

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

ARCHBISHOP ON DEFIANCE OF UNJUST LAWS



THE Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, the Most Rev. Dr. Geoffrey Clayton, in a letter in the official organ of the Diocese of Cape Town on the attitude of the Church to the civil disobedience movement, says: "It has been the traditional teaching of the Christian Church that there is no obligation on a man as a Christian to obey unjust laws."

There is an obligation on every churchman to be a law-abiding citizen of his country, yet there are circumstances in which it is a man's duty as a Christian to refuse to obey a particular law, says Dr. Clayton.

He writes: "If a law were to be passed requiring you to do something which is in your belief contrary to the law of God, clearly your duty as a Christian is to obey God rather than man."

"A law does not become unjust because you do not agree with it. It often happens that we think a particular law unwise. But that does not entitle us to disobey it."

"We can only rightly do that if our conscience forbids us to obey it, or if a particular law is in our judgment inconsistent with fundamental human rights."

"And in the latter case it would be necessary that the matter should be one of real importance and that our disobedience was not likely to produce greater evils than those against which we should be making our protest . . ."

"If, however, a man does decide to disobey the law, he must be prepared to take the consequences. He is setting himself up against the State, and the State will inevitably protect itself and punish him for his transgression of the law."

"It seems to me that such a decision must be a personal decision. I don't think that the Church, or any other authority, can tell a man that he ought to make such a decision."

"But, on the other hand, I don't think the Church can condemn him if he has made it. Fundamentally it is for a man's own conscience to decide . . ."

"The situation at present is complicated by the fact that 'Indians and native Africans have no effective constitutional method open to them which they can employ to get laws changed which they regard as unjust."

"This makes it easy to understand the present civil disobedience movement. I think I can understand it, and I cannot see how anyone can avoid having some sympathy with it. And yet I doubt its wisdom."

"For I find it difficult to believe that if the movement continues it will be possible to keep it a movement of passive resistance. I think it is extremely likely to lead to violence."

"Whether it has done so already or not is a question about which one who, like myself, has no inside information, can hardly express an opinion."

"But if it does, my own view is that it will lead to greater evils than those against which it is a protest. Yet, though I think it unwise, I should find myself quite unable to condemn a man who was led by his conscience to take part in it . . ."

"But of course there is one thing about which we ought all to agree; and that is that laws which are unjust ought not to remain on the Statute Book. We need laws which are not only just, but are obviously just. And unless and until we get them we shall never have peace."

*I am only one, but I am one;
I cannot do everything,
But I can do something.
What I can do, I ought
to do
And what I ought to do
By the grace of God
I will do.*

—Canon Farrar.

—o—

*The worst obstructionist
in any community is not
the man who is opposed to
doing anything, but the
man who will not do what
he can because he cannot
do what he would like
to do.*

—J. L. Long.



INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 5TH DECEMBER, 1952

A Lesson To All

Twenty Natives have died and 150 are in a serious condition as a result of the tornado which swept through Albertsville on Sunday night leaving devastation and tragedy in its wake. Altogether about 500 were injured.

More than 500 houses were completely demolished and hundreds more were brought to near ruin. Piles of rubble merging into each other are all that is left of the homes in which thousands of Natives—many of them already poverty-stricken—lived their lives.

Dead animals lie strewn about the area, silent witnesses of the disaster that overtook the 5,000 inhabitants of this township of tin shanties and mud-brick houses.

Still stunned by the shock, Native men and women, many with husbands, wives and children dead or injured, scurried from early dawn to-day through the heaps of corrugated iron, timber and bricks, searching for remnants of their belongings.

Others had found carts and wheelbarrows and lading up salvaged timber and iron to start their homes afresh. There were few tears. The tired faces showed only hopeless resignation to gash.

THE above news culled from the daily Press must make the stoniest heart weep. It is gratifying to learn that the authorities and the country as a whole have been prompt in giving succour to the distressed and help in cash and kind has been pouring like rain from all over the Union. But the tragedy does not end there. While this article was being penned on Tuesday night it was announced over the radio that hundreds others, also Africans, were victims of another fearful tornado in Payneville location near Springs which is also situated a few miles away from Johannesburg. 20 African were killed, more than 100 mudbrick houses were completely destroyed and about 300 damaged, rendering 2000 people homeless. God help the distressed.

This tragic affair must make one wonder why this Nature's wrath on the poorest of the poor and despised and exploited humanity and that too just at a time when these people are already groaning under the cruel heels of the haughty rulers who are out to crush them because they dare to ask for elementary human rights—birth rights of every living soul on the face of this earth?

Strange to say small and big tragedies seem to be taking place almost every day. We have had rail crashes, collisions between trains and buses, between trains and motor cars taking a severe toll of human lives.

Should this not make every soul—even the most boastful who is proud of his ability to forge the most deadliest weapons of destruction feel humble? What worth is his ingenuity before the Almighty Power that rules over the universe?

But every act of God has a purpose behind it. The writings on the wall are written in bold letters for those who care to read—are humble enough to read. These grim tragedies are a lesson to all—the humblest of the humble and the haughtiest of the haughty. It is a lesson to those who are fighting for bare justice in this fair land and who have pinned their faith in God, not to lose faith in Him. It is a lesson to them not to fear the might of man but to fear Him who alone is the Dispenser of Justice. It is a lesson to them not to be attached to their worldly possessions, for they know not when and how they will be snatched away from them, but to go forward in their search for Light unperturbed by all the impediments that man may choose to place in their way. It is a lesson that there is no room in Heaven for him who has lost his manhood; that manhood can only be retained by an unshakable faith in God; that a righteous end can only be achieved by righteous means; that man must not hate man but hate his deeds which seek to deprive him of his manhood and refuse to bend to the evil without bearing the slightest hatred for the evildoer. This grim tragedy is a lesson to man that it is better to die like a hero serving his real Master than like a worm—a slave of man.

It should also serve as a grim lesson to the haughty rulers of this land that their much boasted

of might is worth nothing before the might of God; that if the Prime Minister and the Minister of Justice think that they can cow down people with an iron hand there is a mightier force above to deal with them before they know where they are. It is a lesson to them that all—whether rich or poor, black or White—are alike before God and that those who are ordained to serve humanity must not forget that they are serving God's creatures and that they should be respected and

treated as such. It is a lesson to them to be humble and to search for the cause of all the trouble and remove the cause instead of blindly and foolishly trying to deal with the trouble. This is our reading of the grim tragedy that forms the subject of this article and our reply to the measures of ruthless repression the Government has deemed fit to adopt and proposes to adopt to crush the Passive Resistance movement against the unjust and immoral laws of this country.

NOTES

What Determines Superiority

Mr. G. T. Downes, president of the Natal Chamber of Industries recently said at their annual meeting in Durban "If the Western man shows a new and more desirable way of life to an aboriginal or undeveloped race, that race cannot be denied to live it. All history shows that social change takes place among inferior peoples upon contact with superior invaders." He said the characteristics for determining superiority were not physical, but principally those of character, intellect, behaviour, education, sensibility to cultural values, skill and will to work. No group could normally be denied the opportunity of developing these characteristics nor any of its members, who had acquired them, be denied the rights accorded to less developed individuals in another and more privileged group. Events had shown that the time of our legislators in recent years would have been better spent in a mutual and co-operative search for some truly realistic and practical answer to this great problem rather than in bitter internecine quarrelling over smaller issues.

Result Of The Capetown Agreement

Since 1927, 7,940 Indian women, the wives of South African Indians, have entered the Union from India, about 314 a year. In the same period, 9,138 minor children have entered. These figures were supplied last week by the Commissioner for Asiatic Affairs in Pretoria, when inquiries were made as a result of the proposition at the Nationalist congress in Newcastle by Dr. H. J. Terblanche, of Durban, "that the Smuts-Gandhi agreement should be rescinded. Mr. P. R. Pather, president of the Natal Indian Organisation, in a Press interview stated that it was not

the Smuts-Gandhi agreement which provided for the admission of wives and children from India, but the Capetown Agreement of 1927, when Dr. Malan was Minister of the Interior. The idea behind the agreement, he said, was that, by allowing Indian men domiciled in South Africa to bring to South Africa wives and children who were in India, Indians would come to recognise South Africa as their home, and not look to India as an other home. The tendency, Mr. Pather said was now for Indian men to marry in South Africa, but, just as South African European men sometimes looked to other countries for their brides, there would probably always be some Indian men who looked to India for brides. Having regard to the Indian population now, the number of wives and children allowed into the country from India was negligible, and would probably decrease progressively. The figures supplied by the Commissioner of Asiatic Affairs show that, during non-war years, the highest number of women to enter in any year was 462, in 1947.

Aims Of Apartheid

The Minister of Lands, Mr. J. G. Strydom, opening the Natal congress of the Nasionale Party at Newcastle last week said, "if White civilisation was to survive in South Africa it was necessary to have full co-operation between the two sections of the European population." Not only was co-operation necessary between the White sections but co-operation would also have to come about between all White people in Africa. The only basis on which White civilisation could be saved was on the basis of Apartheid, which Mr. Strydom had described as aimed at maintaining White supremacy while at the same time allowing the non-European to develop in his own areas.

The Rand Tragedy

The African National Congress (Natal) and the Natal Indian Congress (Natal) have sent a message of sympathy to the families and dependents of those who lost their lives in the tragic disaster at Albertynessville near Johannesburg. A statement issued jointly by the two Congresses says: "This grave tragedy in which so many lives have been lost and in which so many have sustained injuries is a national calamity. We appeal to all people irrespective of race or creed to give all help possible to alleviate the sufferings of the people of Albertynessville squatter camp."

No Hospital Bed For Native Dying Of TB

The Tempe Isolation Hospital in Bloemfontein had no bed for a 55-year old dying Native tuber-

culotic, Andries Maroku. Health Department officials told the Press that he was tenth on the waiting list. After a city doctor had failed to find a bed for him he was forced to return to his home outside the city. The doctor said: "I think it is high time that this sort of thing, which happens frequently, not only in Bloemfontein but all over the country, should be brought to the notice of the public. "I do not think that at this stage any hospital would be able to save this man's life, but from the humanitarian point of view he should not be allowed to die in his hut without proper medical attention." Asked by his doctor how he was going to return home, Maroku said that he would have to go by bus. A special ambulance was then detailed to take him.

DURBAN CITY COUNCIL AIDS GOVERNMENT'S REPRESSIVE MEASURES

AFIER a long debate on Monday, the Durban City Council approved the resolutions on non-European affairs which were adopted at the conference of the Municipal Association Executive last month.

The resolutions pledged the municipalities' aid to the Government in any action it might take in suppressing non-European disorders, and urged the Government to take further measures for safeguarding law and order. They also expressed opposition to the defiance campaign.

Councillor E. Leighton Black called on councillors to oppose the resolutions passed by the Municipal Association.

He described Britain's industrial revolution beginning 100 years ago, with its attendant disorders, as a parallel to the situation in South Africa to day.

The lights of democracy were going out in the Union, he said. South Africa was being panicked into measured which required careful examination.

"You cannot," he said "suppress one section of the population without eventually suppressing all."

Likening the present situation to that in Germany in the 1930's, he said steps were taken there ostensibly to suppress Communism. Then anti-Jewish laws were passed, and so things built up.

At the time of the industrial revolution in Britain ruthless action was taken against the workers, but all that it achieved was to drive the reasonable people into the hands of the

unreasonable.

"We must think carefully on what the lessons of history can teach, and I ask Councillors to consider what they are doing."

Durban's representatives at the meeting had done what they believed to be right, but they did not know what was under consideration, said Councillor Leighton Black when he referred to the latest Government action to suppress passive resistance.

"I think we are embarking on a wrong policy," he declared. "We have not reached the East African stage yet. If we adopt this policy we are shortening our lives. We must think of our children and our grandchildren.

"You cannot deprive one section of its freedom without endangering the freedom of other sections."

Councillor J. Bolton, as a trade unionist said Councillor Leighton Black did not fully understand the position.

He did not, however, agree with the Government's adopted of similar measures to those in force in Kenya. The workers were in the main being misled by individuals with Communist tendencies.

"I do not agree with repressive legislation, but we have laws which must be maintained. History cannot be allied to the position here."

Councillor Spanier Marson welcomed the state of control. Over the past 18 months the Government had been very tolerant to "this foreign body" which was causing the trouble,

Durban could play a big part in rectifying the situation by getting down to the root cause and supplying the Native peoples with a solution—giving them decent houses and amenities.

Councillor T. A. Blakeley felt that the passive resisters had been confused with the rioters. The movement of passive resistance could not be killed through the use of force.

of the happenings of 1949. The resolutions were in the interest of all peoples.

The resolutions were the charter for the future welfare of the European and the non-European in South Africa. The conditions in which the non-European lived were fuel to Communism.

"It is our duty to look to the welfare of the non-European and give him every encouragement:

JUSTICE WILL BE DONE

"**P**ERHAPS it would be better to say that what is morally wrong will never in the long run turn out to have been politically wise. Justice will be done in the end, either by us or upon us," Mr. F. R. Snell, Rector of Michaelhouse, told the Durban Toc H Lunch Forum last week. "If any person is inescapably precluded, whatever he may do, from the full sharing of the rewards of a civilisation, he will not feel that he 'belongs' to that civilisation. He will feel an outsider and when he becomes politically or socially conscious he will feel himself to be exploited and used as a tool.

"The net result cannot be other than to create a division between the haves and the have-nots.

"Instead of uniting in its defence all who will accept civilisation, both our main political Parties talk and think of Whites 'against' non-Whites.

"The Whites, it seems, must protect their privileged position by the use of their power, by refusing to allow open competition in the economic field, by refusing equal political rights to men better qualified educationally and culturally, in every other way, than many thousands of those who now enjoy the franchise.

"A people, or group, that protects itself thus from competition, dooms itself with absolute certainty to ultimate extinction, even if only because it makes itself lazy.

"Sooner or later some political Party must come into being that will stand for this elementary principle of justice.

"And sooner or later, if there is to be a civilisation in Africa at all, it will be based on this principle.

"There is a misapprehension that principles do not matter in politics. Without a firm ground of principle the politician becomes a mere opportunist. Our politicians in South Africa almost to a man are divided into two camps.

"In one camp you find those who have principles which are thoroughly and fundamentally b.d. In the other you find those who apparently have not got any principles at all, or if they have, dare not reveal them for fear that they might not meet with popular approval. No doubt to speak the truth may be to lose votes.

"The truth is often not at all palatable—nevertheless, I believe the truth to be that unless we are prepared to stand for justice we shall never have peace.

"In the national sphere, in the racial sphere and in the international sphere—justice must precede peace. I am sure that someone has got to be prepared to say things like this in season and out of season, and whether it is popular to do so or not.

"No prophet is ever popular, or at least if he is, one can be tolerably certain that he is a false prophet."

"All the liberties we have," he said, "were won at the price of people being killed in the streets. This Government needs no encouragement to use force." Councillor Blakeley joined forces with earlier speakers to sound a note of caution on the resolutions.

Replying to criticisms levelled at the resolution, Councillor W. Nagle said Durban had only been spared disorders by the recollection by trouble-makers

but we must see that law and order is maintained."

Since the publication of the conference's resolutions a different attitude had been adopted by the trouble-makers. The resolutions were not aimed at repression, but merely to put a stop to outbreaks of violence.

At the conclusion of the debate the resolution was adopted by a large majority.—Natal Mercury.

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Our America Letter

By HOMER A JACK

Chicago, November 26.

SOUTH AFRICA is very much in the front pages of American newspapers these days, especially because of the recent riots and the United Nations debates on Africa. The riots in Kimberley and East London resulted in headlines in most of the newspapers and more continuing accounts in 'The New York Times'. Prof. Z. K. Matthews, president of the Cape Province Branch of the African National Congress (who is spending this year in New York City as Henry Luce Visiting Professor of World Christianity at Union Theological Seminary) is trying to interpret the violence to the American Press and attempting to correct erroneous reporting.

Likewise making headlines are the debates within the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly about the resolutions on the treatment of Indians within the Union and on the whole problem of apartheid. Americans were pleased when the United States delegate voted with 40 other countries to set up a Good Offices Committee to bring India, Pakistan and South Africa together. The United States did not, however, vote for the resolution in committee urging an investigation of South Africa's apartheid. This is not to be taken as an indication that the United States Government officially approves apartheid—which it does not. No doubt part of the motivation was not to break rank with the Commonwealth and colonial nations and part is a genuine question about just how far the United Nations should interfere with the "domestic" policies of a sovereign state without that state having yet signed a covenant of human rights with the United Nations.

On Safer Ground

Mr. Charles A. Sprague, an alternate representative to the U.N. from the United States—and who has been handling these matters—in a letter to this correspondent gave these reasons for the present United States action: "The United Nations would be on safer ground in view of the limitations of the Charter to employ general language rather than to single out one country for particular action, even though in the opinion of most of the delegations the course being followed in South Africa is sharply at variance with the programme endorsed in the

Charter for elimination of racial discrimination. This discussion has helped to focus world attention on South Africa. This may have the immediate effect of causing the Malan Government to work for the further insulation of South Africa. In the end, however, surely the pressures of world opinion will be felt there. The great question is whether their effort will come in time to save the situation."

'The New York Times' in much the same manner editorially questioned too much American pressure on South Africa for fear that it would harden the hearts of the present Government. My response, from my brief visit to South Africa, is that such action might harden certain hearts, but it would harden those of the people who will inevitably share the rule of South Africa in the not too distant future. The United States Government has no qualms—and rightly so—to reach over the heads of the Government of Soviet Russia. Through the Voice of America and other means of political warfare the United States tries to reach the people of Russia and the satellites—to reach them with messages of hope. Why is not America likewise beaming democracy and hope to the non-white people of Africa—and realising that it is good politics and good morals to befriend those who inevitably will be in power when democratic processes triumph.

Presidential Election

The United States presidential election has come and gone. Except for the Korean war foreign policy played almost no part in the pre-election speeches. I believe neither Governor Stevenson nor General Eisenhower referred to Africa. Even a continuance of America's aid to underdeveloped territories and peoples (Point IV) was not emphasised. Both candidates did, however, extensively court the non-white vote in America. The Republican party blasted the apartheid-like record of Senator Sparkman who was running for vice-president on the Democratic ticket. While Governor Stevenson and the Democrats retained pretty much of the non-white vote, the election of General Eisenhower in no way can be called a victory for the racists.

Indeed, there are Republicans and some independents who now

maintain that in the new few years there will be more progress on a national scale in the United States to eliminate the many remaining areas of discrimination toward non whites than in any time under President Franklin D. Roosevelt or even President Harry Truman—the latter especially having a great reputation for being a friend of the American Negro. It is felt by some that President Elect Eisenhower will go out of his way to make a good record in order to court the Negro vote for the Republican party for future elections. Eisenhower promised, in his speeches, that he would start his crusade in this area by administrative action to lessen discrimination in Washington, D.C.—heretofore an unfortunate symbol of the colour bar. It is also felt by some that the Republicans, with the help of Northern Democrats, will pilot through Congress some civil rights legislation which may not be as strong as that asked for in vain by President Truman and his Civil Rights Commission, but will at least be more than the Democrats ever got through Congress—which was exactly nothing.

To Secure Favour Of Non-Whites

To secure the favour of the non-White peoples of the world, President-Elect Eisenhower has been asked to visit other Asian countries after his inspection tour of Korea. This suggestion was made by President Decker of the University of Kansas City before a recent meeting of the Unitarian Service Committee in Chicago. He noted that no American president had ever visited Asia and he urged that Eisenhower visit not only Korea but some Asiatic country at peace—at least the Philippines and preferably India. Whether Eisenhower will take the advice, and whether his pre-election promise to go to Korea will help end the war there—these are

shrouded in mystery as Eisenhower is about to head for the Pacific.

Literature On S.A.

Another indication of the interest in the United States for South Africa is the number of books on South Africa which are being published in America. Most of the recent books published in England on South Africa by Marquand, Hatch, Sachs and Davidson are now being issued in the United States. Book review pages of newspapers and magazines are thus featuring South Africa as seldom before.

Another symbol of concern is, in Chicago, the holding of a one-day institute on "Whither South Africa," sponsored by Roosevelt College and co sponsored by such groups as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured people (the great non-White organization in America roughly similar to the African National Congress), the American Friends Service Committee (the Quakers), the Fellowship of Reconciliation (the religious pacifists), and the Council Against Discrimination (a group of 150 civic, religious, and ethnic organizations.) Featured speaker will be Prof. Z. K. Matthews. Other speakers will be Darrell Randall who spent several years in Johannesburg recently; and Prof. Melville Herskovits of the Anthropology Department of Northwestern University; and Rev. Archibald Carey, a Negro clergyman and City of Chicago alderman who was a close friend of General Eisenhower during the election campaign and is mentioned for a high post in the new administration.

The Defense movement may not have many supporters among the Whites in the U.S.A.—South Africa—but it is securing a host of new friends in the other U.S.A.—United States—and non-communist friends at that.

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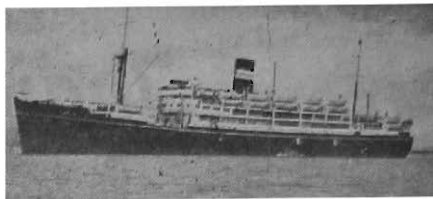
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GOVERNMENT'S NEW REPRESSIVE MEASURES PROCLAIMED

A FINE not exceeding £300, with the alternative of imprisonment not exceeding three years, is provided for contraventions of regulation governing the control of meetings, gatherings or assemblies, and the prohibition of incitement of Natives in Native areas, which are proclaimed in a Government Gazette Extraordinary last Friday.

This proclamation, which is counter-signed by the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd applies to urban as well as rural locations and came into effect as from that day.

The regulations are promulgated in terms of the Native Administration Act and the Native Trust and Lands Act, 1936.

A Government notice providing for the same penalties elsewhere in the Union, including all Native locations, is published with the Gazette and also became effective on Friday.

The regulations as far as the Native areas are concerned lay down that any person who, without the permission of the chief or headman and approval in writing of the Native Commissioner or the Magistrate of the area concerned, holds, presides at or addresses any meeting, gathering or assembly at which more than 10 Natives are present at any one time, or who permits any such assembly or meeting or gathering to be held in his kraal or house, or on premises under his control, shall be guilty of an offence.

This provision will not apply to meetings, gatherings or assemblies held for the purpose of a bona fide religious service or a funeral, the regulation of the domestic affairs of any kraal or household, a meeting of the members of a statutory body or persons held exclusively to transact any business of that body, on instruction under any law, a bona fide sports gathering,

concert or entertainment, a wedding, a meeting held by any Senator, member of Parliament or member of a Provincial Council, or for official administrative purposes.

A further regulation says: "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 laws, shall be guilty of an offence."

The regulations provide that 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 the contravention of the section providing for the holding of meetings, for bona fide purposes, or which may be used to prove that such a contravention has taken place, he may issue a warrant requiring members of the South African Police to search premises and to take possession of any such article as may be found and to bring it before him.

If a Magistrate before whom such an article is brought is satisfied that it can be used to contravene the section providing for the holding of bona fide meetings he may, in writing, order its destruction or its confiscation to the Crown provided that such order shall not be executed until 30 days from the date on which it is issued.

The regulations concerning areas outside the Native areas correspond with those for the Native areas and are immediately effective, but provision is made in the Government notice for the promulgation of the sections referring to control of meetings in urban locations at a date to be fixed by the Governor-General.

"WILL TEACH THEM TO OBEY THE LAW"

—Mr. SWART

A BILL would be introduced at the next session of Parliament to give the Government powers similar to those being employed in Kenya to deal with disturbances, the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, said last Friday at the Natal congress of the Nasionale Party at Newcastle. This legislation would also enable steps to be taken against those who worked behind the scenes.

The only way to deal with disturbances was to hit back as

hard as possible, he said. "You cannot fight the law of the jungle with the rule of law."

Though the police did not want to take life unnecessarily, the only way to meet violence was to take stern measures. For this reason he had instructed the police—and police officers agreed with him—to hit and shoot where necessary.

So long as he was Minister of Justice, said Mr. Swart, the police would be protected. Where the police did their duty

they would have 100 per cent support from him and the Government.

The Government was using power it had under existing legislation to deal with disturbances and the defiance campaign. It was regrettable that the Government did not have greater powers, but the necessary powers would be taken when Parliament assembled next year.

"We are faced with a situation which we, as the bearers of White civilisation, can no longer tolerate."

Dealing with the suggestions of Mr. Strauss that there should be consultation with the moderate non-European leaders, Mr. Swart asked who they were.

Did the Opposition expect the Government to negotiate with the African National Congress and the Indian National Congress who were not only directly responsible for the uprising but whose declared policy was equality and the eventual expulsion of all White people?

The African National Congress had said they would not be satisfied with the repeal of the Pass laws or the curfew regulations, but that they would not rest until they were in Parliament and governing the country. How far would he (Mr. Strauss) get by negotiating with the African National Congress or the Indian Congress?

The Government would first teach them to obey the law.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

ON December 18, just eight days after the world-wide celebration of Human Rights Day, another important anniversary will be observed, in honour of the late Eglantyne Jebb, who died 25 years ago. Miss Jebb, founder of the International Union for Child Welfare and of the British Save-the-Children Fund, was the author of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, known also as the Declaration of Geneva, proclaimed in 1923.

This was one of the many historic documents which contributed to the writing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Its principles are also contained in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which is to be considered by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its current session.

The text of Miss Jebb's historic Declaration, as recently published in 38 languages by the International Union for Child Welfare, in Geneva, is as follows:

"By the present Declaration of the Rights of the Child, commonly known as the Declaration of Geneva, men and women of all nations, recognising that mankind owes to the Child the best that it has to give, declare and accept it as their duty to meet this obligation in all respects:

- (1) The Child must be protected beyond and above all considerations of race, nationality or creed.
- (2) The Child must be cared for with due respect for the family as an entity.
- (3) The Child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, materially, morally, and spiritually.
- (4) The Child that is hungry

must be fed; the child that is sick must be nursed; the child that is physically or mentally handicapped must be helped; the maladjusted child must be re-educated; the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.

(5) The Child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress.

(6) The Child must enjoy the full benefits provided by social welfare and social security schemes; the child must receive a training which will enable it, at the right time, to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against any form of exploitation.

(7) The Child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellowmen."

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WHAT IS WESTERN CIVILISATION?

(C. W. M. GELL)

I

NOWADAYS we seldom stop to think what we mean by "Western Civilisation," although it commands our moral allegiance and may yet require our lives in its defence. In South Africa, as part of our habitual confusion between ethical and racial values, it has become "white civilisation," which is a philosophical aberration. In the Western half of Europe, owing to the urgent menace of Russian imperialism, the phrase usually has a political or cultural significance. To Americans it means a vast material well being and the cult of individualism, of which democracy is the political expression. Asians, emerging from several centuries of Western aggression and exploitation, regard it less favourably as economic imperialism, replacing actual colonialism, and a great materialist challenge to their immemorial social orders and the spiritual traditions on which they are based.

Nor will agreement more readily be found for what constitutes the distinguishing features of Western Civilisation. Italian painting, German music and philosophy; French theatre and logic (as well as their general mastery of the art of living for which they are acclaimed the most civilised of peoples), English poetry and letters, American technology and mechanical ingenuity, the science of medicine, the various attempts to operate democratic systems of government and the manifold expressions of the Christian religion—all these are aspects of Western civilisation but not its essence.

In a general way, however, there is no doubt that its most remarkable outward symbol—that which distinguishes it from all other civilisations and that on which it most prides itself—is its increasing mastery over the physical world. Very recently Professor Barbara Wootton wrote: "The work of pushing forward the frontiers of knowledge into the territory of ignorance and superstition is always immensely exciting; and it yields deep and lasting satisfactions." And she speaks of "the magnificent body of new knowledge that the human mind has established in the past two centuries" and of man's "so amazing mastery of his material environment."

I do not wish to challenge here the positive achievements on which these enthusiastic, if somewhat naive, affirmations of faith are founded. Science has, indeed, made great advance possible in our knowledge and control of the

world of nature. But every fresh advance emphasises the immensity of our ignorance and the fractional aspect of our human knowledge. Almost daily some new discovery throws doubt upon facts or laws which had earlier been accepted as universally and permanently valid. In almost every direction, whether dealing with time and space, substance; matter, electrons and atoms, science has gone far beyond the observable world which was considered to be its province; and, in order to account for observed phenomena, has had to indulge in theories and speculations to an extent which seriously undermines its claim to be a body of strictly objective precisely determined truth. Only a fool would dispute the value of experiment and the quantitative method which science employs; but scientists themselves are coming to realise that there are limits to what may be attempted by these methods. Einstein, comparing the scientist to a man who is trying to understand the mechanism of a closed watch by studying its exterior, wrote: "Physical concepts are free creations of the human mind, and are not, however it may seem, uniquely determined by the external world." Seen in its proper perspective, the achievement of science in the last 200 years deserves Mrs. Wootton's admiration. We only challenge its arrogance when science claims (and here Mrs. Wootton's phrase "the territory of ignorance and superstition" is suspect) that its truths are necessarily more universal and more valid than those of the other departments of knowledge, such as religion, philosophy and ethics. Each branch of knowledge has its own truths; and, without mediation, these have only a relative validity outside that branch. Against Mrs. Wootton's assertion that science provides the only reliable foundation for "propositions about the nature of man," we can appeal to the opinion of an even more distinguished scientist, Dr. Lacomte du Nouy: "The science of matter is not two hundred thousand years old while the science of man is over five hundred thousand years old. . . Therefore, it can reasonably be assumed that moral extrapolations are much safer than scientific ones, even though they cannot be expressed mathematically."

That undue emphasis on the practical achievements of Western civilisation has produced a monstrous distortion in human life is now becoming obvious to most

thinking people. The Western world's scientific precocity is not matched by a corresponding maturity in other spheres of development. Two world wars and the almost exclusive devotion of atomic research to purposes of destruction are symptomatic of a cancerous disequilibrium in human progress. On this point there is an impressive unanimity of intelligent opinion. As long ago as 1923 Dr. Albert Schweitzer published words that were horribly fulfilled in the air over Hiroshima:

"All progress in discovery and invention evolves at last to a fatal result, if we do not maintain control over it through a corresponding progress in spirituality. Through the power which we gain over the forces of nature, in sinister fashion we get control as human beings over other human beings. . . . Some new invention may make it possible for one man by a single movement to kill not merely a hundred, but ten thousand of his fellow men."

In 1947 Dr. du Nouy, an internationally famous French biologist and physicist, wrote:

"Man must be made to understand that the mechanical transformations he has introduced in his environment and his adaptation to them will mean either progress or ruin

according to whether or not they are accompanied by a correlative improvement in his moral attitude."

In 1949 the greatest living psychologist, the Swiss Dr. C. G. Jung, asked:

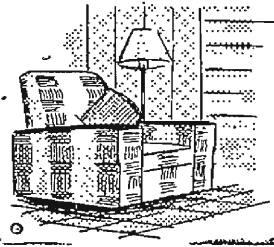
"Is it not time to realise that all the external changes and technical advances do not touch man's innermost being, and that everything depends on whether or not the man who handles science and techniques is sane and fully responsible?"

In 1948 the eminent historian of Europe, Christopher Dawson, said:

"There is no absolute limit to the progress that can be achieved by the perfectionment of scientific technique detached from spiritual aims and moral values.

Balancing what happened at Hiroshima and Nagasaki against the potentiality of the H-bomb and the admission of the scientists that they do not know how many such explosions the world can survive without life being wholly exterminated or monsters created, few thoughtful men now dispute the conclusion that civilisation—Western or other—is something more than the extension of our material knowledge and power; or believe that it is something altogether external to human nature. We shall try to define it in the next article.

(To be Continued)



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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

AFRICAN TEACHERS BECOME POLITICAL COMMISSARS

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

WHEN Mr. A. J. Luthuli was summoned to Pretoria to be confronted with the Government's ultimatum to choose between being a chief and participation in the defiance campaign, one of the things he was told was that some of the laws complained of were actually for the "good of the African people. As a matter of fact the Secretary for Native Affairs did him the honour to read him a whole catalogue of these, explaining where they were for the "good" of the African. This gave Mr. Luthuli, who possesses a first-class mind in his own right, the chance to draw upon both his expert knowledge of these laws as well as his administration of them and their effects on his people to give shattering replies to the Government. The hours he spent in Dr. Eiseles's office were some of the most uncomfortable for the Department of Native Affairs; for rarely has its heads been told the truth so plainly; so courageously and by so eminent an African authority. But when Mr. Luthuli left, the Department of Native Affairs decided that if, as a former teacher, he had such a low opinion of the laws they believed to be good, there should be other teachers again who thought as he did.

As a result the Department decided on enlisting the support of the African teacher in the political fight over the unjust laws. Long circulars were sent out to African schools in Natal listing the laws alleged to be bad and showing up where they were "helping" the African.

This is a new procedure in this country. Up to now the African political leaders in Natal have scrupulously refrained from dragging the African teacher into the maelstrom of political controversy. And he, too, has kept politics out of both his union and his classes. It was an arrangement which worked healthily in the interests of all concerned. The Milanites now realise that their case is indefensible on every ground, barring that of crude self-interest and in their haste to clutch at every straw to bolster it up to violate traditions which have long been respected and employ the teacher as a political commissar to indoctrinate the African children with the tenets of apartheid.

Happily for the African people, the African teacher,

who kept aloof from politics, suddenly found himself face to face with the laws at issue and confronted with the questions from the keen minds of the young and growing had also to tell them some of his own experiences of these laws. And, in very many cases, they were experiences which did not redound to the credit of the Native Affairs Department. If that Department thought that it was being clever, to use the African classroom for political purposes, the trick has had boomerang effects.

The African teacher finds himself in the position where he has to explain these cruel and oppressive laws to children who know what racial oppression is; for they have seen their parents insulted and humiliated by Government officials; they have seen their homes broken into at night by the Police and houses searched without warrants. They have seen African teachers and clergymen arrested and jailed for not having their "Passes." They have known what it is to be insulted by White adults and children on the streets because they were not White. And then Verwoerd comes along to say the laws which create such a state of affairs are for the good of the African people. If the Native Affairs Department's trick is producing boomerang results it is because it is neither clever nor intelligent.

But that has not been the end of the matter. The African teachers in the Cape have for very many years been allowed to be members of political parties, though they were not to take part in political controversies. This was a concession necessitated by the fact that the African teacher was for scores of years the most progressive element in the African community and in the Cape led the movement towards qualifying for the vote. In recognition of his efforts to uplift his people he was allowed to become a member of political parties and exercise his vote freely.

A fortnight ago, however, the Press announced that quite a number of African teachers had been sacked because they had taken part in political activity. Most of the names mentioned are of men who have given devoted service to the cause of African education. Among those dismissed was an

outstanding African musician, Mr. M. Moerane of Queenstown, whose symphonic poem 'Le fatske la Heso' (My Country) aroused considerable interest even in this country when it was broadcast by the BEC.

The dismissal of these men might be purely a disciplinary matter in so far as the Government is concerned. And as we do not possess all the facts of the case against them, we might not express an opinion on the merits of the case. It is the timing of the expulsions which is peculiarly significant. Coming after the Malan Government has carefully studied the reactions of the African people to the tactics of using school teachers as political commissars, the dismissals are clearly calculated to intimidate the African teacher and impress on him the idea that the boss will stand no nonsense.

For our part, we do not expect the African National Congress to circularise African schools giving its own views on the unjust laws. After the Department of Native Affairs has set the precedent and given a misleading picture of the issues at stake in efforts to counteract the resistance movement, the African National Congress would be quite justified in carrying the battle straight to the classroom; straight to the grounds of the Government's own choosing. But the use of the classroom as a political platform is essentially wrong in principle. It was tried in Nazi Germany against the Jews; it is being done in Communist Russia; and it is being done in some Afrikaans schools. What are the results? In all cases it produces a dwarfed intellect, which thinks in a rut and believes that it can do no wrong—a twisted mind which thrives on hatred for all who refuse to be as stupid and as narrow-minded as it is.

We, of Africa have a nobler task in this country before us. We are called upon to return South Africa to the path of sanity. If Malan's Government stands for racial intolerance and racial hatred, we stand for the exact opposite; tolerance and love. If they stand for racial exclusiveness, we stand foursquare for the brotherhood of Man. Every South African is

our brother. We want this a happy country in which no man shall be penalised for the fact that God created him with a particular skin colour. Because we have set ourselves this goal, we cannot afford to waste our time and energies producing dwarfed intellects; we are busy producing intellectual giants and men of great moral courage and vision who harbour no racial evil in their bosom; men like Albert John Luthuli who will stand firm and say "No!" to the satanic evil of apartheid, even when the apartheidists bring the heavens crashing on their heads. For this reason we shall not use the African teacher as a political commissar; we shall encourage him to bring up a generation of loving and tolerant young men and women.

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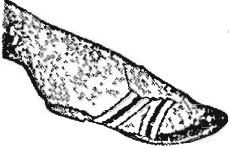
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INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Nagpur, November 24.

OBSERVANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA DAY ALL OVER INDIA

SOUTH Africa Day was observed on November 16 in every nook and corner of India. It was not merely a congress show, but all parties joined in registering their protest against the policy of Malan Government in South Africa and demanding fair play and justice.

A resolution adopted at a meeting held in Bombay expressed its fraternal greetings and good wishes to those who were taking part in the Satyagraha movement and who had by their discipline, courage and non-violence shown themselves as worthy followers of the great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who gave the world the message of Satyagraha in South Africa 45 years ago.

It was a matter of historic significance that Africans and people of Indian descent had banded themselves together as missionaries of a common cause, said the resolution. Similar

resolutions were passed by meetings in Calcutta, Madras, Gwalior, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad and other important centres.

Observance Of "East Bengal Day"

How observance of "East Bengal Day" or protest days organised by certain groups would solve the problem the Prime Minister Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was unable to comprehend. He was addressing a Press Conference at Lucknow on November 22.

He was of the view that it might actually harm the minorities in East Pakistan as well as create apprehension in the minds of minorities here.

Observance of the East Bengal Day, Mr. Nehru declared, would in fact act as a bar to the solution of this problem.

To a query by a newspaperman as to what harm can ensue by observing East Bengal Day in India when they were observing other protest days against

some countries including South Africa, the answer came from Mr. Nehru that in the case of South Africa they wanted to help the people there battling against the Government's racial policy.

The observance of protest days against racial discrimination in South Africa was meant by ways of educating the people in India as regards the problem in South Africa so that their support, moral or otherwise may be enlisted. The Prime Minister went on to say that it did not come into clash and raise any difficulties.

The question of Indo-Pakistan relations was a bigger issue in which were involved many problems arising from the partition of the country. There were only two ways for a solution, one was war and other was pressure through diplomatic channel. There was no third way out, he said.

It is a question, the Prime Minister observed, of our attitude towards the problem. "We should behave as mature people and not as angry children."

Aid From Foreign Countries

Addressing a Press Conference At Lucknow on November 22,

the Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, declared that he would not remain the head of a Government for a day, if the Government was to bow down to pressure from foreign countries extending aid.

Alluding to the doubts entertained in certain quarters about the aid from foreign countries the Prime Minister clarified the position by saying, "We would tighten our belts and take other measures to amass all available resources in the country rather than depend on foreign aid that come with strings tied to it."

The Five-Year Plan, Mr. Nehru continued, was not basically affected by foreign help, but was entirely depending on the resources available in the country. Foreign aid was accepted only to cover up a small deficit around 15 or 20 per cent in the plan budget the deficit incurred by the extension of the plan and inclusion of certain new schemes in it.

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NEWS OF THE DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

MR. ABE MANALA prominent Trade Unionist and Mr. V. Jaga 5th year Medical student led a mixed batch of African and Indian men and women into the Germiston Location to defy permit regulations on November 27. Among the volunteers were: Messrs. P. Padayachi, an executive member of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress and a 2nd year Medical student, Ismail Cachalia and M. A. Moosajee, Science student, Essop Wade, Arts student, Charles Bopape and Julia Mashamaite who have

Ex-Governor-General's Son Joins Defiance Campaign

THE National Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress announced that Mr. Patrick Duncan, eldest son of the late Sir Patrick Duncan, the first South African Governor-General of the Union, will lead a mixed batch of European and non-European volunteers into action in Johannesburg on December 8. We very heartily congratulate Mr. Duncan on his courageous step. We have no doubt it will enthuse a number of the other liberal-minded Europeans to actively support this crusade against the unjust and immoral acts of the Government. We hope to give a fuller account of Mr. Duncan's own statement on the subject in our next week's issue.—Ed. I. O.

went into action for the second time during this Campaign and Mr. Solly who courted imprisonment twice during the 1946 Passive Resistance.

The volunteers were greeted with loud cries of "Africa" as they entered the Location, crowds followed them through the Location singing 'Mayibuye Africa' until they were later arrested. The Germiston Magistrate's court was crowded when the volunteers appeared for sentence.

Mr. Abe Manala in his statement to court said, "My fellow volunteers and I, among whom are students from the University of Witwatersrand and workers appear before you for breaking an unjust law. We have done this to show our united opposition and protest against this inhuman and unChristian law. The racial and tyrannical policies of South Africa have been condemned by the peoples

of the world. As I stand before you as an accused, South Africa too stands as an accused before the bar of world opinion.

This Campaign launched by the Congresses is not directed against any section of the South African population but against unjust laws."

Mr. Jaga in his statement to court said, "The racialism and injustice of the ruling class entrenched in the laws of this country is a reversion to the dark ages, and that unforgettable period of history when Hitlerism took a heavy toll of human lives. Any law with embodiment of racial arrogance that discriminates against the people on the basis of colour is unChristian, undemocratic and inhuman."

In a message on behalf of the students before courting arrest Mr. I. Cachalia said, "Racialism, Fascism and subjugation with such inhuman ideologies have failed in other parts of the world and will certainly not succeed here. Since our struggle is a just one against injustice, tyranny and fear I feel certain that in the end we will triumph and victory will be ours."

The volunteers were sentenced by the Magistrate to 28 and 14 days hard labour.

Leaders Receive 9 Months Suspended Sentence

Under Suppression of Communism Act

TWENTY non-European leaders were found guilty in the Supreme Court, Johannesburg, on Tuesday under the Suppression of Communism Act of furthering the aims of Communism. They were each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment with compulsory labour, suspended for two years on condition that they are not in that period convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act. Leave of appeal was granted.

The clause under which the accused were found guilty carries a maximum penalty of 10 years' imprisonment.

In his judgment Mr. Justice Rampff said the accused were, in his opinion, guilty of encouraging a scheme which aimed at bringing about a political, industrial, social or economic change within the meaning of the Act by means that include unlawful acts or omissions—contravening certain Union laws and municipal regulations.

The Judge said the offence of which the accused had all been

found guilty was "statutory Communism." "The charge has nothing to do with Communism as it is commonly known," the Judge said.

Accused

The accused were: Walter Max Slaus, Secretary general of the African National Congress, David Wilcox Bopape, secretary of the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress, Rissak H. Desai, editor of the 'Spark' and joint secretary of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, James George Phillips, chairman of the non-European section of the Garment Workers', Dr. Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo, president of the South African Indian Congress, N. S. Thandray, joint secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Stephen Esperalim Sello, secretary of the African National Congress, Isiah Macdonald Maseko, chairman of the Orlando branch of the African National Congress Youth League.

Nana Sita, president of the Transvaal India Congress, Daniel Tloome, a Native trade union official and executive member of the African National Congress, Ismail Ahmed Cachalia, secretary of the Joint Action Committee of the South African Indian Congress and the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress Youth League, John Joseph Marks, president of the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress, Dillizotaba Mji, president of the Transvaal branch of the African Congress Youth League.

Moses M. Koute, executive member of the African National Congress, Harrison Motlana, secretary of the African National Congress Youth League, Ahmed Mohamed Oathads, chairman of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress and Dr. James S. Moroka, president of the African National Congress.—(S.A.P.A.)

Things In General

New Secondary School At Verulam

The official opening of the Verulam Government Indian Secondary School was performed on Saturday, November 29, by the Director of Education, Mr. C. M. Booysen. There was a large gathering present. After the opening remarks by the chairman, speeches were made by Messrs. Moolla, P. R. Pather, A. C. Meer, G. Harbans and Manilal Gandhi. Mr. Booysen was then garlanded. In the course of his speech Mr. Booysen congratulated the Verulam and District Indian School Board for the magnificent work

they had done. He said the Education Department was aware of the needs of the Indians and was doing and would continue to do its best to see that every Indian who wished to have education was provided with the facilities to do so. He then opened the school with a golden key presented to him. All those present were served with tea and light refreshments.

Arya Samaj (Cato Manor)

The 31st annual general meeting of the Arya Samaj (Cato Manor), founded in 1921, was held on Sunday, November 23, at the Arya Samaj Hall, Mayville. Mr. R. Devduth presided. After the opening remarks by the president, the secretaries' report was submitted by Mr. R. S. Gokool, which stated that the Arya Samaj had made considerable progress, and that vernacular and English classes were being conducted and ever since August evening classes for adults were also commenced. It was the intention of the Samaj to commence physical culture classes and a library for the benefit of our people in the Mayville area. The following sub-committees: Arya Vir Dhul, Arya Hithase Bhujan Mundal and the School Board were instrumental in the running of the school. The following persons have been rendering good service by giving their moral and material support: Messrs. C. N. Rana, P. Seeban, Estate Daya Nerain, Gungadas Maharaj, B. Ramcharan, Sher Singh, B. Arjoon and P. Bisram.

The following office-bearers were elected for the ensuing year: Patrons: Dr. Bhagat Ram, Swami Gayanand, P. Seeban, B. M. Chaitu, B. Ramcharan and W. S. Singh; president: Mr. R. Devduth, hon. secretary: Mr. R. S. Gokool, hon. treasurer: Mr. D. Harichander, committee members: Messrs. D. S. Padarath, L. Ranjith, Lutchman, B. Haripersadh, J. Dasrath, P. Bham, M. R. Lal, M. Bbikarie and P. Ramduth, Trustees: Messrs. C. N. Rana, B. Devduth, K. Jugroop, S. Gokool and W. S. Singh.

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