

SOUTH-AFRICAN PUBLIC OPINION
20 JAN 1953

INDIAN OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

No. 3—VOL.—LI

FRIDAY,
16TH JANUARY, 1953

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

Price 6d.

DR. MALAN'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE



Real Swaraj (independence) will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority.



It is man's imagination that divides the world into warring groups of enemies and friends. In the ultimate resort it is the power of love that acts in the midst of the clash and sustains the world.

—Mahatma Gandhi.



BROADCASTING a New Year message to the people of South Africa on New Year's eve, Dr. Malan, the Prime Minister said: "As was the case in previous years, I now again wish to convey on behalf of myself and the Government our best wishes to all sections of our people on the occasion of the New Year which will presently begin. May an abundant measure of happiness and prosperity be your share.

"The Christmas message of a week ago is still ringing in our ears. It has reminded us of the fact that true peace and happiness do not consist in external things. On the contrary they consist, in the first instance, in an inward experience born from the right relationship with the Great Unseen and emanating therefrom in peace between man and man destined ultimately to culminate in universal peace—peace on earth.

"We pray that this, during the coming year, may be realised in and between us all, and in increasing measure in the whole world in which we live.

"We are indeed living in troubled times. Everywhere in the world at large uncertainty and fear prevail. This is proved by the thousands of millions which are being spent every year on rearmament, resulting in economic scarcity, exhaustion and poverty on a scale unknown before.

"This is accompanied by the continued forging of new weapons with ever increasing power of destruction and death. Added to this is the disheartening fact that the world organisation specially created for the maintenance and promotion of world peace is through internal causes obviously becoming more impotent and futile.

"In our own country these world conditions are reflected in unrest in some quarters, in deliberate defiance of the law, and in some places even in an appeal to force, coupled with the perpetration of shocking atrocities.

"This is indeed no cheering picture which presents itself to us. For tracing the underlying causes this is obviously not the fitting occasion, but standing as we do, face to face with the future, our present concern is certainly and fittingly to try to discern as clearly as we can the beacons which indicate to us the way towards that peace and happiness which we desire for each other and for our country. I shall confine myself briefly to this last.

"Firstly, living as we do in a multi-racial country, we must recognise each others' right of existence unreservedly. South Africa is our common heritage and belongs to all of us.

"Secondly, we must create and maintain conditions in which every population group will feel secure in the maintenance and development of what is particularly its own. South Africa must not consist of camps in which one section must find it necessary to entrench and defend itself against another.

"Thirdly, we must all in the first place and above all consider ourselves as children of South Africa to which we owe our undivided loyalty and devotion.

"Fourthly, South Africa as a whole must maintain undefiled her character as a partner in the West Christian civilisation, and must consider it as her calling to protect it against attacks from outside and subversion from within.

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INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 16TH JANUARY, 1953

Dr. Malan's New Year Message

PRIME Minister Dr. Malan's New Year message to the people of South Africa is worthy of note in that it is somewhat different to his general attitude. If what he spoke on New Year's eve were put into practice we have no doubt this would be a happy land to live in for all; there would be peace in South Africa and South Africa would have made a worthy contribution to the peace of the world. But the trouble is that most people do not practice what they preach and our Minister, unfortunately, is not an exception to this general rule. "True peace and happiness is born," he says, "from the right relations with the Great Unseen and emanating therefrom in peace between man and man destined ultimately to culminate in universal peace—peace on earth." The question is, are our relations with the Great Unseen right? We are unhappy to have to say that Dr. Malan or his Government has not set a good example in this respect. As the Prime Minister admits we are indeed "living in troubled times" in our own land, and "uncertainty" and "fear" is prevalent here to day more than anywhere else in the world.

Dr. Malan rightly denounces "the thousands of millions which are being spent every year on re-armament, resulting in economic scarcity, exhaustion and poverty on a scale unknown before." But what is South Africa's contribution to avert this? Again we have to say nil. On the contrary she is doing everything possible to help it and economic scarcity, exhaustion and poverty are experienced by the vast majority of the people in this country today as they have never been in the past. South Africa's sole reliance, to bring about peace and security in her own country, is on weapons of destruction and death. She has not set a better example to the world which the latter could usefully follow. South Africa's

contribution towards wrecking "the world organisation specially created for the maintenance and promotion of world peace" is by no means small. She has openly declared that she will render it impotent if she cannot have her own way. She has not shown the slightest sign of sacrificing an iota to maintain that great organisation. She has indeed given the impression that she considers it and treats it as a thorn in her way.

South Africa can at least boast of one thing that while in the other parts of the world force is met with force and violence with violence here in South Africa there are thousands of men and women who are not meeting force with force and violence with violence but are courageously refusing to submit to the tyranny of the rulers in the spirit of non-violence and are imposing sufferings on themselves and dedicating themselves to the Great Unseen in order to change the heart of the tyrant. If these succeed it will be the noblest example in the way to securing world peace without the use of deadly weapons and South Africa will have reason to be proud of it.

Dr. Malan refers to the "beacons which indicate to us the way towards that peace and happiness which we desire for each other and for our country" and goes on to enumerate them.

"Firstly," he says, "living as we do in a multi-racial country, we must recognise each other's right of existence unreservedly. South Africa is our common heritage and belongs to all of us." This is most admirable. It is as it should be.

"Secondly," he says, "we must create and maintain conditions in which every population group will feel secure in the maintenance and development of what is particularly its own. South Africa must not consist of camps in which one section must find it necessary to entrench and defend itself against another."

Here we have a bone to pick. Dr. Malan's own Party has formed itself into a camp and is seeking to entrench and to defend itself against another. It has succeeded in a large measure since it has power in its own hands and has consequently assumed a bullying attitude. It is now seeking to form group areas with the machinery it has created on its own and is thus creating camps hostile to one another by its own example.

If, as Dr. Malan says in the third instance, "we must all in the first place and above all consider ourselves as children of South Africa to which we owe our individual loyalty and devotion," he is certainly not helping us to do so by the creation of these camps. And when it comes to South Africa his vision seems to become somewhat narrow, for above all we are children of God and then we are children of South Africa. If we remember the first thing and keep it in mind always and in our actions we would certainly not go wrong. But from this point onward Dr. Malan seems to have lost his way.

In the fourth instance Dr. Malan talks of "South Africa's character as a partner in the West Christian civilisation which" he says, "must be protected against attacks from outside and subversion from within." This ambiguous language is ununderstandable. The Bible teaches us, as all other scriptures do, that we are all children of one God and that we must love our neighbour as ourselves. It makes no distinctions between East and West, North or South. Civilisation is to know God and to abide by His law. Anything contrary to that is contrary to civilisation.

Fifthly Dr. Malan says, "we must in addition to our mutual interest in and our assistance to each other, realistically recognise the natural differences as well as the gap in the level of civilisation existing between various sections." We fully agree that the natural differences created by God "must be realistically recognised and respected." Indeed we must thank God for creating this diversity or else life would be monotonous on this earth. This diversity has given beauty to it but God tells us that it is our duty to seek unity in this diversity for each is the complement of the other and none can

stand alone. This lesson is brought home to us vividly in times of trouble but we are apt to forget God and succumb to Satan in times of peace when selfishness and greed get hold of us."

"The gap in the level of civilisation existing between various sections" which Dr. Malan speaks of is created by man to gain his own selfish ends. It is not the creation of God. God bids us to treat all fellow human-beings alike and to live as equals irrespective of what colour or race they may be. This very simple thing seems to Dr. Malan like "attempting to jump over a gorge or a valley." That is just where the biggest mistake is being made. The Prime Minister calls upon all of us to solve our differences "on a higher level in accordance with the demands of sincerity, honesty and chivalry as it behoves a civilised and Christian nation." It is easier to learn by example and who could better set that example than Dr. Malan and his Government?

Sinister Plot

WHEN the Suppression of Communism Bill was going through the Union Parliament leaders of non-European thought made it plain that they were sure the word Communism was just being used as a screen to cover up the real intentions of the Government—which was to crush the liberation movement of the non white peoples. Events have since proved beyond all shadow of doubt how right the non-whites were. But a new danger is already rearing its head in the ranks of the Government—the drastic measures threatened against the resisters.

We had a foretaste of it recently when the Minister of Justice instructed the Police to shoot at the slightest provocation. If he were dealing with Europeans who have the vote he would not have acted so irresponsibly. He would have regarded non-white lives as precious human lives. But because the non-whites do not have the vote he could afford to treat them with less regard.

But there is something more to it than that. With the general elections not very far off and with the Government fearing that it might be losing its hold on the

race-hating section of the white voters the warning given at Johannesburg by a delegate to the conference of the South African Labour party is worthy of being taken serious note of. Dr. G. Routh, a delegate, warned the conference against a "sinister plot to bring the defiance campaign down to a pool of bloodshed." It was a white delegate who uttered this warning and as far as we know, he has not been among those who have gone to jail for participating in the resistance movement.

When Parliament gathers in another few days the non-European people should be ready for more draconian legislation to crush the resistance movement. But happily, for South Africa, the non-white peoples, in particular the Africans and the Indians, who have borne the brunt of the struggle, have shown by their heroism and consistency of purpose under extreme trials that their love for freedom will stand every test that the race-hating Malanites can devise. For the tyranny imposed on South Africa is a challenge to every democrat's love for freedom. For this reason as we await the opening of Parliament let us gird our loins and prepare ourselves as a people spiritually to go through the most trying tests of our loyalty to the ideal of a free South Africa.

Book On Mau Mau

AN interesting commentary on the highly sensationalised activities of the Mau Mau in Kenya came from South Africa recently when a manager of a Durban firm of booksellers told the 'Natal Daily News' that the book on the Mau Mau recently released in South Africa was not arousing noticeable interest among the White people.

This is good news as it is an indication, however slight, that the ordinary White citizen in this country is not the race-hater his leaders want the world to believe he is. Quite a lot was said about the book when it came and we suspect booksellers committed themselves very heavily in the belief that since Swart's comparison of the Mau Mau and the resistance movement the book would be a best-seller. That it has flopped just shows that the White people are quite sure that they have nothing to fear from the African and the Indian resisters.

Incidentally, it is worthy of note that Sir Brian Robertson, British Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, who was recently sent to Kenya to throw in his bit of sensationalism into the Kenya situation announced, after an on-the-spot study of the Mau Mau situation, that there was not the slightest justification for the suggestion that the army should take over in Kenya. The situation, he said, was one which required to be dealt with through the ordinary channels of maintaining justice and order. When Swart next shouts about the Mau Mau level-headed men and women should remember that Sir Brian debunked much of the propaganda based on Mau Mau activities.

But we want to make clear one point—although we rejoice that the exaggerations of Mau Mau activities are proving a flop, we disapprove very strongly of the tactics used by the Mau Mau. The murder of human beings and the destruction of property, no matter how justified (as in war) is repugnant to us. But this is not the end of the story. Mau Mau activities are a challenge to Britain; a demand for reform. It will not be until Britain faces this problem squarely and without equivocation that Mau Mau activities will come to an end. Alternatively, Britain might find herself saddled with another Malaya situation in Africa.

Change Of Name Suggested

The following article appeared in our last week's issue. It is reproduced here for those whose eyes may have escaped it:

'INDIAN OPINION' was founded fifty years ago. The necessity for the publication of the paper had arisen then to ventilate the grievances of Indians settled and domiciled in South Africa. These grievances had arisen owing to Indians being discriminated against by the White Government on the basis of their race and colour. Indians however, who had advanced both educationally and economically claimed equal opportunities with the White man. This was denied to them and discriminatory legislation was passed against them. The fight against such legislation has continued ever since. In the meantime the other communities have made great progress and are now asserting their legitimate rights in this land of their birth.

The White Government is averse to conceding those rights and have now made two distinctive groups—the White and the non-White. The policy is to create as many different groups within the non-White groups as possible with the obvious object to divide and rule. Placed under such adverse circumstances the non-Whites have now united into a common front. The question today has become one of White vs. non-White. It is no longer a question between Whites vs. Indians.

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

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

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

Two new names have been suggested: 'The Statesman,' and 'New Outlook.'

NOTES

Senator Brookes' Retirement

THE news of the retirement of Senator Edgar H. Brookes from the beginning of this year from the South African political field will, we have no doubt, be received with the deepest regret by all non-Europeans as well as many others who have known him personally or of him. His loss is one which South Africa can ill-afford especially at a time like the present one when there is almost a bankruptcy of statesmanship. Dark days have set in on South Africa ever since the passing of Jan H. Hofmeyr and General Smuts. Dr. Brookes had assumed their mantle in a wonderful way and though his was a lonely voice in Parliament and out it was a powerful one which even the Nationalist Government had to reckon with. He was the one person in the Senate who always commanded the respect of all Parties. It was one of the tragedies of South Africa that just in the beginning of the last session of Parliament Dr. Brookes was suddenly incapacitated owing to health reasons from defending

the nine million people who enjoyed no democratic rights in a country ruled by three million Whites. What a mockery of democracy? And yet this country has the audacity to call itself a democratic country! However, Dr. Brookes was so overburdened with work and anxiety to uphold the fair name of the country he loves so dearly that it was that which actually broke his back. His loss in the political field will be felt more keenly by the non-Whites because he was one of the very few sincere friends they could look to in the darkness which surrounded them. It is pleasing to note, however, that though we have lost Dr. Brookes' able assistance in the political field we shall still have the benefit of his deep learning through his lectures and his versatile pen on both of which he will now be able to concentrate more than in the past. We can only hope and pray that he may be blessed with health and energy to continue his noble services to South Africa and through it to humanity.

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OUR CONTINUING CRISIS

By C. W. M. GELL

THERE is a rather common tendency to think that, because the Government has "accepted" the Appeal Court's ruling that the "High Court of Parliament" is illegal without immediately resorting to some evasion of the Constitution, the heart has gone out of our constitutional crisis. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Nationalist "acceptance" (if that is the correct description of a very equivocal attitude) of the latest judgment is merely temporary and tactical. Their intention to destroy the compact of Union, it necessary by unconstitutional methods, remains quite unaltered.

It is now clear that there are two main planks in the Nationalist election programme—the defence of "White civilisation" and the "establishment of the sovereignty of Parliament over a Court of two paid officials." But the first plank will be very much to the front of the platform and the second relatively to the background. Indeed, it is because the Nationalists think the colour question is running so strongly their way that they have "accepted" the appellate decision with so little fuss.

I will not deal here with the fraudulent nature of the Nationalists' claim to be the only sure guardians of "White civilisation." If it had not been for their arrogant dogmatism and callous disregard for other people's feelings, the colour question would not have been raised in its present form at the present time. An electoral victory for the U.P. will not automatically restore us to safety and sanity. But it is the indispensable first step towards reviving the possibility of a reasonable settlement of the racial issues.

The Nationalists, however, believe that the almost all-White electorate will think differently; that, seeing an active non-European agitation in progress, the voters will choose the party which offers the strongest repressive policy; that they will forget that these same champions of law and order are the men who tried to flout the Constitution and the Courts, and who stoked the fires of racialism by their own clumsy bungling. You don't usually call in the incendiary to put out his own fire. But the Nationalists think the voters will do just that. And, if the electorate shows any sign of going off the racial boil, there is, with tension running so high, always the

chance of another riot or two to hot it up again.

Just how sure the Nationalists are that the gullible South African voter will overlook their responsibility for the existing tension, can best be seen by studying their varying constitutional moods. On the historic day in March when the Appeal Court reaffirmed the validity of the Constitution, Dr. Malan declared that an "intolerable" and "unacceptable" situation had been "created." His Ministers and press vociferously supported his "trump card" to destroy "the last vestiges of Capr-British liberalism" and terminate "the constitutional enslavement of South Africa to the legislation of a superior British Parliament." There was a talk of a "Third South African War for Freedom" and the Prime Minister launched his High Court Act with the uncompromising statement: "We are going ahead with our plans to protect the sovereignty of Parliament, no matter what happens."

But they have not, in fact gone ahead! All the truculent clamour during March-June of the "National nation" in pursuit of its sacred mandate from the *volkswill* has been curiously bushed since then, until the rejection of the High Court Act (first by the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court on August 29 and finally by the Appellate Division on November 13) was received almost in silence. Why?

Fair-minded people will concede that Coloureds voting on the common electoral roll is genuinely repugnant to Nationalist ideology. But this was not the only motive behind the Separate Representation of Voters Act. At least as compelling was the Nationalists' conviction that they had little hope of winning the next election unless they could rig several Cape constituencies in their favour.

But the reaction of all sections of the European community to the Defiance Campaign, which began on June 26, changed the whole outlook. Our Europeans notoriously take a short-term view of colour questions. Here—provided no one paused to consider what had precipitated the movement and what mere repression must inevitably bring about at some future date—was a ready-made situation for the Nationalists. For they know exactly what

the Natives' "place" is; and the Opposition is a little uncertain or unable to explain itself succinctly. The outbreak of Mau Mau terrorism in Kenya and our own race riots in October and November completed the turning of the tables, installing the chief saboteurs of race relations in the Union as the popular bastion against the "Black menace." In a matter of months the Nationalists' electoral prospects had improved out of all recognition, even on the present rolls.

This, and this alone, accounts for the present tactical "acceptance" of the latest Appeal Court judgment. But let those who imagine that the Nationalists have suffered a change of heart, look more closely at the evidence.

First, there was Dr. Malan's candid admission of September 15: "That with all the implications of the matter, we as a Government cannot allow ourselves to lose." That would be difficult to retract. Then, Mr. Strydom has been intermittently asking the electorate to choose whether the *volkswill* or the Courts shall be *basos*. Dr. Donges, that very fallible deviser of "court-proof" laws, has made similar encouraging remarks without so far divulging his new master-plan. Senator M. J. Vermeulen supported his Ministers on September 9 in very definite terms: "I want to assure you that no Court verdict will put our party off its stroke. We believe that the Afrikaner people are sovereign and that the nation is *basos*."

On October 20 Senator Verwoerd was even more precise, promising that his party would "establish the sovereignty of Parliament," whether it got a two-thirds majority or not. On the morrow of the Appeal Court judgment the Nationalist press expressed itself with modest fervour in favour of carrying the issue to "the final judge, the nation." Although there was none of the rabble rousing demagoguery which characterised its diatribes in March, the tone of patient obstinacy was there. Next day Dr. Malan hurriedly made his "acceptance" at Oudendaalsrus before dashing on into the thick of the racial fray. On November 23 Mr. Schoeman, not a noted constitutionalist, told his constituents that he was coming to them in April to find out who was sovereign. On November 24 Mr. Havenga issued his Natal manifesto about "putting an end to cleptrop....and the implications of the latest judgment." On November 27 Mr. Strydom promised to introduce a Bill

after the election, prohibiting the Courts from declaring legislation invalid. As a lawyer, he should have known better! Mr. Swart has maintained a discreet silence on the constitutional issues. Is he, perhaps, recalling what he said in 1931? Mr. Louw has confined his attention to "ultra-liberals and interfering clerics"—and, of course, the English press. It was left to another lawyer, Mr. Naude, to make specific suggestions on December 20 for translating the *volkswill* into action—by (1) reviving the "High Court of Parliament," or (2) packing the Bench, or (3) packing the Senate, or (4) starting afresh with a new republican Constitution.

Now (1) is clearly illegal. Mr. Pirow, who has so far proved himself a reliable legal prophet, regards (2) as impracticable and (3) as also illegal. As to a republic, we have the assurance of Dr. Malan, Mr. Schoeman and other Ministers (for what it is worth) that a republic will not be introduced without a two-thirds majority (of votes or seats?) at an election fought specially on that issue.

There are two lessons to be drawn from this evidence. First, that the Nationalist intention to abrogate the Constitution has been temporarily shelved for purely expedient reasons. When trying to capitalise the law-breaking of others for electoral purposes, it is unwise to remind people who was the first to set the example of law-defying. All the above quotations were extracted from speeches which were principally concerned with racial matters.

Secondly, there is probably no legal way round the Entrenched Clauses, except a two-thirds majority of both Houses sitting together. Unless the Nationalists achieve that extremely unlikely majority, they are (if successful) committed to a legislative programme they cannot legally fulfil. In May last year Mr. Strauss and Mr. Lawrence promised to contest illegal legislation by every legal means and, if the Government sought to impose invalid measures, to meet force with force. That pledge must remain part of the Opposition's election programme and an unyielding resolve in the heart of each one of us. That is the political tradition to which we are heirs. —'The Evening Post,' (Port Elizabeth.)

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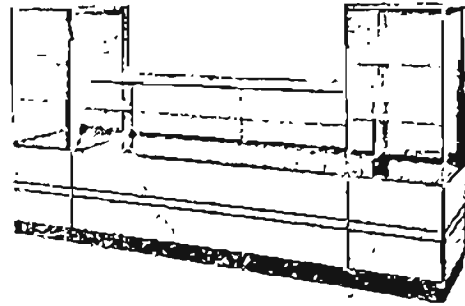
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DR. MALAN'S NEW YEAR MESSAGE

(Continued from front page)

"And fifthly, we must, in addition to our mutual interest in and our assistance to each other, realistically recognise the natural differences as well as the gap in the level of civilisation existing between various sections.

"Their existence no one will deny nor the fact that they will still continue for generations to come.

"It may be safe to jump over a ditch. To attempt to jump over a gorge or a valley is fatal. Our first duty is to maintain and protect the highest and best we possess in the interest not only of ourselves but also of all. And

for the rest the solution of South Africa's racial problem will require all the tactfulness, firmness and patience we can command.

"Political differences there will always be as in every other democratic community. In itself this is no evil. The decision must always rest with the people, and where such a decision is again due during the year we are entering now let us all together resolve to carry on the ensuing campaign on a high level, in accordance with the demands of sincerity, honesty and chivalry as it befits a civilised and Christian nation

LIQUOR HAVOC IN AMERICA

By BHARATAN KUMARAPPA

AMERICA went back on Prohibition, and today some people there are regretting the fact, as will be seen from the two following extracts from American journals in regard to the prevalence of crime in U.S.A. owing to alcohol.

The Journal of the American Businessmen's Research Foundation says in its issue of January-February, 1952:

"Alcoholic beverages have recorded an enormous toll of our nation's crime record in the past seventeen years. Various estimates of alcohol's role in crime have been made.

"In 1946 the Foundation directed an inquiry concerning alcohol and crime to States' Attorneys throughout the U.S. Overwhelming testimony showed liquor an outstanding cause in 50 to 95 per cent. of actual cases brought before officials.

"Several years ago, Judge Joseph T. Zottoli of the Municipal Court of Boston conducted an intensive study of the relation of alcoholism and crime in Massachusetts. He concluded: 'More than 90 per cent of the adult population of prisons in Massachusetts, to which prisoners are sent for misdemeanours, are there through offences caused by drunkenness. About 50 per cent of persons receiving sentences to penal institutions have committed offences relating to alcoholism.'

'The Union Signal', a journal of Social Welfare, in its issue of August 16, 1952, publishes a note written by C. Aubrey Hearn, saying:

"Whether purposely or by accident, the newspapers are beginning to tell the truth about the outrageously conducted liquor business in the United States.

"Almost every divorce has liquor behind it. Two-thirds of the murders and major crimes also have liquor as a contributing factor. Automobile accidents are largely caused by liquor.

"Liquor is costing the Government twice as much as it is contributing in taxes and other revenue.

"Of course the old lie still continues to be told and we are informed over and over again that Prohibition was an awful curse, and yet any man who wants to know the truth can ask any policeman on the beat or any police judge on the bench and he will tell you that crimes, lawlessness attributable to liquor have quadrupled since repeal. America has touched a new moral bottom since liquor was restored to its place of despoliation."

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NOTES

(Continued from page 35)

Communal Fines

Agitation grows daily on the White side, fanned on by Malanite supporters, demanding that communal fines should be imposed on whole communities in the event of riots. If this leads to legislation it will introduce a new principle in South African legal practice, where the innocent are penalised for the crimes of others, just because they happen to have the same skin colour. Britain tried this tactic against the Mau Mau in Kenya. It had the direct effect of consolidating the Mau Mau front. For, in a country where people are oppressed for the sole reason that they belong to a particular race, what is more natural for them than to band together inseparably when they are held responsible racially for crimes they have not committed? The Africans and the Indians are going through very trying times. But if they stand together solidly, even the communal fines will not rob them of freedom.

If Africans Were Only

Given Opportunities

We reproduce the following from the 'Economist' (London) for the enlightenment of White South Africa:

"Sir,—Your note on the Northern Rhodesian copper strike discloses a state of affairs most saddening to industrialists in the British West Indies. In Jamaica, citizens of African race hold high positions in every field of industry. Black and coloured managing directors, general managers, chief engineers, chemists and agricultural superintendents are among the ablest in the sugar industry, and as a fine set of men as one could discover in any part of the world. Experience here proves what is

obvious to all but the bigoted, namely that, if given the education, experience and opportunity, the black man has every bit as much ability as the white in every walk of life.

It is bad enough to see these un-Christian and potentially disastrous policies followed by the Government of South Africa. It is truly shocking for such things to be allowed to happen in a British colony. I therefore extend a cordial invitation to employers and managers in the Northern Rhodesian copper belt to come over to Jamaica to learn what people of African descent can achieve in industrial and agricultural management, when provided with the opportunity and incentive.—Yours faithfully, R. L. M. KIRKWOOD, Chairman, Sugar Manufacturers' Assn. Of Jamaica) Ltd.

First Chinese Resister

South Africa's first Chinese passive resister, who was recently arrested in Pretoria, appeared in a Johannesburg Court recently to answer a charge of being in an African location without a permit. The Chinese 23-year-old Koern Lau De, pleaded guilty and said: "My sole purpose in breaking the law was to bring to the notice of the public the injustices suffered by the Chinese community under the Group Areas Act." He was reprimanded and discharged.

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Mr. R. M. Desai who has for some time been working for 'Indian Opinion' is no longer in the employment of 'Indian Opinion' and does not in any way represent us.

Manager 'Indian Opinion,

THE REVIVAL OF GANDHI'S SPIRIT

By JULIUS LEWIN

BOOKS about Mahatma Gandhi will be written for generations to come. Men are busy recording his lightest words and depicting his everyday activities. Only last year, a distinguished American, Dr. Homer A. Jack, made a special pilgrimage to South Africa to "walk in the footsteps of Mahatma Gandhi," to look at the places and mark the spots where the great man had been in his early years. It is noteworthy that a Christian like Dr. Jack describes his own efforts as in some degree

comparable with those of the early disciples of Jesus Christ who lovingly re-covered the ground that their Master had once walked on.

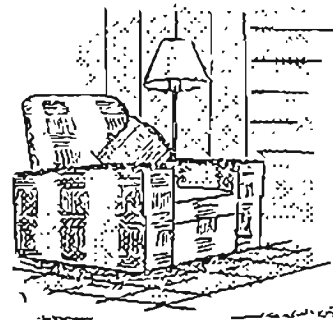
The latest book, "Mahatma Gandhi," has been published simultaneously in New York and London by Scribner's as one in their series about "those thinkers of the last hundred years who have influenced the intellectual currents of our time. This short book was written by Dr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, who has lived and

lectured for years in the United States, and who now holds the chair of sociology at Cornell College in Iowa.

Having been associated with Gandhi at various times, Dr. Muzumdar writes of what he knows, and he is at his best in narrating events or recording facts. Familiar as these are to many Asians, it is good to have them put concisely and made available once again at a reasonable price (the book sells in South Africa at 13s.). The author is not so happy in his analysis of the true significance of Gandhi's theories and practices. Now that Gandhi's political technique and religious spirit are being revived in Africa for further use, the time is at hand for a re-assessment of their value and a discussion of how best they can be adapted to the needs of our own day. Dr. Muzumdar is right to raise the question how Gandhi's thought is related to socialism. It is a difficult problem, so difficult that it is not surprising that no one has yet attempted a full analysis of it. Dr. Muzumdar's own few papers on this subject are very unsatisfactory. For one thing, he writes in the prevailing American atmosphere which is hardly conducive to objective discussion of radical ideas. He does, how-

ever, recognize that there is important common ground held by socialists and by adherents of Satyagraha. "If socialism," he says, "be equated with sympathy and solidarity with the exploited masses, with a passion and striving for social justice, with an economic arrangement conducive to the free development of human personality, then certainly Gandhi was a socialist." On the other hand, Dr. Muzumdar thinks that Gandhi rejected most of the rigid doctrines ascribed to Marx, while accepting both the theory of surplus value and the labour theory of value because he realized that capital exploits labour.

However that may be, it is highly important in these days to recognize that there was common ground between Gandhi and socialists and that they were wise enough never to let their doctrinal differences reach a point where these might injure close and cordial co-operation. To recall that fact now is to remind ourselves of the lesson implicit in it. There was never a time when it was more imperative than it is today for like-minded people to work generously together for racial freedom and human enlightenment in this dark continent.

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INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Gandhian Outlook And Techniques

A Seminar of the "contribution of Gandhian outlook and techniques to solution of tensions within and between nations" is held in New Delhi from January 5 to January 17. The Prime Minister inaugurated the seminar, which is being organised by the Indian Commission for co-operation with U.N.E.S.C.O.

Foreign participants are Lord Boyd-Orr (U.K.); Dr. Ralph Bunche (U.S.A.); Prof G. Tucci, well-known Italian orientalist; Madame Cecilia Merieles, Brazilian poetess and educationist, whose poem on the assassination of Gandhiji was widely published; Prof. Massingron, of the College de France; Dr. Mohammad Hussein Haikal, a former president of the Egyptian Senate and winner of the Fuad first prize in Arabic literature; and Mr. Yusuke Thurumi, the well known pacifist of Japan.

Participants from India are Dr. B. Radhakrishnan, Acharya Narendra Deva, Dr. Zakir Husain and Acharya Kripalani. Prof. Hamayun Kabir will take part as the representative of the Government of India.

The idea arose out of the decision of the first conference of the Indian National Commission for co-operation with U.N.E.S.C.O. regarding the drawing up of a world-wide programme of action to promote universal peace and goodwill among nations after intensive study of Gandhiji's ideals and techniques. It was felt that a preliminary exchange of opinion between India and foreign thinkers would be helpful in this connection.

Mr. Nehru's Message To Viswa Bharati

Prime Minister Nehru, who is Chancellor of the University of Viswa Bharati Tagores Institute, in a message on the occasion of the first convocation of the university, said, Viswa Bharati must ever remember the ideal taught by Gurudev—that of a harmonious, physical, intellectual and moral development—and endeavour to work for it.

Mr. Nehru stated: "As the Acharya of the Viswa Bharati, it would have been my pride and pleasure to be present at the convocation of the university and welcome in person the President, who is going to grace the occasion with his presence. I regret greatly that other duties have prevented me from being

present on this occasion. The day when the convocation is held I shall be far away near the southern tip of India.

"I would, however, like to welcome the President and to express the happiness which all of us feel at his visit to this institution which Gurudev built up through many years of labour and dedication.

"I am glad that the authorities of the university have decided to confer on this occasion honorary doctorates on two veterans of the Viswa Bharati—Sri Nandalal Bose, the great artist, and Sri Kshitimohan Sen, the great scholar. In honouring them, the university honours itself and pays tribute to their

eminence in their respective fields and their life-long devotion to the educational ideals of Gurudev.

"This is the first occasion on which Viswa Bharati will confer its own degree on its students as a statutory Central University. I am not enamoured of degrees and it was not for awarding degrees that Gurudev built up this institution. He wanted to train students in an atmosphere of freedom and joy so that they might participate, in their later years, in creative activities of a free India. Degrees, however, have their uses, but only if they are not looked upon as ends in themselves. The ideal to be aimed at is that of a harmonious, physical, intellectual and moral development. Gurudev taught this, and Viswa Bharati must ever remember this and endeavour to work for it."

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The Africans of Uganda, British East Africa, have established a Mahatma Gandhi Memorial School. The relationship between the Indians and the Africans in Uganda is very friendly and Mahatma Gandhi has been instrumental in bringing it about. It is out of their deep regard for Mahatma Gandhi that the Africans have thus decided to commemorate his name.

Things In General

Defiance To Be Intensified

The "defiance of unjust laws" campaign, which was suspended over the Christmases and New Year holidays, would be continued and intensified in 1953, Mr. Y. A. Cooballa, joint secretary of the South African Indian Congress and African National Congress Action Committee said in Johannesburg last week. From June 26, 1952, until the end of the year, 8,065 people had been imprisoned for defying unjust laws. The regulations recently promulgated by the Minister of Justice, Mr. G. R. Swart, and the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, providing a fine of up to £200 or imprisonment not exceeding three years for insulting Natives to break a law, would have some effect on the campaign, he added. "But these regulations will be countered, and the campaign will go on in spite of them."

The offices of the S.A.I.C. and the A.N.C. were searched by the Police in Johannesburg but nothing was confiscated.

Farewell To Maulana

A farewell reception was given last Sunday by the Darban Muslims to Maulana Abdul Aleem Siddiqi, who left yesterday by air from Reunion en route to Mauritius. The reception was given under the aegis of the Natal Muslim Council at the Avalon Theatre. Rabbi Harris Swift, who was one of the speakers, said the departure of His

Eminence would take away some of the "spiritual beauty" of Durban which it had enjoyed for some six months. An address was presented by Mr. I. M. Bawa, the president of the Council on behalf of the Muslims of Natal. More than 1,500 people were present. During his sojourn in South Africa the Maulana delivered a number of sermons and elevated the people from the material to the spiritual plane, which it must be admitted they badly needed. The Maulana will carry with him the good-wishes of all the Indians of South Africa.

The Benoni Hindu Maha Sabha

The Benoni Hindu Maha Sabha was formed by the foresight of the Tamil School Board, who were granted Free Sites for the building of Temple and School, but ceded their rights to the above newly formed body so that the whole Hindu community could enjoy the privileges in whatever venture the above Sabha undertakes. The following office-bearers were elected:—Patrons: Messrs. K. P.

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WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

ASIAN STUDY CONFERENCE

(From Our Special Correspondent)

Lucknow, Jan. 5.

THE Asian Study Conference of the World Council of Churches opened in Lucknow on December 27. Its importance lay in two facts that it was being held for the first time on Asian soil and secondly representatives from foreign countries were participating in it. Delegates from Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, New Zealand and the Philippines participated in it. It was also attended by the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, who was deputed to visit South Africa from March to May last to study apartheid.

Dr. R. B. Maolkan, East Asia Secretary of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council, speaking at the opening plenary session said that the conference would discuss four main themes, the Christian hope, missions and unity, responsible society in East Asia and race relations, and on December 28, this conference discussed the first three items on the agenda.

On January 5, the Council Committee of the World Council at its meeting in Lucknow opposed all forms of discrimination based on race.

The Committee which was particularly discussing South African racial problems passed resolutions saying that all racial discrimination is contrary to the will of God as expressed in the Christian gospel.

The resolution called upon member churches to do all in their power to end discrimination wherever it exists, because it increases tension and bitterness.

Speaking in the discussion Raja Maharaj Singh, one time Indian Agent-General in South Africa, said that in a place like South Africa it was very difficult to separate completely political from religious situation. He said that the situation in the Union brooked no delay. He said "on the race question we should stand four square; no giving in at all. We must take the Christian attitude."

India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, who spoke on the occasion said against the background of the situation on the African continent that in the world today it is quite impossible for any country to "carry on" on the basis of racial superiority.

"That is the very basic matter to be considered. Maintenance

of order is important, but in doing that we should not do something which appears to a large mass of people that it crushes them. Even all the armies of the world combined cannot crush the national feeling of the races."

The Asian Study Conference convened by the World Council of Churches concluded its deliberations in Lucknow on 30th December after accepting with minor changes reports submitted by the various study groups

into which it had earlier been divided.

The group set to study race, caste and class tensions in its report to the plenary session declared that the race policy at present followed by the South African Government was un-Christian. The Group felt that the World Council of Churches should express condemnation of it. Silence in this matter would, it said, be liable to be construed as acceptance of that policy.

The Group affirmed its belief that all men were children of God and equal in His sight. Therefore the Church could not associate itself with the theory of racial superiority.

ATOMIC ENERGY FOR WELFARE OF SOCIETY

NEHRU OPENS RARE EARTH FACTORY

From Our Own Correspondent

Ernakulam, Dec. 24.

MR. NEHRU today normally set in motion two new national undertakings by declaring open the Indian Rare Earth Factory at Eloor, (Travancore-Cochin) near Alwayo, and by turning the first sod for construction of the railway link Ernakulam with Quilon.

The factory is designed to process Nonazite, a mineral sand extensively found along the coasts of Travancore-Cochin. It has been constructed at a cost of about Rs. 50 lakhs.

The factory went into production in July this year and has a capacity to process 1500 tons of Nonazite annually with provision for doubling the quantity by certain adjustments.

Mr. Nehru announced that the Atomic Energy Commission (India) has drawn up a plan for the development of atomic energy during the next four years and the Government of India had approved the plan.

This included, Mr. Nehru said, the setting up of a medium sized reactor. The reactor, he added, was something which helped them in experimenting with things and in getting to the next stage of using atomic energy. The Government of India attached great importance to the development of atomic energy because atomic energy had a very great and important contribution for the world's resources of power for industrial as well as social uses in the future.

Mr. Nehru said normally people thought more in terms of uranium than anything else like atom bomb or atomic

energy. As a matter of fact uranium existed in very small quantities round about here in Travancore-Cochin. They had plenty of uranium and much more of it in other parts, notably in Bihar. Therefore they had to look at the problem of gradually developing atomic energy for social purpose from an all-India point of view.

He said they were prepared to co-operate in this task with other countries and if their financial resources permitted they could welcome co-operation from other countries to have scientific talent of the first order so that they could go ahead by themselves or in co-operation with others.

Mr. Nehru declared, "We are not out to compete with anybody but we do want to do this work ourselves."

Moral Re-Armament

DR. F. N. D. BUCHMAN'S New Year message appeared on the front page of the 'Delhi Express.' Dr. Buchman, founder of Moral Re-Armament, is travelling with a Moral Re-Armament task force of 180 through the Far East. Last week they held an Assembly in New Delhi. In this message he says,

"Men are hungry for bread, for peace and for the hope of a new world order. A nation where everyone cares enough and everyone shares enough so that everyone will have enough will pattern a new social and economic order for this and all future generations.

A nation at peace within itself will bring peace to the world. A nation which makes 'what is right' regnant in personal, industrial, political and national life will pioneer the next historic step in the progress and destiny for all mankind. The world is anxiously waiting to see what God can do in, by, for and through one nation wholly given to Him. India's tradition and heritage equip her in a unique way to win and unite through a rebirth in men and to set the pace for world renaissance. Will India be the banner nation for a new age in 1953?"

The New Year's hope that India and Pakistan will come together as two brothers, "with India the big brother and Pakistan the little brother" brought the Delhi Assembly for MRA to its feet in a standing ovation today. The speaker was Begum Geti Ara Bashir Ahmad, delegate from Lahore and wife of the former Pakistan Ambassador to Turkey. She thanked the Indian Committee of Invitation for having brought Dr. Buchman and the team to this part of the world and extended an invitation on behalf of her country to visit Pakistan. She said: "This Assembly and this team has raised my opinion of the West. From reports I have heard here I have been greatly impressed with what a great world force MRA has become. West and East can meet on this platform. Let us not think West and East. We are all one. Let us unite in Asia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Japan and China to make one world." —New World News Agency.

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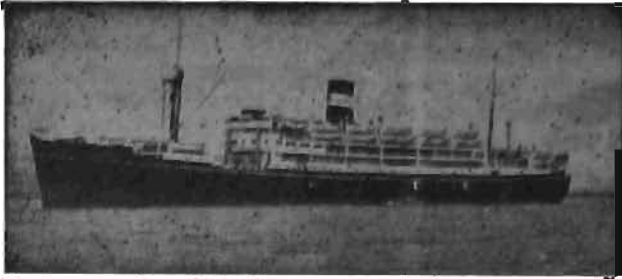
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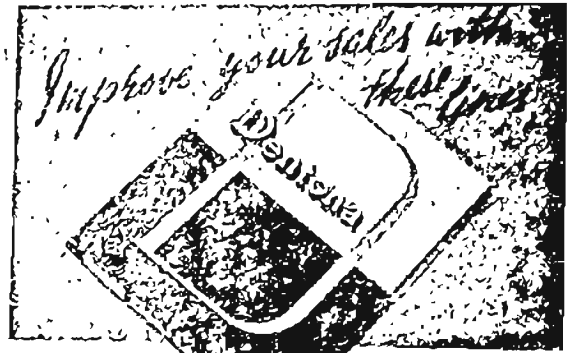
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