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£40,000 Prize For Indian Woman

(Indian Opinion Service)

NEW DELHI (By Mail)

MRS. Rameshwari Nehru, President of the Indian Association for Afro Asian Solidarity, was recently one of the seven recipients of the Lenin Peace Prize for 1960.

The Cuban Prime Minister, Dr Fidel Castro, and President Sekou Toure of Guinea were also among the recipients

A Lenin Peace Prize consists of a medal, a diploma and 100,000 roubles (about £40,000 sterling)

Other recipients named were Mr. Mikhail Sadoveanu, writer and former president of the Rumanian Parliament; Mr. Antoine Georges Tabet, a Lebanese architect; Mr. Ostap Dluski, Director of the Polish Institute of International Affairs; Mr William Morrow, former Labour Senator in the Australian Senate

The Tass announcement said Mrs Nehru's award was for "passionately defending the idea of universal disarmament"

GRAVEST DOUBTS ON BENEFITS FROM NEW LIQUOR LEGISLATION

"WE have the gravest doubts as to any benefits being derived from the new legislation." This is the considered view of *The South African Outlook*, a journal dealing with missionary and racial affairs, on the removal of the prohibition on the purchase and consumption of European liquor by non-Whites. The journal states: "We know the mischief that has been done to other undeveloped races by allowing them to purchase liquor without hindrance. Even when some of these races have made advancement mischief has been done to their educated people."

The *South African Outlook* writes as follows:—

Few measures can have brought forward, inside and outside parliament, the expression of so completely divergent views. Some time ago the Government appointed a commission, under the chairmanship of Prof. A. I. Malan, to enquire into the working of the liquor laws, and the proposed legislation is based in part on the recommendations of this commission, but the Government's proposals go considerably beyond these. It has been pointed out that in South Africa we have some 100,000 European alcoholics.

It is contended that sixty per cent of the liquor traffic in this country comes illicitly through the "black market", and that no fewer than 30,000 Coloured people live off the illicit trade. The rich harvests reaped by shebeens queens all over the country have long been notorious. It is held that the new legislation is aimed at putting an end to these illicit dealings, in the fight against which the police have an almost hopeless task.

The Churches are almost solid in their opposition to the new proposals, and temperance societies believe they see the labours of years rendered futile, and their hopes for the future dissipated. Not a few representatives of the African people have expressed themselves in favour of the Bill. Some African intellectuals have long resented discrimination against their people in this respect, and have claimed that they ought to be free to drink or not drink as they wish. The South African Institute of Race Relations has declared itself in large measure in agreement with the new provisions. In Parliament, members were left to oppose or support the Bill as their consciences dictated. Some members expressed the strongest opposition, declaring that the new freedom to purchase liquor would bring about the moral, spiritual and physical downfall of the non-Europeans. It was said that the Bill was a crime against the non-Whites and a sin on the conscience of South Africa's new Republic. It was contended that one of the main effects would be an increase in crime, especially in the densely

populated cities. Dr. D. L. Smit who record and long experience as magistrate, public prosecutor, chairman of liquor boards and as Secretary of Native Affairs, gives him special authority to speak, roundly declared: "We have already rotted the bodies and souls of half the Coloured population with cheap wine. Now, not content with that, we seek to bring about the ruin of the African people by sacrificing them on the altars of the wine farmers." He said that the intention of the Bill, as he saw it, was to put more money into the

(Continued on page 207)

Why Marx Went Red

PRESIDENT KENNEDY said in New York recently that if only a "capitalist New York newspaper" had treated Karl Marx more kindly, his story might have been different.

Speaking at a banquet of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, President Kennedy said in 1851 the 'New York Herald Tribune' employed Marx, the father of Communism, as a foreign correspondent in London. Marx complained that his pay of five dollars per instalment was the "louisiest petty bourgeois cheating". Because of that, the President said, Marx looked around for other things to do and devoted himself 'full-time' to the cause of Communism.

"If only a capitalist New York newspaper treated him more kindly and if only Karl Marx had remained a foreign correspondent, his story might have been different," Mr Kennedy said. He added jokingly that he hoped all publishers would bear this in mind next time they got an appeal for a small increase in a reporter's pay.

India Must Welcome Modern Ideas

("Indian Opinion" Service)

NEW DELHI (BY MAIL)

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU told the cadets of the National Defence Academy at Khadakwasla, Poona, that India must welcome modern ideas with open heart and avidly take to science and technology for the speedy solution of her age-old problems and achievement of all round progress

He asked them to adopt what he termed full blooded nationalism which would enable them to outgrow out-moded ideas and make them feel that they all belonged to one country.

The world was changing fast and how quickly India could come on a level with the rest of the world depended upon the quality of the people, he said. That quality depended upon their capacity to work together without wasting their energies on futile quarrels and their capacity to get out of traditional society in which they lived, he added.

Mr Nehru said that with the coming of the jet age and space age even nationalism was becoming outdated. Nationalism was a good force and it was that force which had inspired the freedom struggle but national boundaries were becoming unsuitable in this jet age

Mr Nehru said the modern world was one of science and technology and India must take to it. India must not blindly imitate the West, but must take the help of science and technology to reconstruct her society without losing her own personality.

Indian Opinion

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FRIDAY, 7TH JULY, 1961

The Provincial Barriers

IT was the imposition of a ban on the free return of Indians to the Transvaal after the Anglo-Boer War which catapulted the young lawyer Mr. M. K. Gandhi into politics and led to the evolution of the technique of Satyagraha. Out of this imposition grew the general pattern of the existing ban on the free movement and residence of the Indian people in the different Provinces of the country. At the consummation of Union in 1910 it was confidently expected by the Indian people that the liberalism of the South would permeate to the North. History followed another course. Union effectively closed the Transvaal and the Cape to Indian settlement. In the case of the Transvaal Gandhi fought vigorously against the barrier and when the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement closed this chapter in Indian history in this country some relief had been obtained.

This ban on the free movement of the Indian people into and from the different provinces is wholly unreasonable and tremendously unjust. It confines the greater portion of the Indian community of the country to the Province of Natal and not only does it confine them to Natal but it drives them into Durban from the outlying areas of Natal in search of employment and livelihood. The 1960 Census reveals that virtually half the Indian population of the Republic of South Africa is concentrated in the Magisterial Area of Durban. Of this 94 per cent live in the City of Durban. Out of this unnatural concentration flow a number of economic and social evils. In the rest of Natal there is not much opportunity for the Indian people to obtain employment and so they converge on Durban in search of work. Businessmen, uprooted from their businesses by the Group Areas, also converge on Durban. There is not enough employment for all Indians in Durban. Only recently it was claimed that something like 25,000 Indians were unemployed in Durban. This is a shocking state of affairs. Worse still the Durban City Council has publicly stated that the position of Indian housing is in a chaotic state. There is a colossal backlog and so Indians live in shack tenements under most insanitary conditions. On the surface it would appear that the Indian people are living fairly comfortably in Durban. Unfortunately, this is true only for a minute fraction of the community. The major portion lives in dire need of food and housing.

Up to now the Indian people have been claiming the right of freedom of movement and settlement in the other Provinces on the grounds of simple justice. It is now a matter of elementary economics and sociology that they be permitted to reside, work and trade in the other provinces without let or hindrance. The alternative is to

(Continued on next page)

LOVE UNCORRUPTED BY FALSE INTERPRETATIONS

TOLSTOY WRITES TO GANDHI

EARLY in the course of his political career in South Africa Gandhi under the influence of Count Leo Tolstoy, the Russian writer and thinker. In 1909-1910 he sent him copies of 'The Indian Opinion', referring to the Passive Resistance Struggle in the Transvaal. On September 7, 1910, Tolstoy wrote a letter to Gandhi from his home in Kotchety, Russia. We publish below a translation of this letter from the original Russian, made by Pauline Padlashuk, of Johannesburg in November 1910.—Editor, I.O.

I RECEIVED your journal, and was pleased to learn all contained therein concerning the passive resisters. And I felt like telling you all the thoughts which that reading called up in me.

The longer I live, and especially now, when I vividly feel the nearness of death, I want to tell others what I feel so particularly clearly and what to my mind is of great importance—namely, that which is called passive resistance, but which is in reality nothing else than the teaching of love uncorrupted by false interpretations. That love—i.e., the striving for the union of human souls and the activity derived from this striving—is the highest and only law of human life, and in the depth of his soul every human being (as we most clearly see in children) feels and knows this; he knows this until he is entangled by the false teachings of the world. This law was proclaimed by all—by the Indians as by the Chinese, Hebrew, Greek and Roman sages of the world. I think this law was most clearly expressed by Christ, who plainly said that "in this only is all the law and the prophets." But besides this, foreseeing the corruption to which this law is and may be subject, he straightway pointed out the danger of its corruption, which is natural to people who live in worldly interests, the danger, namely, which justifies the defence of these interests by the use of force, or, as he said, "with blows to answer blows, by force to take back things usurped," etc. He knew, as every sensible man must know, that the use of force is incompatible with love as the fundamental law of life, that as soon as violence is permitted, in whichever case it may be, the insufficiency of the law of love is acknowledged, and by this the very law is denied. The whole Christian civilisation, so brilliant outwardly, grew up on this self-evident and strange misunderstanding and contradiction, sometimes conscious, but mostly

unconscious.

In reality, as soon as force was admitted into love there was no more, and there could be no love as the law of life, and as there was no law of love, there was no law at all, except violence—i.e., the power of the strongest. So lived Christian humanity for nineteen centuries. It is true that in all times people were guided by violence in arranging their lives. The difference between the Christian nations and all other nations is only that in the Christian world the law of love was expressed clearly and definitely, whereas it was not so expressed in any other religious teaching, and that the people of the Christian world have solemnly accepted this law, whilst at the same time they have permitted violence, and built their lives on violence, and that is why the whole of life of the Christian peoples is a continuous contradiction between that which they profess and the principles on which they order their lives—a contradiction between love accepted as the law of life and violence which is recognised and praised, acknowledged even as a necessity in different phases of life, such as the power of rulers, courts and armies. This contradiction always grew with the development of the Christian world, and lately it reached the highest stage. The question now evidently stands thus: either to admit that we do not recognise any religion-moral teaching, and we guide ourselves in arranging our lives only by power of the stronger, or that all our compulsory taxes, court and police establishments, but mainly our armies, must be abolished.

This year, in Spring, at a Scripture examination in a girls' high school at Moscow, the teacher and the bishop present asked the girls questions on the Commandments, and especially on the sixth. After a correct answer, the

(Continued on page 207)

PORTUGAL'S SLAUGHTER IN ANGOLA

ANOTHER TALE OF HUMAN BESTIALITY

THE American Committee on Africa has called on the United States Government to "denounce in the strongest possible public terms the abominations being committed by or in the name of the Portuguese Government" in Angola. The Committee urged the U.S. Government to "take whatever steps are necessary" to ensure that no further American-supplied NATO arms are used in the Angolan civil war, and that if Portugal refuses to cooperate on this matter, that the U.S. Government work to have Portugal expelled from the NATO alliance. The U.S. Government was also urged to ask Portugal to "lift the ban on journalists visiting Angola" so that current reports on the war may again reach the outside world.

The following is the statement in full:—

While an incredulous world listens, day after day, to the revelations of horror emanating from the Eichmann trial, another tale of human bestiality is unfolding under its very eyes. We wonder now, a short seventeen years ago, it was possible for millions of innocent human beings to be put to death without a cry of revulsion reverberating throughout the whole so-called civilized world; yet today we see and by, similarly silent, similarly inactive, and witness in Portugal's African colony of Angola a slaughter as brutal in its moral dimensions, if not in its arithmetic.

One difference, and one which makes our passivity all the more reprehensible, is that, when Eichmann committed his crimes, we were in a state of war with his country, while today's murderers are our allies.

The iron censorship imposed by the Portuguese government on conditions in Angola makes it impossible to arrive at accurate figures about the numbers of African men, women and children who have been mowed down in cold blood by Portuguese troops and armed civilians in recent weeks. Estimates range between 20,000 and 50,000 and it is doubtful whether anyone, Portuguese, African or neutral, has an accurate count. What if clear, however, is that the numbers of the dead are in the tens of thousands and that for every one of them there are probably two refugees who have fled the country and three or four persons wounded. It is equally clear, from the accounts of missionaries and of the few reporters who have been allowed to enter or remain in Angola, that killings cannot be justified as legitimate security responses to the attacks which Africans have made on Europeans, but are in the nature of wanton reprisals and intimidations, partaking, in their scope, of the nature of genocide.

We do not condone the killings of innocent Europeans by African nationalists, which have been a part of the Angola picture in the last two months. We do say, however, that, by demonstrating that, with their superior weapons, they can kill ten or twenty times as many innocent Africans as Africans kill Europeans, the Portuguese have exposed for all the world to see the absurdity of their claim that their continued presence in Angola as colonial rulers is required to enable them to complete their civilizing missions. It has been one of the ghastly ironies of the war in Angola that, when the Portuguese carry out a reprisal raid against a village which they suspect of harbouring nationalist guerrillas, the nationalists often escape into the bush unharmed, while the people who remain behind to be shot down are those who trust the Portuguese, including the handful of "assimilados."

In the face of this medieval barbarism, what is the responsibility of the government of the United States, which has already condemned Portuguese action by supporting two resolutions on Angola in the Security Council?

First, it is incumbent upon our government to denounce, in the strongest possible public terms, the abominations being committed by or in the name of the Portuguese government. If such a protest was appropriate over the fate of the 72 South African demonstrators who died at Sharpeville, how much more is it called for in relation to the tens of thousands who have been massacred in Angola!

Second, we should take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that no further American arms and equipment supplied to Portugal as our NATO ally reach Angola and call publicly upon Portugal to collaborate in this respect and to cease using the American material already on the scene.

Third, unless the Portuguese government takes immediate steps

to honour the resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council, and recognizes the right of the people of Angola to self-determination and independence, the U.S. should propose in a special NATO conference the expulsion of Portugal from the alliance.

Fourth, the U.S. should publicly as Portugal to lift the ban on journalists visiting Angola so that reports on what is currently happening may again come to the outside world.

Fifth, the U.S. should urge Portugal publicly to permit the U.N. submission on Angola to enter the territory so that a complete and responsible report on

conditions may be prepared and presented to the United Nations. If conditions are as the Portuguese representative to the United Nations describes them, what has Portugal to fear from careful study and analysis?

We know that one answer to these suggestions is that, in dealing with an ally, behind-the-scenes pressure is more effective than public statements. To this, we would reply: How far can an ally go counter to everything that we stand for and still remain "an ally"? How audible is the soft voice of informal diplomacy over the chatter of machine guns and the screams of the dying?

The Provincial Barriers

(Continued from previous page)

convert Natal into an Indian Province. This is fast happening to the City of Durban. There was a time when an eminent former Senator of the South African Parliament used to be referred to as "Bombay Charlie" because of his espousal of the Indian question in Durban. It now seems that Durban may well become a "Bombay" to the rest of the Republic. It is in the interests of the European people of Durban and Natal to seek the removal of the "Provincial barriers" which operate against the Indian. This will not only help the Indians themselves but will ease the great demand being made by Indians on housing and social relief in the City of Durban. Durban and Natal will have to face the consequences if they do not act immediately.

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CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ IN INDIA

By JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN.

IT is a matter of great satisfaction to me that in our country a beginning has already been made in laying the foundations of 'participating democracy' in the shape of *panchayati raj*, or what was called at first: 'democratic decentralization'. The initiative for this experiment came originally from Shri Balvantrai Mehta and it has made headway in the face of overpowering odds only because of the drive and vision of Shri S. K. Menon, the Union Minister of Community Development, and the powerful support of the Prime Minister. The Congress Party has accepted the ideal of *panchayati raj*, and it is expected that in a few years it will be introduced into all the States.

In the past few months much has been written about *panchayati raj* and there is no need for me to describe it in any detail. I should, however, like to make a few observations about it. First of all,

it should be noted that the initiative for *panchayati raj* originally came not from the political motive of broadening the bases of our democracy or laying the foundations of what I have called 'participating democracy', but from the anxiety to obtain full public co-operation in the execution of development programmes.

On account of this restricted aim with which the experiment was started, its significance has not so well been grasped even by the conscious political elements in the country, much less by the people at large. It is clear, however, that the logic of the move is driving it forward and constantly enlarging and deepening its implications. There is still need, however, of arousing popular enthusiasm about this measure, and of making people realize that what was intended was not a procedural reform of the administration at the lower levels, but a political revolution of the greatest significance for the people: that in effect the intention and the attempt were to bring *swaraj* to the people.

This understanding and enthusiasm cannot be brought about by Development Officers but by the democratic and popular leaders of the country—irrespective of party and ideology, and by social

workers and intellectual and moral leaders generally. I should like at this point to list a few conditions under which alone, to my mind, can *panchayati raj* become the base of a true participating democracy. For, let us not forget that sometimes the best of intentions become mere caricatures of the reality they set out to achieve.

First, education of the people, understood in the widest sense of the term, is an essential condition for the success of the experiment. This education can best be imparted by disinterested, non-partisan agencies, engaged in social service or tasks of rural development. Political parties may also make a great contribution in this respect, provided they addressed themselves to the task in a non-partisan spirit. Perhaps the best way for them would be to create a common agency through which to carry on this work. Government officers and agencies might, also do useful work in this sphere. Schools, libraries, co-operative societies have an important role to play here. It should also be considered whether a non-party and purely educative body of the voters which might be called the "All-India Voters' Association" should not be formed in order to render educative service to the voters. There might also be a Centre jointly set up and conducted by the Union Community Development Ministry, the All-India *Panchayat* Parishad, other All-India Local Self Government Organizations, the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh and other All-India Rural Service Agencies. Such a Centre could help by way of producing literature, conducting of surveys, studying of problems etc.

Second, I would like to emphasize that the success of *panchayati raj* would depend upon the extent to which organised political parties refrained from interfering with it and trying to convert it into their hand-maiden, and use it as a jumping ground to climb to power. There is no doubt that as consciousness grows among the people at the ground level, they would be less and less liable to be moved about as pawns by political parties and ambitious politicians. But, it is necessary at the beginning for political parties, in the interests of the people whom they claim

to be anxious to serve, to place themselves under a self-denying ordinance and keep away from either setting up party candidates or putting pressure on the elected representatives to become party members, so as to be able to control the basic institutions of democracy.

For the sake of the health and vitality of these institutions and intelligent participation of the people in the working of democracy, it would be best to leave these institutions in the direct control of the people, without party interference.

The parties might, however, carry on educative work among the people, even if that involved putting forward divergent ideas and policies. I think if the leaders of all the political parties came to an honest agreement amongst themselves, it should not be difficult to achieve this aim.

Third, there should be a real devolution of power and not a make-belief. It is possible to construct the outward structure of *panchayati raj* and to give it no substance. That would be like a body without a soul: dead from the start, a still born child. What is needed here are sincerity, imagination and courage. The people must be trusted. There is a tendency among those of us who have received some education to distrust the ability and intelligence of the common people, and it is possible to talk of devolution of power without in reality surrendering any power. No one can learn to discharge responsibility unless responsibility was really given to one. Withholding of responsibility, either on account of lack of confidence in the people or of reluctance to surrender power, would lead naturally, as it has already done to a considerable extent, to an attitude of irresponsibility in the people who will for ever be on the look out for heroes and miracle-makers to solve their problems. It is out of such a psychological situation that dictators were born. For democracy to be a success, it is necessary that the people are prepared, and given full opportunity to shoulder responsibility.

Three Tiers

There are in the *panchayati raj* three tiers of authority and administration: the *Village Panchayat*, the *Block Panchayat* Sa-

miti and the *Zila Parishad*. Each of these tiers the people must be given the opportunity to do for themselves all that might be within their competence. In the British administrative system the District Magistrate and Collector was the keystone; his position still remains the same. But if the devolution of power in *panchayati raj* is real, then eventually the District Magistrate should disappear or remain only like the Governor (in the State as a representative of the Central Government) as representative in the district of the State Government. *Panchayati raj* even in Rajasthan, where it started from a far cry from this consummation. True, such a process will take time, but it is not yet clear that there is agreement about the ultimate goal.

Fourth, I should like to emphasize that at each level the local authority should be given its own minimum resources. If control of resources remains in the hands of the State Government, the devolution is bound to be rather nominal. He who pays the piper calls the tune would be as true here as any where.

I am afraid in this sphere the progress has been even less marked than in the case of devolution of authority and functions. In this connection, land revenue even though it does not amount to very much, comes to mind as the first resource that should be placed totally at the disposal of the village *panchayat* and the *Panchayati Samiti*. I should not be the prerogative of the State Government to allocate certain sums out of land revenue to these bodies. Subject to an equalisation fund for the purpose of aiding the poorer villages and blocks, the entire land revenue should be left in the hands of the *panchayats* and the *samitis*. Other possible sources of revenue must be found and placed at the disposal of the *panchayati raj* in order that it might function with dignity and enjoy its autonomy. This does not mean that for development programmes *panchayati raj* should not receive allocations of funds from the State or the Centre.

Fifth, *Panchayati raj* should be able as soon as possible to exercise real authority over the civil servants under its charge,

who should be held fully accountable to it. Even in the matter of recruitment, it would be advisable to associate the local authorities or their nominees. At the same time provision should be made to assure to the civil servants justice and security of service and freedom to discharge their duties without improper interference.

Community Spirit Be Created

Sixth—and as important as any of the previous conditions—it is my emphatic view that elections to village *panchayats* should be held without any contests.

This view has been severely criticized in some quarters. In some other quarters opinion seems to have veered round to my point of view. I should like to say that the more I have thought over this subject, the more I have discussed it with others and the more I have learnt of the working of village *panchayats*, the more convinced have I become that if *panchayati raj* is to succeed, contests in the elections to village *panchayats* must be avoided. The village today is a much divided house. There are caste and class differences; there are family and other factions. There is no collective will in the village. On the other hand, the task that the village faces can never be tackled unless there is united and collective effort. A community spirit must first be created before there might be a proper community development. To introduce electoral contests into the village is to throw a monkey-wrench into the works. Let the people understand that the condition of their enjoying self-rule is that they agreed to work together for the common good; not because any dictator wishes to deprive them of their birth-right, but because that is the naked, imperative condition on which they can at all rule over themselves and serve the common good. Self-government through faction fighting will not be self-government, but self-ruination. Let it be remembered that the village is a primary, face-to-face community where the people are physically thrown together and have to share their joys and sorrows. This village, as I have just said, is a disrupted community. It would be a tragedy and a mockery of democracy if the latter were to be made an instrument of further disruption. The cry has already been raised in certain parts of the country that the villages had better be left as they were, rather than make them cook pots in the name of *panchayati raj*. The reason is that electoral con-

tests have already produced such tensions that there is a virtual stalemate in the affairs of the 'panchayats'. If this state of affairs continues, there is a danger that in a few years everyone would become so sick of the very words 'panchayat' and 'panchayati raj' that government from above through efficient civil servants would come to be welcomed with open arms and peoples' democracy would have been declared to be a total failure and a chimera.

Several suggestions have been made as to how contests could be avoided. It should be remembered that I am speaking only of the village *panchayats* which, it has been generally agreed, should not be constituted of more than a thousand or two thousand souls. If the principle is accepted, it should not be difficult to find a way of putting it into practice. Unfortunately, it is the view in many quarters that unless there is an electoral contest, there is no democracy. It is this static, abstract and narrow view of democracy that comes in the way of finding a solution. But I am certain in my mind that unless a solution is found, 'panchayati raj' and participating democracy would never be a success.

In this connection I should like to make an humble plea to all the political parties in the country. It might appear to them that if there are to be no elections, they have no place in the village. Far from it, they have a very constructive job to do there. If they accept the idea that it is in the best interest of the village to choose uncontested 'panchayats' that should become a challenge to them, and they should all join together to educate and persuade the villagers to do so. If one lays aside personal ambitions, this should not be difficult for the parties to do, because after all the affairs of the village hardly admit of party-political differences.

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Groupism Deplored

(“Indian Opinion” India Service)

LUCKNOW, (By Mail)

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU deplored groupism in the Congress organisation and said that all questions facing the country could not be solved by a party without a broad outlook;

Mr. Nehru was addressing a meeting of the Executive Council of the U.P. Congress Committee.

Briefing newsmen after the meeting, Mr. Banarai Das, General Secretary of the State Congress, said that Mr. Nehru told the Council that internecine quarrels and factionalism within the Congress were weakening it.

Mr. Nehru told the Council that he had suggested the name of Mr. A. P. Jain for the Presidency of the UPCC as he knew only a few members of the UPCC and their group affiliations. But he could say that Mr. Jain was a good choice.

Besides 18 members of the Executive Council, 46 special invitees attended the meeting.

Indians In Ceylon

(“Indian Opinion” India Service)

NEW DELHI, (By Mail)

THE Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, told Mr. Niraajan Singh, in the Rajya Sabha that “no further step has been taken” for the settlement of the problem of persons of Indian descent in Ceylon.

There were about 10 lakhs persons of this category who were considered stateless as they did not have Ceylon nationality and were not Indian nationals.

Mr. Avinaspilingam Chettiar asked whether in view of the present situation in Ceylon, Government were getting any reports about the stateless persons.

The Prime Minister said that the Government of India got reports on the present situation from the Indian High Commissioner who was in touch with Indian citizens in Ceylon. “He is not supposed to report to us on the stateless persons in Ceylon because they are not Indian nationals,” Mr. Nehru added.

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The Truth Which Alone Can Save World Civilization From Self-destruction

By WILFRED WELLOCK
(In Bhodan)

"INDIA has reached a critical stage in her history. She is about to make one of the biggest and most vital decisions of her life as a great civilization. In my estimate of the world situation today she is one of the four nations whose course during the next twenty years will determine the world's future and indeed whether or not it will have a future. The other three countries are America, Russia and Britain,"—writes Mr. Wilfred Wellock from England in a message sent on the occasion of the 13th, Sarvodaya Sammelan held at Unguturu (Andhra). The octogenarian thinker and writer, who at one time represented his area in the British Parliament, but later having realized the futility of it gave up his political career, continues:

"In the making of those decisions India's middle classes will, undoubtedly play a leading part. History has placed them in a position of privilege. Almost entirely they stand aloof from the nation's physical tasks; Their chores are for the most part cheaply performed. But the history of the last forty years, to go no further back, proves that the era of privilege is rapidly drowing to a close. The ascendancy of communism and the rapid elimination of colonialism and financial and territorial imperialism are heralding the dawn of a new era that as yet is largely undefined. On the assumption that here is to be a future, what part do India's middle classes propose to play in insuring it? On the whole, they are enamoured of Western affluence: but have they studied its real nature and the ultimate effects of its materialism? If not, they had better sit down and in quietness, and take thought!

"As a Westerner with some knowledge of India's great spiritual heritage, I had hoped that India might be a means of arresting the disease of materialism that it is carrying all before it in the West. Gandhi had opened the way and profoundly influenced considerable number of the more thoughtful people in the West but the river that was hoped might follow the stream has not arrived. Of course, we had no right to expect it, having failed so

badly ourselves. But today, alas, what we now see is that India's intellectuals, that great body of her middle classes, have become enamoured of Western materialism, called prosperity, and appears to be going all out to establish it in India.

"We are moving rapidly towards one world, but what sort of a world is it to be? And will it endure? East and West are verily meeting and intertwining; the process of unification is at work; But what is the nature of the unity to be? At the moment the West is dominant. The magnet of its affluence with all its glamour is powerfully effecting the East, also Africa, and the underdeveloped countries of South America, yes, even India, with its millennia of spiritual awakenings.

As I sit back and ponder, I see young people with smiles, hopeful and expectant faces looking forward to the thrilling experience of some worthy service, yet I know that ere long the shadows of disillusion will becloud many of those faces, and depress many of those minds, and cause their owners to lower their sights, adopt a more sombre or a more fickle attitude to life and so become de-valued persons.

"Every Western industrial country is today in the toils of a boasted expanding economy. Its future is made to depend upon its perpetual expansion which involves perpetual rise in profits, wages, and salaries and thus in material living standards all round. Were the expansion to cease, the economy would collapse. Invention and increased automation are perennially at work. That means new gadgets, new industries and increased production, also increased profit which provides the new capital for the industrial expansion. Then; to insure the sale of the increased production, advertising must insure by careful psychological study of various types of buyers, how to induce them to buy what they would not normally buy or desire and do not need. Should pressurized advertising fail to sell all the goods that are produced, Hire Purchase buying is recommended, and once the habit of possessing and using goods before they are paid for gets hold it becomes common

practice which considerable indebtedness make it almost impossible to break off;

"This latest phase of the Industrial Revolution thus becomes a closed-in cycle, every segment of which must function like clock-work or the whole economy will break down. The authors of the cycle are neither philosophers, teachers nor saints, but profiteers, big and ever bigger financial corporations, and now increasingly, tycoons;

"The process as a whole drives ever-widening circles of the public deeper and deeper into the slough of debt and materialism, and into the habit of getting and spending money as a WAY OF LIFE, while every increase in spending reduces both the opportunities and the inclination to pursue and cultivate spiritual values; To be in the fashion becomes a major and often the chief interest.

"This might well be described as a species of tycoon dictatorship. The politicians dovetail their policies into this economy, which the centres of learning and culture, and the churches in general, take for granted. But what the tycoons cannot do is to transform a society of mass-minded workers, fashion-ridden women, and well-placed middle classes into a society of whole persons whose way of life meets the demands of a peaceful world order.

"Thus what I see ahead are two mammoth evils: (1) an interminable international conflict for the possession and control of the earth's natural resources in order to meet the rising de-

mands of towering life standards across the world, for the world's markets wh to purchase them; and (ii) ideological conflict bet capitalism and communism world economic and political control, following a complete breakdown of the world's economy.

"Today the U.S.A., is suming almost as many manufactured goods as the rest of world taken together, w every Western industrial try is feverishly scaling the ladder of Prosperity.

"Where, then, lies pe

We cannot attain it by armament campaigns alone nor by long string marches. I favour t efforts on one condition that they are supported positive, constructive action to build a society of whole persons, which involves a many-sided revolution including the economic and the spiritual. Only a complete vision of the meaning of peace can save us fro the peril of a nuclear world war.

Too much present-day pacifism is bog-bound. Gandhiji has outlined that vision.

"Sarvodaya comprehends and embraces both these activities and I trust the present conference will strengthen the determination to pursue both, and influence India's middle class who have not yet joined ranks, to do so immediately. Gandhiji saw the Truth, Truth which alone can save world civilization from a destruction—a fate that may be very near."

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Tolstoy Writes To Gandhi First Ever Indian At South Pole

(Continued from page 202)

bishop generally put another question, whether murder was always in all cases forbidden by God's law, and the unhappy young ladies were forced by previous instruction to answer, "Not always"—that murder was permitted in war and in execution of criminals. Still, when one of these unfortunate young ladies (what I am telling is not an invention, but a fact told me by an eye-witness), after her first answer, was asked the usual question, if killing were always sinful, she, agitated and blushing, decisively answered, "Always," and to all the usual sophisms of the bishop she answered with decided conviction, that killing always was forbidden in the Old Testament and forbidden by Christ, not only by killing, but even every wrong against a brother. Notwithstanding all his grandeur and art of speech, the bishop became silent and the girl remained victorious.

Yes, we can talk in our newspapers of the progress of aviation, of complicated diplomatic relations, of different clubs and conventions, of unions of different kinds, of so-called productions of art, and keep silent about what that young lady said. But it cannot be passed over in silence, because it is felt, more or less dimly, but always felt by every man in the Christian world. Socialism, Communism, Anarchism, Salvation Army, increasing crime, unemployment, the growing insane luxury of the rich and misery of the poor, the alarmingly increasing number of suicides—all these are the signs of that internal contradiction which must be solved and cannot remain unsolved. And of course solved in the sense of acknowledging the law of love and denying violence. And so your activity in the Transvaal, as it seems to us, at the end of the world, is the most essential work, the most important of all the work now being done in the world, and in which not only the nations of the Christian but of all the world, will unavoidably take part.

I think that you will be pleased to know that here in Russia this activity is also fast developing in the way of refusals to serve in the Army, the number of which increases from year to year. However insignificant is the number of our people who are passive resisters in Russia who refuse to serve in the Army, these and the

others can boldly say that God is with them. And God is more powerful than man.

In acknowledging Christianity even in that corrupt form in which it is professed amongst the Christian nations, and at the same time in acknowledging the necessity of armies and armaments for killing on the greatest scale in wars, there is such a clear clamouring contradiction, that it must sooner or later, possibly very soon, inevitably reveal itself and annihilate either the professing of the Christian religion, which is indispensable in keeping up these forces, or the existence of armies and all the violence kept up by them, which is not less necessary for power. This contradiction is felt by all governments, by your British as well as by our Russian Government, and out of a general feeling of self-preservation the persecution by them (as seen in Russia and in the journal sent by you) against such anti-government activity, as those above-mentioned, is carried out with more energy than against any other form of opposition. The governments know where their chief danger lies, and they vigilantly guard in this question, not only their interests, but the question: "To be or not to be?"—Yours very faithfully, LEO TOLSTOY.

Gravest Doubts On Benefits From Liquor Legislation

(Continued from front page)

pockets of the wine farmers to compensate for the possible loss of Commonwealth markets. This contention was fiercely rebutted by a member who declared that those demanding the new measures were the police and agricultural unions.

We remember how one of the most eminent of Bantu leaders said to us, "All the leaders who were my contemporaries went down through strong drink." It is noteworthy that the Coloured people, who have had easy access to liquor, have been eager consumers of illicit brews, which, with wine or brandy as their basis, have had ingredients added to them to make them stronger. It cannot be overlooked that the liquor trade generally approves of the new measures, a fact that,

("Indian Opinion" India Service)

NEW DELHI (By Mail)

THE first Indian ever to visit the South Pole is 32-year-old Mr. Giriraj Singh Sirohi from Bullandshahr in Uttar Pradesh. Mr. Sirohi, who is now working as a research fellow at California University in Los Angeles, visited the South Pole as a member of a scientific expedition, sponsored by the National Science Foundation of the United States.

Slim but sturdy, this young scientist reached the South Pole along with ten other members of the expedition on December 5 last and spent there 65 days in a temperature 40 degrees below freezing point.

Mr. Giriraj Singh who arrived in Delhi on his way back to the

with all charity, raises suspicion as to their effectiveness in reducing consumption. We wish that efforts had been made to root out the shebeens by imposing long terms of imprisonment without the option of a fine, on conviction. Some years ago one of the cities in Britain was shocked by frequent use of the knife by criminals, but a judge banished this form of crime when he made it plain that those convicted would go to gaol for terms of years. A heavy responsibility lies on the Government that has introduced such measures as the new Liquor Bill. There is also more responsibility laid on temperance societies to win the public to a more controlled use of liquor and to see the advantages of the one form of control that is effective, namely total abstinence.

United States recently disclosed in a most unassuming manner the news of his exploit.

The only other Indian to attempt a trip to the South Pole, it may be mentioned, was Lt. Ram Charan of the Indian Navy, who went upto about 800 miles from the geographical Pole, early this year. Lt. Charan was later killed in a motor-cycle accident in Delhi.

Narrating his experience, Mr. Giriraj Singh said: "It was thrilling." He was a little afraid when he joined the expedition because he had heard about the deaths of many earlier explorers and knew that the temperature there was very low. But once he reached the Pole he said, he stood the freeze well.

Mr. Sirohi said that the expedition, which had gone to the South Pole to conduct some experiments on plants and animals, took six months to make the trip and cost the foundation about four million dollars.

During their stay at the South Pole, he said, it was day all through and the scientists enjoyed working in those unusual conditions. The glare of the sun was so powerful that they had to wear goggles all the time.

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Indians In Australia

(From The Indian Opinion, July 8th, 1911)

THE Secretary of the Austral-Indian Society, Melbourne, has addressed a letter to the Indian National Congress detailing the grievances of Indian residents in Australia. The Society includes Indians of all castes and creeds. A deputation from the Society lately waited upon the Minister for External Affairs of the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia and represented that two Indians who had lived in Australia for a number of years prior to the passing of the Immigration Restriction Acts of 1901-5 had gone on a visit to India and were unable to re-enter the Commonwealth. They next obtained pass-ports from the Indian authorities to visit Australia and on arrival were detained by the Customs authorities and submitted to a rigorous cross-examination by the Collector. They were allowed to remain on an undertaking being given by the Secretary of the Austral-Indian Society to produce them whenever required by the Collector. The Minister said they would each have to pay a fee of £2, but as the deputation protested against this, the two Indians were exempted from payment. Indians who have lived for a number of years in the Commonwealth and who possess property are on the electoral rolls and possess votes for both Houses of Parliament. They are reputable citizens, but when they applied to bring their wives over from India, the Minister could not see his way to agree to the proposal on any account. The deputation urged their rights as British subjects and contended that the place of abode of the husband is also that of his wife and children. Whereupon the Minister replied in words to this effect:—"You see, gentl. men you say you are British subjects but you are not, as you are not treated as such in your own country, and how can you expect us to treat you here differently, though we treat you far better, and recognise you as citizens, having given you votes &c., and treat you as white men and not as you are treated in India." What have the Government of India to say

to these remarks? The educational test for immigrants is the reading and writing of fifty words in a European language. Instead of holding the test in English the authorities frequently ask emigrants questions in French and German in order to disqualify them. A leading Indian wanted permission to send for his son from India but was not allowed to do so. Indians are not allowed to send for their wives from India and hence mixed marriages and illegitimate children are common and there is a great deal of immorality, Chines and Syrians, who are not British subjects, are given much wider latitude than Indians.

Indians In The United States

"The Odious Turban"

Mr. C. B. Walters writing from San Francisco to the Modern Review gives an account of the difficulties which Indians suffer in America at present, being unable to overcome the prejudices of the local people. He writes at the request of one Mr. Das of Seattle, in the State of Washington. He begins with the language difficulty, the labour jealousy, appearance and colour, official treatment, legal aid and so on. But the most formidable objection seems to be the "odious turban" of the Hindus, especially the Punjabis, which at once creates a bad impression in the American. It seems ridiculous that a civilised and free people should be so weak as to think evil of one because of his dress, but Mr. Walters says that if only the Hindus in America could be induced to abandon their turban and wear the dress of the country, more than half of the cause of the trouble will disappear. The turban seems to make a man so different from the human species that all the worst prejudices inherent in men are roused against the turbaned tribe. Almost without exception writes Mr. Walters, "the Union workmen prefer to live in the city, dislike the country, the

farm, the orchard. Rather than work in the country they will remain idle in the cities, yet they are prejudiced against the man from India who is glad to get the work they refuse to take. The Hindu is not depriving any of them of a livelihood even if he does work for less money. The Hindu is doing a class of work for which the farmers cannot afford to pay union prices. Moreover, there are vast tracts of land in California, Oregon and Washington, which are lying idle, unclaimed and unproductive so that there is plenty of opportunity for the few who do wish to live with nature." He says the Hindu workman bathes daily on returning from work and yet he is dubbed "filthy" by men who rarely enter the bath oftener than once a week. The immigration officials find some pretext or other to turn away a Hindu either for short stature, which is taken for physical incapacity, or for fear of the man becoming a charge on public funds. In one case, a Hindu immigrant who could lift a weight of 350 pounds was not admitted to land in America because he was weak! Several Indian students who have proceeded to America for study have been kept confined for weeks pending settlement of their fitness to land and they

are subjected to inhuman treatment. In one case a young student was served half-boiled rice without salt or milk for eight days and extorted one dollar and sixty five cents per pay for this instead of the scheduled rate of 45 cents! For students, the writer says, America offers many opportunities in the United States. There can be no doubt that notwithstanding the strong prejudices that exist against the Hindus, there are hundreds of cultured men and women who welcome people from India and are prepared to extend ordinary help towards strangers. The Hindu students generally meet with kindness and courtesy, says Mr. Walters, and those who behave improperly are very few. But whether students or labourers, the general caution sounded is—beware of the turbans!"

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