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IMPLICATIONS OF A WHITE FRONT COULD BE 'TERRIBLE'

—ALAN PATON



MR. ALAN PATON, the author, wanted to know whether those people who were alarmed by the defiance campaign and now called for a "common White front" realised fully the implications of what they were doing.

He was addressing a meeting of the Community of the Resurrection at St. Benedict's House, Rossettenville. "The establishment of a common White front in South Africa, or in any part of Africa," said Mr. Paton, "is a confession that the ultimate interests of European and Native are irreconcilable and that the one can be enjoyed only at the expense of the other."

It would amount to a confession that the fashioning of a multi-racial state was beyond the wit of man. It would be a great thing if the two European political parties came together in a spirit of humility to examine racial policies, but it would be a terrible thing if they came together only to prevent the further advance of the non-European.

"The people of the world would see clearly that the ultimate irreconcilability had been announced," he said. "And they would be shocked to think that we arrogantly supposed that we could or should retain unshared control over half of the Continent of Africa, or, alternatively, that we supposed the rest of that Continent would let us go our way alone."

Africa belonged, said Mr. Paton, "to all of us who live here, who make her our home, who give her our labour and our love."

Anyone reading the history of the present century could not fail to discern two separate trends. One was an increasing unwillingness to be dominated, and the other an increasing unwillingness to dominate.

In the Union the first trend was noticeable, the second not yet so. For that reason it seemed to be out of step with the world. Yet it was written in the stars that domination of man by man would perish.

The total separationists would sooner or later recognise either that total separation was impossible or, alternatively, that most Europeans in the Union would never consent to taking the stupendous steps necessary to bring it about.

"What do they do then?" There are only two courses open to them. One is to sacrifice their principles and consent to partial separation, which is domination. The other is to join with people like myself and consent to equal rights for all civilised men."

Mr. Paton asked whether it did not seem that Hofmeyrism was to-day the only possible alternative to White nationalism. The late Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr was a seer with a clear and utterly truthful mind. He did not believe in White domination because, firstly, it was wrong, and secondly it was impossible.

"Do you remember what they said in the election campaign of 1948, that Hofmeyr must be destroyed? It is my belief," Mr. Paton said, "that his name will live long after theirs have been forgotten. Take comfort, my friends. Many of the gentlemen in this country who talk so familiarly of destiny have themselves no appointment with her. Elections may be the supreme court of this country, but it is history that is the appellate division."

"Was it not seen that Hofmeyrism was the alternative to revolution? Along his road there was reasonable hope, along the other none at all. The other road would band all non-Whites together and would simply prepare the stage for a long and bitter struggle. In this the Continent and the world, even if it understood our aspirations and our fears, would be against us."

It is not the will of Heaven that we should cut off our wings and prostrate ourselves in dust. Heaven did not decree that we pass our days crying out in agony in the night, when the dawn would come, and when it came asking, when the day would end. It was not decreed that man should be unhappy and wretched, for in his depths is created the desire for happiness, because in his happiness, God is glorified

—Khalil Gibran.



*When man listens, God speaks.
When man obeys, God works.
When God works, men change.
When men change, nations change."*



All men are by nature equal, made all of the same earth by the same Creator, and however we deceive ourselves, as dear to God is the poor peasant as the mighty prince.

—Plato



INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 19TH DECEMBER, 1952

Xmas And The New Year

THIS will be our last issue this year. Next week's issue will not appear owing to Xmas holidays and the one after the next will appear on January 2 after the New Year has set in. This is therefore the only opportunity we have to convey to our readers our Xmas and New Year greetings. In doing so our thoughts naturally go over the year that is about to end. It has indeed been an eventful year in the history of South Africa and particularly the non-Europeans of South Africa. If ever South Africa has swerved from the path of Christianity to a shocking degree it has been this year. If ever a challenge has been made courageously to such a state of affairs it has also been made this year, which is a sure sign that though subjected to the cruellest assaults, Christianity will not be allowed to die. The year 1952 marks the commencement in right earnestness of a bloodless war between the forces of evil and the forces of good, and the forces of good must and shall win in the end. We are referring here to the unjust laws passed by the present Government which are the subject of a non-violent defiance campaign on the part of the non-Europeans who are directly affected by those laws. If there had been no challenge but a meek submission to the evils perpetrated by the Government it would surely

have meant that the days of Christianity were over. But the fact that nearly ten thousand non-Europeans have in a Christian-like way bravely refused to submit to those evils and quietly accepted the penalty imposed on them is a proof that Christianity has not ended and that it is to survive. This alone gives a right to all true Christians to celebrate this great festive season. If we cannot learn from the life of Christ to love our neighbour as ourselves and to look upon man irrespective of his class, colour or creed as the image of God our celebration of Xmas has no meaning at all. The despised and oppressed non-Europeans of South Africa have the unique opportunity of becoming the true torch-bearers of Christianity which they can do by bearing the Cross as Christ did and by being crucified as He did. Thus alone shall there be peace on earth and goodwill to mankind. Surely not by following the barbarous way of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

Though there have been tragedies caused by man and by Nature in the year that is about to end there have also been signs of Faith, Hope and Charity. All these are witnessed in the recent challenging statements made by the Church and in the courageous acts on the part of people like Mr. Patrick Duncan and those associated with him. Though their action has been detrimentally criticised by a section of the Press we believe their gesture is in keeping with the true spirit of Christianity which

is gratefully appreciated by the non-Europeans. It is a great thing to identify oneself with the suffering humanity and make common cause with them. It requires a tremendous amount of courage which deserves the greatest admiration and not condemnation.

It is our fervent prayer that God may grant us all wisdom, strength and courage never to lose faith

in Him in the direst circumstances and to obey His law at all costs and thus to become Christians in the true sense of the term; that we may all be able to march forward in the pursuit of our cherished goal in the coming New Year. With these sentiments we wish one and all A MERRY XMAS AND A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR.

NOTES

Donges Hints At Action Against Press

Certain steps, some of which might involve new legislation, were being contemplated, Dr. Donges, the Minister of the Interior, said at a meeting at Parow answering a question about whether the Government were taking any steps against "subtle support given to the resistance movement by certain English language newspapers." Dr. Donges added that action against individuals in terms of these new and the old laws would have to be left to the police where they considered that these laws had been contravened. Asked if the position of the White man in relation to the Natives and racial harmony had been improved at all, the Minister said: "It has been improved in every possible way. If only we were given a chance to show the people and if the United Party would stop telling them, if only for a year, that they were being pressed into serfdom and slavery, it would be a wonderful thing." In reply to another question, Dr. Donges said Mr. Swart had not forsaken his opinion expressed in 1931 that the entrenched clauses were a matter of honour and could not be altered by a simple majority. What had happened was that the constitutional position had been changed by the Statute of Westminster. Mr. Swart was right in saying that the rights of the Coloured people must not be reduced. The Government were giving their attention to the continuing entry of Indian women and children into the Union in terms of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1913, he said in an answer to a question.—Sapa.

Resistance Cannot Continue Without Violence, Says Donges

Dr. Donges, Minister of the Interior, told at a meeting in

Goodwood that the "resistance" movement bore the stamp "Made in Russia," and that its very nature made it impossible for it to continue without breaking into violence. He said Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, former British Minister of Commonwealth Relations, had said that passive resistance could avoid violence only if it was practised by people with strong political discipline and guided by responsible leaders. The Natives in South Africa had neither of these. The present campaign was nothing but plain mutiny and it should be handled as such. The Government had taken steps to maintain law and order. Local authorities could help in this matter by asking the Minister of Native Affairs to ban specific persons from certain areas. They could also ask the Government to send young Native loafers back to the reserves to do useful work. He claimed that the United Party was encouraging the "resisters" by telling them the Government was to blame for the troubles.

Swart Puts Ban On Congress Leader

Mr. Nelson R.D. Mandela, president of the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress and national "volunteer-in-chief" of the defiance campaign, has been prohibited by the Minister of Justice, Mr. Swart, from attending "any gathering in any place" in the Johannesburg magisterial district for six months. He has also been prohibited for six months from living in any area in the Union except the Johannesburg magisterial district. Mr. Mandela, who lives in Orlando, is also national president of the African National Congress Youth League. The two notices from the Minister were served on him by a member of the special branch of the C.I.D. The notice prohibiting him from

attending gatherings was given in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act and stated that in the opinion of the Minister the objects of Communism would be furthered if Mr. Mandela attended any gathering in Johannesburg. The other notice restricting Mr. Mandela's movements to the Johannesburg district was given in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act and referring to the promotion of feelings of hostility between Europeans and non-Europeans. Mr. Mandela told a representative of 'The Star' that he would be unable to attend the conference of the African National Congress.

Discourtesy Worst Than

Communism

Discourtesy towards non-Europeans did more to create bad feeling between European and non-European than a lot of Communist propaganda, said the Rev. J. Reyneke, of Pretoria, at a public meeting in Bloemfontein in connection with the conference

of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission and non-European church leaders. Dr. Reyneke said that a great responsibility lay on the Europeans of South Africa, because as South Africa lay between the East and West it was their duty to see that the non-Europeans took the same side as the Europeans.—S.A.P.A.

Resisters Remanded To

January

Without any evidence being led Mr. Patrick Duncan, Mr. Manilal Gandhi and 36 other participants in the defiance campaign were remanded in the Germiston Magistrate's Court on Monday December 18 to the Regional Court in Germiston on January 26. They are charged under the Government proclamation issued under the Native Administration Act on November 28, of inciting Natives to resist, break or obstruct the administration of law and also of entering the Germiston Location without permits.

LOUW'S FORMULA FOR KEEPING SOUTH AFRICA WHITE

MR. E. H. LOUW, Union Minister of Economic Affairs, told an audience in London on December 16, that the future of White civilisation in South Africa could be assured by wise statesmanship provided it was coupled with a resolute determination on the part of both sections of the European population to maintain the position and prestige of the White man.

"Strong action may be required and if necessary it must be applied," said Mr. Louw, who was giving the principal address at South Africa House on the occasion of the celebration of the Day of the Covenant.

"A policy of vacillation and postponement will be regarded by the half-civilised Native masses as a sign of weakness and will only make matters worse," he said.

"Coupled with a determination to safeguard the position of the White man, we must see to it that a policy of fairness and justice is employed towards the huge Native majority.

"The Native must be given the means and the opportunity to develop within his own Native reserves and within the districts set aside for his habitation in European urban areas.

"Considerable progress is being made in this direction, but the work is unfortunately being hampered by the Native agitators and by the European Communist propagandists.

"This work is also not being aided by the ultra-liberals and the interfering clerics. Unfortunately they cannot and will not realise that they are the Natives' worst enemy.

Mr. Louw said that political equality demanded by the leaders of the Natives must in the course of time lead to political control by the majority, which in turn would mean the removal of residential colour distinctions and the gradual elimination of social barriers between Europeans and non-Europeans.

It was thus clear that the Europeans' first and only line of defence was to see that political power, that was the power to direct the affairs of the country, remained in their hands.

"When the political control is no longer in the hands of the White man he will have to abdicate."

The resistance campaign in South Africa was instigated by the Indians of South Africa and by White Communists. They had seen what happened at Port Elizabeth, Kimberley, East London and elsewhere.

"It is not merely a matter of resisting certain laws, it is all a piece with what is happening in Kenya. And we now have the miserable spectacle of certain Europeans actively participating in this anti-White campaign, marching shoulder to shoulder with the Native lawbreakers and inviting arrest."—S.A.P.A.

CONTROL OF MEETINGS, GATHERINGS OR ASSEMBLIES, AND PROHIBITION OF INCITEMENT OF NATIVES, IN CERTAIN AREAS

THE following Government Notice is published in the Government Gazette Extraordinary dated November 28 for general information:—

Proclamation

By His Excellency the Honourable Ernest George Jansen, Doctor of Laws, Governor-General of the Union of South Africa.

Under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by law, I do hereby declare that from and after the date of promulgation hereof the regulations appearing in the accompanying Schedule shall have the force of law in all areas referred to in sub-section (1) of section twenty-five of the Native Administration Act, 1927, (Act No. 38 of 1927) and in sub-section (1) of section twenty-one of the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936).

Proclamation No. 31 of 1945, as amended by Proclamation No. 59 of 1946, is hereby withdrawn.

Given under my Hand and Great Seal at Pretoria on this Twenty-seventh day of November, One thousand Nine hundred and Fifty-two.

E. G. JANSEN
Governor-General.

By Command of His Excellency the Governor-General in-Council.

H. F. VERVOERD.

Schedule

1. (1) Any person, without the approval in writing of the native Commissioner or, where there is no native commissioner, of the magistrate of the area concerned—

(a) holds, presides at, or addresses any meeting, gathering or assembly at which more than ten natives are present at any one time; or

(b) permits any such meeting, gathering or assembly to be held in his house or on other premises under his control;

shall be guilty of an offence.

(2) Sub-section (1) shall not apply to any meeting, gathering or assembly held for the purpose of—

(a) a bona fide religious service or a funeral;

(b) the regulation of the domestic affairs of any household;

(c) a meeting of the members of a statutory body of persons, held exclusively for the purpose of transacting any business of that body;

(d) instruction imparted under any law;

(e) a bona fide sports gathering, concert or entertainment;

(f) a wedding;

(g) a meeting held by any senator, member of parliament or member of a provincial council; or

(h) official administrative purposes.

2. Any person who at any time uses language or behaves in a manner or does any act or thing calculated to cause natives to resist and contravene any law or to prevail upon them to obstruct the administration of any law, shall be guilty of an offence.

3. (1) If it appears to any magistrate from any affidavit submitted to him that there are reasonable grounds for believing that on any premises within his area of jurisdiction there is any article which may be used for a contravention of section 2, or which may be used to prove that such a contravention has taken place, he may issue a warrant requiring a member of the South African Police named therein or generally all members of the South African Police to search such premises and to take possession of any such article as may be found and bring it before him.

(2) If any magistrate before whom such article is brought is satisfied that it can be used to contravene section 2, he may in writing order the destruction thereof or its confiscation to the Crown; provided that such order shall not be executed until thirty days have expired from the date thereof.

4. Any person convicted of a contravention of these regulations may be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding three hundred pounds or in default of payment to be imprisoned for a period not exceeding three years.

5. (1) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (2), these regulations shall apply to any area other than an area referred to in sub-section (1) of section twenty-five of the Native Administration Act, 1927 (Act No. 38 of 1927,) and in sub-section (1) of section twenty-one of the Native Trust and Land Act, 1936 (Act No. 18 of 1936.)

(2) Section 2, 3, 4 and 5 shall come into operation on the date of promulgation hereof and section 1 on a date to be fixed by the Governor-General, either generally or in respect of any particular area, by notice in the 'Gazette'; provided that the Governor-General may in like manner suspend the operation of section 1 in any area in which it is in force.

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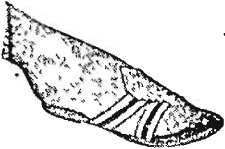
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WESTERN CIVILISATION

III—THE INNER VISION

(C. W. M. GELL)

OUR analysis of Western culture has suggested that its chief weakness is its propensity for unreflective action. Even at the apogee of Western Christendom in the 13th century Western culture never achieved an effective synthesis between thought and activity. There was an unresolved dualism between the peace of Christianity with its other-worldliness, its asceticism and its fine scholastic philologies, and the military ethos of the barbarian warrior with its cult of heroism and aggression. From the tension between these two contradictory historical elements derives the unique missionary character of Western culture—its dynamism founded in the ideal of changing the world by a combination of spiritual and material methods, of which the latter have come to predominate.

When the garment of Western Christendom was rent in sectarian controversy and conflict in the 14th-17th centuries, Humanism became the unifying factor in European culture. But being in its nature the culture (in terms of education and literature) of an intellectual elite, it could not provide the lasting stability of genuine religious influence in times even of adversity, which is the consequence of religion's contact with transcendental and eternal realities. Humanism was too affected by the ebb and flow of human affairs and did not reach down to the masses. It had its fulfilment in the 18th century Age of Enlightenment which stands as a brief interval of sanity between the horror of the religious wars and the modern material barbarism. But the French Revolution, with its triumph of passion over reason and the replacement of the tyranny of the few by a no less despotic and much less cultured tyranny of the many, marked the end of Humanism's effective control of human affairs, except in a few fortunately isolated communities.

Throughout history it has been the function of religion to provide the ground of conciliation between thought and activity. Hence Lord Acton's dictum that "religion is the key to history." But the 19th century saw a continuation of the secularization of thought which had begun in Humanism, and a progressive emancipation of Western dynamism from intellectual discipline—an emancipation encouraged by the Hegelian theory (later adopted by the Marxists) of the inevitable his-

torical process. This disintegration of the cultural fabric of the West culminated in the various 20th century cults of activism, which led Schweitzer to diagnose that "our present lack of any theory of the universe (*weltanschauung*) is the ultimate source of all the catastrophes and miseries of our time." The irreligion of the Western world has left us without any purpose in our lives.

Now the essence of all higher religion is an inner personal experience and an individual relationship with the Divine. It has, therefore, been a necessary consequence of the decline of religion that the individual personality has ceased to be regarded as the ultimate unit of human value. Everywhere we look, the individual is dominated by the collective society, whether it be a hemispherical alliance, a national community, a racial group, a social or economic class. This is one of the horns of the modern dilemma, because civilization (as we defined it) presupposes free men, since only free men can plan and practice the ethic on which it depends. As Jung says: "It is a well-known fact the morality of a society as a whole is in inverse ratio to its size; for the more individuals congregate together, the more individual factors become blotted out. This means the decay of morality, which rests entirely upon the moral feeling of the individual, the indispensable condition of which is freedom."

Thus in order to re-civilise our culture, our thinking must begin with the individual, his place and purpose in the universe.

Those who have read Dr. Schweitzer's 'Philosophy of Civilization' will remember that he confesses his failure to discover any purposive evolution in the natural world in which man's activities could acquire meaning. But, resigning himself to "this crushing result of knowledge," he wins his way through (rather in the manner of Gautama, the Buddha, 2,500 years earlier) to his tremendous ethic of "reverence for life" by drawing upon the religious and philosophical certainty springing from his own inward, mystical experience. This fact is sometimes concealed by Schweitzer's deep personal reluctance to claim that his own most profound experience is an ultimate truth, certifying to its own universal validity.

In this respect the West has much to learn from the East. For

the West has generally mistrusted the mystical faculty and felt it necessary to restrict the validity of the inner vision to the person experiencing it. The one great exception in our tradition was the Asian, Jesus of Nazareth, and to a lesser extent those whose mystical experiences are judged by the authority of the Church to witness to that exception and to sustain the dogmas of the religion which bears his name. A typical modern, and therefore secular, version of this general Western inhibition is Barbara Wootton's:

"However delightful and satisfying these inner personal experiences may be, they have repeatedly shown themselves unreliable foundations for propositions about the nature of man . . . Science continues to win every time at that."

The Indian tradition is wholly different. It asserts that reality is of the nature of the mind or the spirit and that it is not, therefore susceptible to direct scientific investigation. Indian philosophy, which is an integral part of Indian religion, is based upon the individual inward experience of the *rishi*—the seer or one who sees; and that knowledge and morality only is held to be valid which is founded upon the mystical vision. It is true that such an approach theoretically opens the way for excessive individualism which may become a channel for all sorts of revolutionary and anti-traditional forces. Any vagary or illusion can be called institution. But in practice it has not been for disruptive individualism that the West has reproached the East; rather the reverse—for the permanence and inflexibility of the traditional social orders of both India and China. And among the reasons for this stability is the oriental refusal to allow religious experience to claim infallibility. Only in the West has religion—usually in the guise of dogmatic faith—been opposed to reason and been given licence to overrule intellect and conscience. In the East it must submit itself to the test of reason.

It is, of course, necessary to insist that the fullness of religious experience is seldom expressible in words, nor is it analysable by quantitative methods. But neither is reason merely the critical and analytical faculty; it is rather the whole synthesising activity of the intellect. St. Thomas Aquinas likened the philosopher to the poet because "both are concerned with the marvellous." The Indian does not believe that *everything* can be explained, thus eliminating the need for humility before the wonder and mystery of life. But he does regard it as both reasonable and necessary that we should examine our mystical experiences,

and the ethical and aesthetic values we derive from them, in the light of our intelligence. We must discipline ourselves to give an intellectual account of the experience, even though the inadequacy of language and the imperfection of our understanding oblige us to resort to metaphors, parables and paradox. As Radhakrishnan says:

"Any experience which does not fit in with tested knowledge must be rejected as hocus pocus. To be spiritual is not to reject reason but to go beyond it. It is to think so hard that thinking becomes knowing or viewing, what we might call creative thinking . . . Mysticism takes its stand on verifiable truth. It is not opposed to science and reason." This rational approach is in no way invalidated by the inability of reason to go all the way with illumination. The latter must, however, establish its authenticity by agreeing with reason, so far as reason goes.

The Indian would agree with Goethe: "Man is born not to solve the problem of the universe, but to find out where the problem begins, and then to restrain himself within the limits of the comprehensible."

Safeguarded by reflective reason against obscurantism or anti-traditional irrationalism, the individual religious experience (of ourselves, if we are strong enough in heart and mind to attain it; and if not, of the great saints and seers through the ages) is the primary authority in life. This, of course, replaces the individual where he belongs; not, indeed, as the ultimate and permanent reality—but as the temporal agent in this empirical world through whom alone contact can be made in the primal consciousness with transcendent and eternal reality, which is also immanent. Hence, the immense importance in the Hindu and Buddhist traditions of the doctrine of the self; which is not the conscious personality that we call the ego, but the divine spark within us. Thus the *Dhammapada* says: "The self is the lord of self; who else could be the lord?" And Buddha is reported to have said:

"Be ye as those who have the self as their light. Be ye as those who have the self as their refuge. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a refuge."

Indian religion is not, as is sometimes alleged, "the flight of the unknown to the Unknown." It is a process of becoming aware of what we most truly are and thus achieving mastery over our baser instincts in the harmony and serenity of knowing ourselves and all other creatures as one with the One. In the words of the great *Upanishad* text: "Ta

tvam asi—That art Thou—a fragment of the Immortal Spirit. Thus the *Bhagavadgita* says: "The Self alone is the friend of the self and the Self alone is the enemy of the self. For him who has conquered his (lower) self by the (higher) Self, his Self is a friend... When one has conquered one's self, and has attained to the tranquillity of self-mastery, his Supreme Self abides ever concentrate, at peace in cold and heat, in pleasure and pain, in honour and dishonour."

The first task of civilised man is to become master of himself, knowing himself to be not merely an observer *outside* nature (as is the scientist) but an active partaker in the life of the natural and supernatural worlds, a living and loving actor in the drama and mystery (*maya*) of creation, because he is a pulse-beat of the Divine Heart, an integral part of the Eternal Ground of all Being. That art Thou! One with all and with the One.

(To be Continued)

UNIVERSITIES' CHOICE: APARTHEID OR COLOUR BAR ABOLITION

—DR. MALAN

SOUTH AFRICAN Universities with social separation and academic equality between European and non-European students would inevitably have to choose between apartheid to both spheres or abolish all colour bars, the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, said at Stellenbosch. If such universities abandoned all discrimination they would become "blacker" at an increasing tempo.

Dr. Malan, who as Chancellor of the University of Stellenbosch was speaking at the graduation ceremony said that in some university circles in the Union it became the custom to put forward university freedom as if it was unlimited.

There were two points which needed special consideration in the problem of academic colour policy. The one was how far the policy of two of the most important universities in South Africa was in step with the traditional policy of the country and the State. The second was whether the existing domestic policy of these two universities—social separation and academic equality—was healthy and practical.

The academic educational system had obviously to fit in with the higher and lower education in schools, "and therefore became separate schools for Europeans and non-Europeans were the traditional and general policy of the land, the situation of mixing in certain universities is a blatant anomaly."

It created a problem which had been satisfactorily solved in other educational spheres, and it was against the present State policy.

"It was clear that social separation with academic equality did not weaken the apartheid principle or do away with it. On the contrary, it accentuates it daily by demonstrating the

differences and, by implication, the idea of superior and inferior."

The two universities concerned come inevitably before the choice of either applying the apartheid policy which they had accepted in the social sphere in the academic sphere as well as was done in the other six European universities, or otherwise to do away with colour discrimination in both spheres.

In this case, it was inevitable that such universities, among the biggest and best equipped in the country would draw fewer European students and become "blacker" at the increasing tempo.

"That this will create a serious problem for the State is obvious."

The State accepted fully the duty of making provision for the academic training of non-Europeans as well as Europeans. This should be done in separate universities like Fort Hare or in separate sections of universities as was done in Natal.

"Such a policy is in step with the State policy, and is fair to both colour groups."

Dr. Malan concluded by saying that he hoped the universities concerned would, by themselves, begin to think along these lines.

Malan's 'Academic Segregation' Statement Challenged

Mr. Dennis Fanning, Q.C., said that the statement on university education by Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister at Stellenbosch, smacked of Christian National Education and was also designed to drag the universities into the General Election.

Also criticising the Prime Minister's statement, Mr. J. M. Didoot, president of the Students' Representative Council of the University of Capetown, said that he strongly deprecated the implication that academic free-

dom would only be tolerated so long as the universities conformed with the Government policy of academic segregation.

Mr. Fanning said that dangerous talk about the State being able to dictate to universities recalled those who had spoken for Hitler. He strongly disapproved of the idea that the Government should be entitled to impose its political philosophy on education.

He said that Dr. Malan's statement that the universities would have to choose between apartheid or the abolition of all colour bars was a grossly over-simplification of the problem.

"These include the exclusive right of a university to determine on what criteria it shall admit students, how it shall organise its classes, and how it shall teach and study.

"Without university independence higher education becomes a mockery, and a meaningless tool in the hands of whatever political party may happen to be in power.

"At Capetown University the policy of academic equality has stood the test of years as a highly successful experiment in race relations. The large number of Afrikaans- and English-speaking non-European students benefit immeasurably from mutual contact—an advantage denied to

segregated institutions, and one which the university is determined to preserve."

The non-European Students' Representative Council of the University of Natal said in a statement that Dr. Malan's speech was nothing but another chapter in the systematic encroachment by the present Government on university education and cultural freedom.

In Johannesburg an official of the National Union of South African Students said: "It is completely erroneous to say that the universities, because they receive financial assistance from the State, should conform with the policy of the State.

"A university is traditionally a place where races can meet on common ground in the same pursuit of truth, and so reach a better understanding of each other. Nothing but increased racial harmony has in fact resulted at the mixed universities.

"Dr. Malan's prediction that the universities will become increasingly 'blacker' is also far from the facts.

"The economic position of the non-European has acted as an effective counter to that. Out of about 9,000 students at the two universities concerned, little more than 300 are non-Europeans."

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THE WORLD IS WATCHING

MR. PATRICK DUNCAN'S action in joining the resistance campaign brought him world-wide publicity. Complimentary messages reached him from various quarters. Ten members of the House of Commons cabled him:

"We are watching with sympathy and admiration the courageous Christian stand of yourself and others against racial discrimination."

This message was also signed by Canon John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, the Rev. Donald Soper, Mr. Victor Gollancz, the publisher, Mr. Kingsley Martin, editor of 'The New Statesman and Nation,' Lady Pakenham, Lord Stansgate, Sir Compton Mackenzie, the author, and the Rt. Hon. James Griffiths, who was Secretary of State for the Colonies in the last Labour Government.

Commenting on Mr. Duncan's decision to defy an unjust law, 'The New Statesman and Nation' said:

"It takes a very brave man in South Africa to-day to do what Mr. Patrick Duncan has done... His action will challenge other liberal-minded Europeans to express themselves in the same

way, and will probably bring him into the hands of a police force not notably attached to the ways of non-violence. Mr. Duncan has reached this decision for Christian reasons—he is anything but a 'Red'—and from a long-felt admiration for Gandhi's methods in Natal of last ago."

The Editor of 'The Observer' also sent a friendly cable. His paper said: "For the first time in the present crisis a European South African who is entirely free of any Communist affiliations, has crossed the dividing line between passive sympathy with non-Europeans and active support for them. This is a profoundly impressive act."

Reynolds News, another London Sunday paper, has invited Mr. Duncan to write an article on the campaign.

From Germiston goal, the band of resisters sent a message of greeting to the Rev. Michael Scott, who is now in New York.

The case against these resisters will be held in the regional court at Germiston on January 26. Dr. G. Lowen of the Johannesburg bar has been briefed to lead the defence against the more serious charges.

EUROPEANS AND RESISTANCE

'The Cape Argus' in its issue of December 8 writes as follows under the above heading:

THE decision of Patrick Duncan and several other Europeans to take part in the African National Congress's defiance campaign is more dramatic than sensible.

No one will question the sincerity of Mr. Duncan's belief that some of the laws governing the daily life of the Native population are unjust. In expressing that view his is not a lone European voice. For years responsible South Africans such as Mrs. Ballinger and others have drawn public attention to the damaging effect on race relations of many of the irksome and sometimes humiliating regulations which the Natives are expected to obey.

Mr. Duncan and his fellow-sympathisers should, however, ask themselves what possible good they can do, not to themselves but to the cause they are espousing, by taking part in the organised defiance of the law.

It has always been our conviction that the African National Congress was playing with racial dynamite by instituting this form of protest against 'unjust laws'. This view exposes itself to the inevitable retort that people who

are almost voiceless politically have to resort to desperate means to force public attention upon what they consider to be overbearing injustices in the pattern of their lives.

It is open, however, to Mr. Duncan and his fellow European resisters to select what legal political weapons there are available to them in any effort to right the wrongs which they consider are being done to the Natives. If they press on with their plans to defy apartheid laws, they will undoubtedly encourage the African National Congress to persist with its resistance campaign. Any extension of this form of illegal protest can only increase the present tension between Europeans and non Europeans.

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"GANDHI'S MANTLE"

[Article on South African Civil Disobedience in 'The New Statesman and Nation' August 30, 1952]

THE wheel set spinning by Mahatma Gandhi has come full circle. Forty-five years after Gandhi used Satyagraha to protect the interests of Indians in the Transvaal and Natal, passive resistance returns to South Africa. And it returns with a weight, prestige, and promise of effectiveness which cannot be ignored even by its most arrogant enemies among the Whites. Since the end of June this year, when the national organisations of the Africans, Coloureds and Indians in the Union opened a joint campaign of non-violent resistance to racialist laws and regulations, over 3,000 non-Whites have gone to gaol for deliberately defying one or other of the many rules of racial segregation. The courts have awarded fines; many have refused to pay; steadily, the gaols are filling up; and the flood of volunteers shows little sign of abating. On the Government side there is talk of using the lash. But the movement goes on; even if it were checked now, it has already succeeded well enough to set an unforgettable example for the future.

Few or no incidents of violence have marred this campaign. That is a tribute to the leadership of the three non-White communities—a leadership which in political terms, stretches from Right to Left and takes in almost every current of independent non-White opinion. So true is this, indeed, that the authorities have now found it necessary to arrest Dr. James Moroka, the moderate and "non-political" president of the African National Congress, whom they seized not at some political meeting or mass demonstration, but in his quiet surgery in the Orange Free State town of Thaba Nchu.

It might be thought that the Nationalists would take thought in good time, before this movement grows to overwhelming proportions or drives them into the fatal exasperation of using violence against non-violence. But there is no sign that the Nationalists are taking thought. That they are deeply embarrassed is clear from the threats of whipping which Swart, the Minister of Justice, is throwing about. But their general attitude is well enough shown by the words of the Johannesburg magistrate when sentencing non-White leaders to compulsory labour sentences in the case of Dr. Dadoo, the Indian leader, and four months in those of Mr. Kotane, Mr. Marke and Mr. Bopape, three African leaders;

Arguing the case under the so-called Suppression of Communism Act, the magistrate said: "It is common knowledge that one of the aims of Communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people, and to do so without any discrimination of race, colour, or creed." Since the Union of South Africa was "fertile ground" for such "Communist propaganda," there must be legislation to "suppress Communism." This legislation might make "a serious inroad on the liberty of the subject," but its object was clear. "It is to stop at the earliest possible stage the fomentation of a feeling of hostility between European and non-European." This is a good sample of the topsyturvy nonsense which passes for logic in White South Africa. Having equated Communism with the struggle for equal rights—the struggle, that is, for racial harmony—the magistrate could then go on to say that legislation was needed in order to suppress Communism before it could foment racial hostility. The Nationalists, indeed, are incapable of seeing racial equality except in terms of a race war in which the Blacks would exterminate the Whites. Nor can it be denied that the harsher currents of Black nationalism which an extremist White nationalism has now set in motion may after all achieve this disaster.

If the Nationalists can think in terms of nothing better than bigger gaols and heavier sentences, the other great party of White South Africa, the United Party, remains in little better case. Its quiescence at this time is bad for South Africa and bad for itself. A minority in the United Party probably knows this; but the habits of the majority are long established and hard to move. The truth is that most members of the United Party feel themselves on the Nationalist side of this conflict rather than the non-White side. If there has to be a choice, they will choose the Nationalists; and they will choose the Nationalists in the stubborn if quite erroneous conviction that they are standing thus for civilisation. Preferring not to announce this choice at a time when they are locked in another kind of conflict with the Nationalist, the leaders of the United Party simply say nothing. Yet one of the central aims of the non-White leaders—and all who wish well to South Africa—must nonetheless be to achieve some degree of common

cause with the United Party in the fight against the Nationalists. For it is the Nationalists who are the immediate danger.

With or without the United Party, this campaign seems certain to go on. It began in the face of United Party opposition, and it has continued in the face of United Party indifference. And already two important points about it have become clear. The first is that the three non-White communities have proved their ability to work together under joint leadership; and the second is that this newly-forged unity of action—overcoming marked communal hostilities in some parts of the Union—is strong enough to persist and grow stronger. Rather than withdrawing before threats of the lash and longer sentences of hard labour, rank-and-file volunteers from all three communities have continued to come forward in greater numbers. Thousands of non-Whites have seen the long tradition of quiescence under White supremacy smashed in their own personal experience; voluntarily they have suffered, and are suffering

for their convictions, and they are not likely to forget it. *What a few can do today, many can do tomorrow; the history of modern India has shown that this is a snowball which rolls, and rolls larger. Aiming of racial equality—and hence at racial harmony—it is a snowball which bears with it not only the memory of what is past, with its cruelty and waste, but also the hope of a different future, less poor and more peaceful, for the torn and miserable country which is South Africa today.*—(Harijan.)

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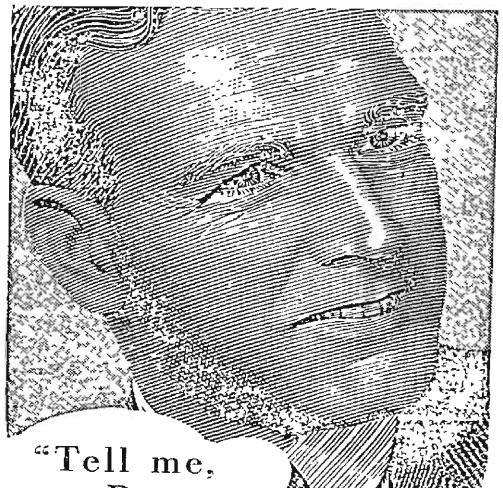
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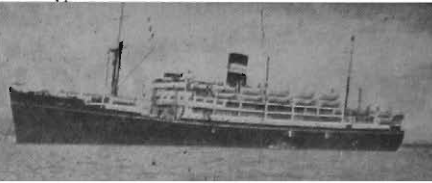
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A MISSING CHAPTER IN GANDHIJI'S "MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH"

By Mrs. PHYLLIS BELL

I WAS nursing plague in Johannesburg in 1904 when I met the late Mahatma Gandhi. To refer to that time, I believe the Indians had been ill and dying for some short time before the Municipality opened a shed (which I believe was originally the King's Warehouse) as a temporary shelter for them.

It was close to the Malay Location. Meanwhile the plague, the fatal pneumonic type had already taken its toll of the white population, Dr. Marais,

are you doing here? this is plague and you must go away at once," I said. He replied, "I am Gandhi and I have come to help you." He came in, looked around and said, "Is this the white man's government to leave a white lady in a place like this?"

I replied, "Oh don't criticize; but please get me some candles."

Within a short time he returned with many packets of candles, and he had arranged for a policeman to patrol out-



Mrs. Phyllis Bell as nurse in 1904



Mrs. Phyllis Bell

who had been attending the Indians, contracted the disease and he and his wife and two daughters had all died. His son Claud died later at Reitfontein Sayaretto.

My first meeting with Mahatma Gandhi was on a Saturday between 11 p.m. and midnight.

The long shed or room was lit by a few candles, the place filled with dead and dying Indians all victims of pneumonic plague.

The silence of the night was broken by shouts and yells from the Malay Location, who I understand were protesting against being placed in quarantine. It was all most terrifying.

I had two Natives to assist me. One ran away—the other consumed the brandy (which I required for the patients) and became horribly drunk.

To my horror I discovered my stock of candles was nearly exhausted and then I noticed a figure in the doorway. What

side and occasionally call out "Is all well Sister?"

Words cannot express the gratitude I felt towards Mr. Gandhi, who, in those most trying circumstances came to my assistance.

For the three days I remained there he was constantly around and assisted me greatly in the nursing.

On one occasion when a verminous patient was brought in I said "Do not touch him, Mr. Gandhi, I am more used to such cases."

To my astonishment he replied, "He is my brother" and then "The One Father-God." I felt somewhat humbled.

After the third day all fresh cases were taken to the Reitfontein Sayaretto and I also went there with instructions from the European Doctor Pakes that I was to have 24 hours sleep before going on duty.

At the Sayaretto all was in order, doctors, nursing staff and

equipment. After a couple of days I became very ill and Dr. Mellish, who was in charge, declared it to be plague.

I believe it was reported in the newspapers that the Sister who had nursed the Indians was down with the plague.

Sister Alexander—a nursing friend of mine at the "Nurse's Co-op" in Von Brandis Square came out to be with me to the end (as she thought).

However I assured her I was better and had not got plague, and she returned home.

She was afterwards Matron of the Johannesburg Hospital.

The day after I was taken ill a Sister Blake, who was nursing Claud Marais, developed plague and died on the third day.

I presume Mr. Gandhi not knowing my name thought it was I. Dr. Godfrey, who was in attendance on the Indians at the warehouse also told me several years after that he thought I had died.

After my quarantine I left the Transvaal and joined my sister in Durban who intended going to England.

It was not until 1932 that I read of Mr. Gandhi's books and discovered that he also thought I had died.

My husband said "Why not write and tell him?" but it had happened so long ago that I did not do so.

Now I am happy to tell his son the deep debt of gratitude I owed his father.

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PAKISTAN OPPOSITION DEMAND RELEASE OF ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN

THE Opposition members in the Pakistan Parliament, Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan and Mian Iftikharuddin demanded on November 15 the release of Khan Bahadur Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Province Red Shirt leader and Prime Minister in pre-partition days.

Mr. Shaukat Hyat Khan (member in the West Punjab Cabinet after partition) said that the Red Shirt leader was being slowly billed in jail.

The House was discussing the Bill to amend the Public Security Act.

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan said that the Bill before the House should be designated "death and detention" Bill because by the operation of the Bill, people would be detained without trial until they died. In other words, it was intended, to "kill people in jail," he said, and actually one man had been "killed" in this manner in the Frontier, namely, Kazi Attaullah. If this had happened under the British or any other regime, there would have been a furore in the country, he said.

In the same manner, said Sardar Shaukat Hyat, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was being slowly killed in jail, just because the Chief Minister of a Province was "afraid" of the "guts" of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and of the "influence that he wielded" over the people." Instead of killing this man in jail, he said, the Government should put Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan (present Prime Minister of the Frontier Province) and Khwaja Shahabuddin (the Governor) in jail.

He asked the Minister for the Interior what was the touchstone by which the Government would judge the loyalty of a man, and added that the present Ministers were more "disloyal" to the State than people like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

Referring to the remarks made by the Minister for the Interior, Sardar Shaukat Hyat said that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan "here on the floor of this august House took an oath of allegiance to Pakistan. All through his life he had said whatever he had honestly and sincerely felt. He had always fought for his convictions—true, many people disagreed with them—still, whatever he believed he openly said."

Referring to the Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Mian Iftikharuddin said that, before the establishment of Pakistan, both Khan Abdul

Ghaffar Khan and Mushtaq Ahmed Gurmami (Pakistan's present Minister of Interior), were opposed to the idea of Pakistan, with the only difference that while the former had spent 15 years of his 30-year political career in jail, the latter had served the British Government for nearly the same number of years. After the establishment of Pakistan, both declared that they were in the wrong. Which of the two was to be believed; the one who served the British Government or the one who took part in the struggle for independence? Mian Iftikharuddin asked.

Mian Iftikharuddin demanded that if there was anything against Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan it should be brought to light. If he was an enemy of Pakistan, why not try him in open court? Why did the Government want to hide such things? he asked. He said that by no stretch of imagination could a person like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan be described as an enemy of Pakistan. Men like Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan were the creators of the freedom movement, he added.

'Pakistan Times' Supports Demand

The 'Pakistan Times,' Karachi, in an editorial on November 17 said:

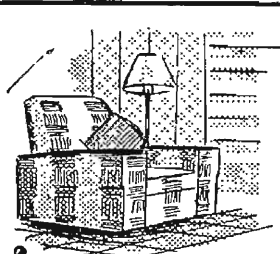
The mounting volume of popular protest over the continued incarceration of the ageing Red Shirt leader, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was powerfully echoed in the Pakistan Parliament the other day.

Of late a deepening sense of anxiety about the Khan's health has spurred on a large section of the Press and many a liberal-minded person, in no way connected with the Red Shirt movement, to demand his immediate release. But compassionate grounds alone do not adequately explain the intensity of public feeling on the issue. For it is now widely recognised that his continued detention can have nothing to do with his post-Partition political activities, which were abruptly cut short by his unwarranted arrest about five years ago. Much has been made of Ghaffar Khan's pre-Partition heresy, but the fact has been recalled to memory from several platforms that he gave unequivocal assurances of his loyalty to the State in the very first meeting of the Pakistan Parliament that he attended. It is also relevant to

point out that a number of politicians who were bitterly opposed to the movement for Pakistan have since Partition been elevated to positions of trust and honour.

The Government's lack of response to the demand for Ghaffar Khan's release and its inability or unwillingness to expose its case to the searchlight of public scrutiny have naturally led people to draw their own conclusions. The so-called evidence on which allegations of disloyalty are based

is too flimsy by legal or moral standards to merit description by any term other than injustice. All transparent excuses hitherto put forward to justify Ghaffar Khan's detention cannot obscure the fact that the Khan is being sacrificed at the altar of the Frontier Chief Minister's misfeasance and his lust for a life-long monopoly of political power. But it is the Central Government which has to bear full responsibility for the unjust curtailment of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's liberty.



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WHAT COLOUR WAS THE BIBLICAL ADAM AND EVE?

By WILFRED H. HARRISON

WE are of course a Christian nation who open our Legislative Assembly with prayer. The motto of the Christian faith is the golden rule: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Conversely however in keeping with a world of paradoxes. The emblem of our constitutional Government is the sword. This is manifested at the opening of each session when every King or Governor is decorated with that lethal weapon with which the law of England still permits the King of that country to behead his Ministers if they displease him. He is also guarded by an armed force to defend him. It is often a qualification for a Prime Minister to be a General of the armed forces as we have had in South Africa, who act as head of those forces to keep what they call "Law and Order" in the traditional military way. The present Premier of the South African Government has a more sacred title as a Doctor of Divinity, who it seems not only conforms to

the traditional military might of Parliaments, but he has also segregated the Oriental founder of the Golden Rule Jesus Christ.

The Christian faith is of oriental origin, as also according to their teaching was the first human species Adam and Eve.

Imaginary pictures of these people presents them with a white skin. Like Noah and the Ark when it was said that God flooded the world to drown the rest, but Noah and his family who with two of "every" species of life were given shelter. Pictures of these we have seen shows the white man Noah and his few family, members with two of "every species" falling in regimental formation into the Ark. There are no Bushmen Pygmies—Aboriginal Natives and others with deep pigmentation in the imaginary scene. Neither is there any reference to such in the Biblical teaching. The Western world in their greed for gain which the modern machinery of industry has

given them, have devoted all their intelligence to that purpose. As such by the might of their military forces have by conquest gained material wealth and established a colour bar amongst the less developed races of the world for exploitation purposes. Whatever we may claim to be the advantages of modern science and industry, the Western world have shown a very inhuman way of spreading those advances as world history has shown. Super intelligence abounds in the East as it does in the West. There are monuments of art in the city of Benares that are unequalled in the Western world. The people of the East can take any degree in the universities of the West. It is not therefore a question of intelligence but of choice in the ways of life.

Mahatma Gandhi was a man of super intelligence who saw and lived in the cities of western science and industry. He saw too the evils of it in productive and distributive industry and their cruel powers of administration. Hence he returned to his own country to adopt and propagate the more simple life, with a non-violent policy of resisting their aggressive administration.

Modern science has given us much for human comfort and happiness. It has also given us much more for inhuman murderous deeds and destruction, because of the lust for power of those who control the administration. It takes us back to the parable of the monkeys who were enjoying coconuts in the trees. A young monkey saw in the far distance bombs exploding on the roofs of houses. "What is that?" he enquired, "That," said the parent monkey, "is civilisation." The moral is what we mean by civilisation in the true sense of its meaning. Obviously any form of animal life is much nearer to it than human beings who adopt methods of killing thousands of innocent people. Man has been given powers of intelligence to use for the creation of things for his own sustenance. That intelligence is not the super-intelligence if not manifested like that of Mahatma Gandhi for the welfare and comfort of every human being.

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