attaches great importance to the truly noteworthy effects the campaign has had on large sections of white opinion. As these notes are being written the Dutch Reformed Churches are getting ready for a special conference with certain Africans to devise a workable solution to the problems raised by resistance.

On the liberal side negotiations are far advanced for the formation of a political association to campaign for equal rights for all citizens who are civilised. Some of the outstanding men and women behind this move have gone out of their way to demonstrate their solidarity with the non-Europeans by volunteering to go to jail in defiance of unjust laws.

The United Party itself talks of top-level negotiations with the African people.

Even the avowed enemies of the defiance campaign will concede that it has forced the white people of South Africa to think very seriously on the position of the non-whites and that, secondly, the campaign has convinced most reasonable white people—barring the Malanites—that there can be no solution to the colour problem unless the man of colour's wishes are respected.

Against this background, it

will be realised that the resistance campaign has scored significant victories. But at the very best, they are psychological victories and this is not what the campaign was launched to achieve. It was organised to get certain unjust laws off the Statute Book through exerting pressure on the white voters who would in turn send members to Parliament who would effect the necessary changes. If the municipal resolution is any guide, this is not happening.

The specific objects of the campaign remain and the possibility of harsher measures being enacted is very real. If the present mood of the Government and influential sections of white opinion is any guide, worse things await the African in particular. To call off resistance at this stage would serve no useful purpose. It would be capitulation to Malanism, pure and simple.

This does not, however, mean that the resistance campaign might not resort to more effective tactics. In other words the leaders of the African National Congress are now called upon to employ methods of waging the struggle which will not make it possible for the Malanites to manoeuvre the African masses into positions where they at best help only Malan and his gang. That, we must firmly refuse to do—even if it might mean slowing down the campaign in certain directions.



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THE FIRST BATCH OF EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN DEFIANCE CAMPAIGNER'S ARRESTED IN GERMISTON

MR. PATRICK DUNCAN'S STATEMENT

MR. PATRICK DUNCAN, son of the former Governor-General of the Union, in an interview with a number of local, British and American newspapermen before his arrest on Monday, December 8 said:

"The defiance campaign has done what no other African political move has done. It has brought in the ordinary Native man-in-the-street."

"What the Natives now wanted were new terms and co-operation with the Whites."

Mr. Duncan told the Press representatives that he did not see any particular role for himself in South African politics.

"But I look forward to the growth of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress as a great responsible non-European movement."

Dr. Malan's statement that the movement was Communist inspired was incorrect.

"We know that there are Communists among them; but surely the fact that they have had to adapt themselves to passive resistance shows that they are not calling the tune."

"I thought this organisation was Communist. I would not be prepared to co-operate with it."

Politics in South Africa, in his opinion, had not been established on an ethical basis. The rejection of a man like Mr. Hofmeyr had been an example of this.

Mr. Swart's comparison of the movement to the Mau Mau was not correct either. In the defiance campaign, not a single word had ever been said against the White man.

He felt that, as an ideal, the old Cape maxim, "Equal rights for all civilised people" was a good one.

His main struggle was against racial discrimination; but, he had not "blueprinted" any political system which would take the place of the present one.

He had been thinking along similar lines to those of the "Defiance" movement for about four years. He had resigned from the Colonial Office in Basutoland with the object of entering into South African politics.

He had also moved to a small farm in the Free State on the Basutoland border, with that object in mind.

Europeans took an active part in the non-European "defiance campaign" for the first time on December 8, when seven of them, including Mr. Patrick Duncan, were arrested after they had entered the Germiston location without permits and held a meeting there.

With them, were 14 Natives and 18 Indians, including Mr. Manilal Gandhi. Overseas and local pressmen who were on the scene were also "arrested"

Both the non-European defiers and the Europeans were held in terms of the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. Verwoerd's new publication, which make the inciting of Natives to break laws and the holding of meetings of more than 10 Natives an offence punishable by imprisonment up to three years, or a fine up to £300.

The names of the European defiers are: Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of the first South African-born Governor-General of the Union, Miss Freda Troup, author of a book, "In Face of Fear," about the Rev. Michael Scott, Miss Bettie du Toit, prominent trade unionist and member of the national executive of the Trades and Labour Council, Dr. P. Cohen, a Johannesburg professional man, Mrs. Margaret Holt, 22-year-old social science student at Witwatersrand University, Mrs. Selma Stamelman, an anthropologist, and Mr. Syd Shall, a medical student at Witwatersrand University.

Europeans were taken in cars to the Germiston police station, where they were detained. The non-Europeans were first taken to the location police station and later transferred to Germiston.

The Germiston Magistrate's Court was packed on Wednesday 10 when 38 people were charged before Mr. A. J. Marais with a contravention of the Government proclamation issued under the Native Administration Act by inciting Natives to resist, break any law or obstruct the administration of any law.

Those charged comprised three European men, four European women, 13 Asiatic men, six Asiatic women, 19 Natives men and two Native women. There was a second charge of entering the Germiston location without permits, and a third charge preferred against the Native men only of not being in possession of passes,

Mr. D. J. Geldenbuys, the Senior Public Prosecutor, who appeared for the Crown, said that the Crown applied for a remand until Monday. He understood that the question of bail would be raised on behalf of the accused.

Mr. S. Bloom, who appeared for the defence, said that he understood that the remand was purely provisional, and that the case would be referred to the Regional Court.

Mr. Geldenbuys: "That matter will be decided on Monday."

Mr. Bloom said that in making his application for bail, he wished to refer to the circumstances.

"I am applying for the fixing of a nominal bail or that the accused should be allowed out on their own recognisances."

"Harsh Provisions"

"The only penalty up to recently was a maximum fine of £2 or 14 days for entering the location without a permit."

But a proclamation which contained extremely harsh provisions was issued on November 28, whereby any persons who incited Natives to resist or break the law were liable to a penalty of £300 or three years' imprisonment."

The Magistrate intervened to say that he did not know what amount of bail was being asked for by the Prosecutor, and he suggested that he should indicate the amount.

Mr. Geldenbuys replied that he had in mind an amount of £50 for each person.

Mr. Bloom contended that the amount was excessive.

"Bail must not be fixed as a punishment but for the purpose of securing their attendance at their trial. These people have no intention of not appearing at their trial—on the contrary, unlike the ordinary wrongdoer, they have sought arrest in order to be tried."

Dismissing the proclamation itself, Mr. Bloom said he submitted that there was little doubt that it would be found that the Government could not by proclamation repeal existing laws.

Mr. Geldenbuys said that the question of bail rested in the discretion of the Court.

He said: "I consider that I am entitled to suggest that this was an organised contravention of

the law; in other words that the accused deliberately contravened this particular law. Your Worship will very seriously have to consider the penalty prescribed by the proclamation."

No Violence

The Magistrate asked whether there had been the possibility of a dangerous happening or of violence occurring.

Mr. Geldenbuys said that no violence occurred but evidence would be given that the possibility of violence existed.

Mr. Bloom said that there had been no suggestion of violence, and the leaders of the defiance campaign had not been associated with any acts of violence.

The Magistrate: We are dealing with a race, in my opinion, primitive, easily led, who will under calmer reflection they would not otherwise do.

Bail was fixed in the sum of £50 each in respect of each European and of £20 in the case of the Asiatics and Natives, the Magistrate imposing the additional condition that they must not enter the Germiston location before December 15.

Dr. Radhakrishnan Advises Reconstruction Of Society

Inaugurating the social education week at Bombay on November 23, India's Vice President Dr. Radhakrishnan called for reconstruction of society in such a way that the lowest member of a community might feel proud. The main purpose of education, he said, was to reorganise society. But along with this they required renaissance, rebirth and renewal of enthusiasm so that people might feel that they belonged to a fold which "is not dead, not stale and which has life." Dr. Radhakrishnan emphasised that illiteracy need not be confused with education. Over 100 million people went to polls in the general election and though many of them were illiterate they showed great discrimination, great awareness of political problems. The Vice President stressed the need for "defending" liberties of human mind and said, "We in our country always adhered to traditions of freedom of mind: No one has the right to impose his mind on others either by teaching or through indoctrination."

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THE ZAMINDARS (LANDOWNERS)

By GANDHJI

I DO not want to destroy the zamindar, but neither do I feel that the zamindar is inevitable. I expect to convert the zamindars and other capitalists by the non-violent method, and therefore there is for me nothing like an inevitability of class conflict. For it is an essential part of non-violence to go along the line of least resistance. The moment the cultivators of the soil realize their power, the zamindari (land-ownership) evil will be sterilized. What can the poor zamindar do when they say that they will simply not work the land unless they are paid enough to feed and clothe and educate themselves and their children in a decent manner? In reality the toiler is the owner of what he produces. If the toilers intelligently combine, they will become an irresistible power. That is how I do not see the necessity of class conflict. If I thought it inevitable, I should not hesitate to preach it and teach it. ('Harijan,' 5-12-'36).

A model zamindar would at once reduce much of the burden the ryot is now bearing. He would come in intimate touch with the ryot and know their wants and inject hope into them in the place of despair which is killing the very life out of them. He will not be satisfied with the ryot's ignorance of the laws of sanitation and hygiene. He will reduce himself to poverty in order that the ryot may have the necessities of life. He will study the economic condition of the

ryots under his care, establish schools in which he will educate his own children side by side with those of the ryots. He will purify the village well and the village tank. He will teach the ryot to sweep his roads and clean his latrines by himself doing the necessary labour. He will throw open without reserve his own gardens for the unrestricted use of the ryot. He will use as hospital, school or the like most of the unnecessary buildings which he keeps for his pleasure. If only the capitalist class will read the signs of the times, revise their notions of God-given right to all they possess, in an incredibly short space of time the seven hundred thousand dung-heaps which to day pass muster as villages can be turned into abodes of peace, health and comfort. I am convinced that the capitalist, if he follows the Samurai of Japan, has nothing really to lose and everything to gain. There is no other choice than between voluntary surrender on the part of the capitalist of superfluities and consequent acquisition of the happiness of all on the one hand, and on the other, the impending chaos into which, if the capitalist does not wake up betimes, awakened but ignorant, famishing millions will plunge the country and which not even the armed force that a powerful Government can bring into play can avert. ('Young India,' 5-12-'29).

ALL WEALTH BELONGS TO GOD

By VINOBA

IT was on the 28th day of April, 1951, that the idea of launching the Bhoodan Movement flashed into my mind. And it may now be safely said that it has drawn the attention of the people all over the country and won their approval. From *Bhoodan Sampattidan* (i.e. from land-gift to gift of wealth) was a natural step, and the idea that along with Bhoodan, I should also ask for *Sampattidan*, did occur to me and held my mind. But the land problem was a basic one and I saw that unless something was done to meet it, it might develop into a big danger detrimental to the security of the nation. I, therefore, thought it fit first to concentrate my energy only on that question. Besides, in case of land, all could easily see that it was the direct gift of God. Again, it is the basic

factor in the production of wealth. This was another reason, why, in the beginning, I preferred to limit myself to the land-problem alone. Moreover, to proceed step by step was also in keeping with the technique of Ahimsa.

But as the work of Bhoodan progressed, it became increasingly clear that the idea behind the movement could not be fulfilled unless we went further and asked for a portion of wealth and property. And hence, I made up my mind that I must also ask for a share of wealth and property from the people. I have now done it and placed my demand at one-sixth of it; but it is upto the people to decide what they can and will give me. The idea behind the demand is that all wealth, even though we may acquire it with

our individual effort and skill, is not for us alone, but has been granted to us by God for all of us. The energy and initiative which went into the making of this wealth are themselves a gift of God.

I have said over and again in the course of my walking tours that I do not want money. Now however I am asking for a portion of wealth. How are the two to be reconciled then? The answer is that I am not going to take charge of it; nor will I shoulder the responsibility of managing and spending it and keeping the accounts. I will remain free as always. I also do not envisage creating trusts as is often done in the case of funds collected for public good. There is another vital difference between these funds which are raised from time to time for various purposes and this *Sampattidan Yajna*: it is this that a portion of the income will have to be donated to this *yajna* recurringly year after year. I have therefore decided that the money will remain with the donor himself, but he will use it as we want him to do, and annually render us the account. It means that the donor will not only donate a portion of his property, but also give us the benefit of his skill and intelligence in the use of it. It is true

I want the donor to spend the money as we desire him to do, but he may also put forward his suggestions in this regard.

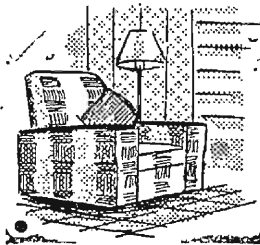
Obviously, I am putting the entire responsibility on the donor himself and am proceeding on trust in his integrity. The critics may find fault with this procedure. But then righteousness cannot stand on anything other than trust. No legal safeguards can give us the protection which trust can. It is from this point of view that I have laid down this procedure.

Those, who desire to take part in this movement should do so joyfully, fully satisfying themselves and after consulting other members of their family. I believe that if men of faith and goodwill come forward and help the movement grow, then this idea which opens out a new way of life will spread in our country and pave the way for *Sanya Yajna*—social equality. And in that belief, I put it forward for consideration by the good and virtuous.—'Harijan.'

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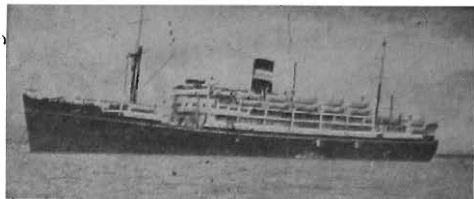
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HUMAN STRIVINGS TOWARDS HUMAN PROGRESS

"DURING the past eleven years the FOSA has concentrated on placing the tuberculosis problem in its proper perspective—to the people, Local Health Council and the Government," said Mr. N. C. Pillay, the Chairman of the Friends of the Sick Association when presenting the annual report of the Working Committee to the eleventh-annual general meeting held in Durban.

"Today, I am happy to say that the lines on which FOSA is tackling this problem has been approved by the Government," he concluded.

The report gave the clearest overall picture of the Association's activities under its respective headings.

Vicarious Experience

"One of the most desperate needs of the world is that we should be able actually to feel and to experience in our own minds and bodies the poignancy of the sufferings of others. We just do not want to know other people's troubles and wait until we ourselves are stricken before realisation comes. We are continually running away from

pain and sorrow instead of facing up to it, suffering it and being purified by it. Yet man is perfectly capable of sharing to the full the sorrows and joys of his fellows. It is only by the fullest development of man's imagination that he can so enter into the feelings of others that our understanding may be broadened and deepened," the report said.

There Is No Place Like Home

"Both the Durban International Club and the Hindu Tamil Institute afforded us hospitality in allowing us their premises for our meetings. We had come to look upon the Durban International Club as our home and hope that those good old days may come back," the report said hopefully.

Grants Committee

"This Committee deals with a very important aspect of the work of the Association, namely, that of direct service to contact families. Apart from dealing with applications for relief it has taken pains to step-up the general care work of the Asso-

ciation. Being regarded as active partners of the Durban City Health Department we are kept informed of all new cases week by week," the report said "The number of registered cases on our books has now passed the 5,000 mark. 139 families were assisted at a total cost of £2,491 15s. 11d." The Association now has 44 Care Committees throughout Natal.

Case Work

"We can say that much of the prejudice against the disease has broken down. This is evidenced by the many cases that come for early treatment and more and more when people are up against such problems as assistance for families, finding beds for patients, advice on treatment, etc, do they turn to the Association for help." It also said "That the nursing position, as far as Indian personnel is concerned, is unsatisfactory." The importance of this question is obvious, as it bears direct relationship to the full use of hospital beds."

The Settlement

"So, FOSA has become the pilot plant to which people come to learn about settlements. Santa is making Settlements the major part of its programme to which it is devoting between

£600,000 and £800,000 of the one million pounds it is raising." "The report pointed, that it was not too costly, it preserved the family unity, it lifted people out of slumdom into an atmosphere where hygienic living could be practised, it restored many to active life in the community."

In conclusion the report said with courage, faith and hope that "We go forward to a new year knowing that fresh effort will be called for, new strains imposed on our organisation, but we also know that with your co-operation all these things can be met and overcome."

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