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# INDIAN

# OPINION

Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

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## Happiness

*Happiness.....means an enlightened realization of human dignity and craving for human liberty which prizes itself above mere selfish satisfaction of personal comforts and material wants and would readily and joyfully sacrifice these for self-preservation.*



## Means And Ends

*They say 'means are after all means'. I would say 'means are after all everything.' As the means so the end. Violent means will give violent independence. That would be a menace to the world.... France obtained her freedom by violent means. She is still paying dearly for her violence..... There is no well of separation between means and end. Indeed, the Creator has given us control (and that too very limited) over means, none over the end. Realization of the goal is in exact proportion to that of the means. This is a proposition that admits of no exception. Holding such a belief, I have endeavoured to keep the country to means that are purely 'peaceful and legitimate.'*

—Mahatma Gandhi.



## WHERE LIES THE HOPE OF MANKIND

The following is taken from Wilfred Wellock's Orchard Lea Paper No 5, entitled "The Values of The Small Community." Mr. Wellock is an English economist, a pacifist and a firm believer in the values of small communities. The entire series of "Orchard Lea Papers" or single numbers thereof may be obtained by writing to Mr. Wilfred Wellock, Orchard Lea, New Longton, Preston, Lancs, England.

**N**O one who meditated upon the history of the last fifty years would conclude that Western civilization had more than the remotest connection with the good life. Two world wars, long periods of mass migration, mass concentration and forced labour camps, testify to a civilization that has lost its bearings and is on its way to self-destruction.

Our age requires a new pattern of life which takes account of the whole man, the economic man who lives by bread, and the spiritual man who lives by truth, fellowship, service and self-giving, meditation, affection, religion, love.

That pattern must embrace three important rights or values; responsibility and creative opportunity in one's daily labour, and vital relationship with the community in which one has one's being. These rights the social system must provide, so that every man may live creatively and satisfyingly in the fullest use of all his powers.

.....Aristotle declared: "Experience shows that a populous city can seldom, if ever, be properly governed. Well governed cities have a limited population."

Plato...Rosseau...Thomas Jefferson...a collection of pronouncements by modern British and American authors in favour of the small community as the best medium in which to develop an enduring and thus high quality civilization.....

History proves abundantly that it is in small, largely self-governing communities that workmanship reaches its highest quality, and citizenship its peak of culture and grandeur. To produce for a user, a neighbour, is far more satisfying than to produce for a trader, in that it establishes a permanent relationship of esteem and goodwill. It is in these conditions that a man puts all he has into his labour, while to have something of one's soul in the homes and surroundings of one's habitation, is to be widely honoured and beloved—a reward which means more to a man than the cash return of his labour.

It is a fact of history that genius flourishes most abundantly in small neighbourly communities. An outburst of genius in a prophet, a poet, sculptor, painter or musician if followed by a number of his admiring and inspired neighbours becoming his imitators.....

I am not arguing for a return to the Middle Ages, but I am arguing for a recovery of some of its values—values that have been lost in the perilous journey to modern industrialism. Every age has its evils, its shortcoming, temptations and failures, and the Guild era was no exception to this rule, but there are human rights and values which ought to belong to every society in every age. It is because so many of these precious rights and values were sacrificed during its reckless pursuit of riches and power, that the Industrial Revolution stands condemned.

(Continued on page 319)

# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 22ND MAY, 1953

## Sheer Cussidness

THE question of providing a decent bus rank for the privately run non-European buses catering for thousands of passengers has been hanging fire now for a considerably long time. An outsider who happens to see the dangerous situation which exists at the bus rank near the Indian market cannot but be disgusted the way the elementary requirements of a large section of the citizens of the Durban City are criminally neglected by the authorities concerned, who, in the present case, are the City Council. Why such a comparatively small matter should be allowed to be made a political issue and to be handled by the political organisations when it could easily be amicably settled between the City Council and the Bus-owners Association, having due regard to the conveniences of the public, surpasses us. Does the City Council glee in appearing to be so utterly ridiculous in the eyes of the world? And all this fuss just because the parties concerned are voteless and voiceless non-Europeans, whose rights and privileges, however just and reasonable they may be, nay, even their very lives, do not concern the White City Fathers. A very reasonable request has been made on behalf of the Bus-owners to provide a proper rank on the testing ground which is in the vicinity of the present area in which the buses are parked, has been rejected

and the City Council is insistent in providing a parking area right in the centre of non-European schools where naturally the lives of thousands of children are in danger. Had European parents been concerned would His Worship the Mayor and the City Council have dared to act in the manner they are acting?

The non-European occupied areas are so easily discernible by the shabbiness even of the approach to them, no matter even if it happens to be a twenty thousand pound educational institution. Take for instance the approach to the Sastri College. Even the very smallest place occupied by Europeans will be scrupulously cared for and looked after while those occupied by non-Europeans will be unscrupulously neglected. That is the fruit of "apartheid" we have been experiencing for nearly a century.

To come to the approach to the Sastri College we heaved a sigh of relief the other day when we found it being so beautifully renovated at full speed. We blessed the City Council in our hearts for appearing for once at least to do the right thing. But within a moment we were disillusioned when it dawned on us that all that post haste was to provide a bus rank for non-European bus owners in utter disregard of all the entreaties and the wishes of the people concerned. We

cannot but describe this criminal act on the part of the City Council as sheer cussidness.

It is heartening to note that the liberal hearted European friends have seen

the importance of coming to the rescue of the non-Europeans and are strongly advocating their case. We can only hope and pray that their labours will not be in vain.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### A Lesson For South Africa

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, President of Atlanta University, became the first Negro president in the Twentieth Century to defeat a White man at the polls in Atlanta when he won a Board of Education seat. He beat Mr. J. H. Landers, who had held the seat for 25 years, by 22,595 votes to 13,936 in a city-wide poll. Dr. Clement said afterwards: "It isn't a personal victory. I've been feeling for some time that the people of the South are far ahead of what people think they are. The White population is ready to try to work constructively with the Negro population." The last time a Negro was elected over a White man in Atlanta was in 1871.—(Sapa-United Press.)

Why cannot the same thing be possible in South Africa? How happy the world could be if only man were to shed all fear of man and were to begin to fear God and to abide by His Law!

### First Cabinet Meets Under Mr. Strydom's Presidentship

The Acting Prime Minister, Mr. J. G. Strydom, Minister of Land's, presided over a meeting of the Cabinet in the Union Buildings last Monday. It was the first meeting of the Cabinet since the departure to Britain of the Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, the Minister of Finance, Mr. N. G. Havenga, and the Minister of Education, Arts and Science and of Mines, Mr. J. H. Viljoen, to attend the Coronation and the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. During their absence, Mr. Strydom is acting Prime Minister, and the Minister of External Affairs, Mr. E. H. Louw, is acting Minister of Finance. The Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, is acting Minister of Education, Arts and Science, and the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, is acting Minister of Mines.

### The Two New Parties

Of the two Parties spoken of so much at the present moment the Federal Party in so far as non-Europeans are concerned merits no thought at all both because of its declared policy which seeks to give only the shadow for the substance and because of the per-

sonality sponsoring it. The Liberal Party's policy is certainly luring. If the Party honestly adheres to the principles it professes to stand for it certainly deserves the fullest support. But whether such a Party can ever influence Parliament to such an extent as to eliminate the present Party in power is questionable. It is more likely to be a nonentity as for instance the former Independent Party. It can only carry weight if it can supersede the United Party and become more powerful than the Nationalist Party, which seems to be an impossibility in the present set up of things. Full democratic rights should always be the ultimate goal of all the non-Europeans and they should ardently work to attain that goal. They should however, not spurn any possibility of an honourable compromise which might eventually peacefully lead to their cherished goal. It is after all assured to them if they have the requisite strength to reach it. There can be no peaceful solution of the problem unless there is absolute sincerity and the spirit of tolerance on both sides.

### Dr. Dadoo's Views

Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, former President of the South African Indian Congress, in a statement stated it was mad to believe that "a half-baked and compromising" Party like the Liberal Party could turn the Nationalists from their avowed path. "The non-European people can no longer be deceived by any sheep's clothing in which the new Party may be clothed. Our demand is for the full and equal franchise without discrimination or qualification." The urgent and immediate task was for all progressive South Africans—White and non White—to strive against anti-democratic and apartheid action by the Government, the statement said.

### Apartheid Judgment

Mr. Justice Newton Thompson, in the Supreme Court, Capetown, last week, upheld the appeal of Welcome Zihlangu, an African, who was fined £15 (or three months) for boarding a railway coach reserved for Europeans. Mr. Justice van Winsen con-

curred. Mr. J. de Vos appeared for the Crown, and Mr. G. Gordon Q.C., for Zihlangu. Mr. Justice Newton Thompson said that the evidence at the trial was that the train consisted of two first-class coaches. One of these had a notice board saying "Europeans only" and the other had no notice. "Zihlangu was one of a group of Africans who in protest against the policy of reserving certain coaches on each train for Europeans only, deliberately boarded the coach bearing the notice 'Europeans only'," he said. "The appeal must succeed on the ground that the application of the general railway regulations mentioned in the charge sheet has resulted in partiality and inequality to a substantial degree and

this is not authorised by the enabling Statute." The Judge said the facts of the present case were virtually identical with those in Rex v. Abdurahman, and the grounds of appeal were that the regulation which Zihlangu was alleged to have contravened was ultra vires as it discriminated unfairly between Europeans and non-Europeans; also that the regulation was applied in an unfair manner. The Judge continued: "It is interesting to observe that though the Act was twice amended after the Appellate Division decision in Rex v. Abdurahman, Parliament did not on either occasion treat this question of partiality and inequality in the reservation of railway premises and trains."—(Sapa.)

## LONG LIST OF BANS IMPOSED BY DR. DONGES

IN the long list of bans and prohibitions imposed by Dr. T. E. Donges during his five years as Minister of the Interior it is apparent that he does not want South African non-European sportsman or stage artists to go on tour overseas; and he will not allow foreign non-European sportsmen or stage artists to tour the Union.

His refusal two weeks ago to allow a South African Indian soccer team to tour India was the latest application of this principle. Other examples are:

In April, Dr. Donges refused to allow Ram Gopal, a world famous Indian dancer, to tour the Union.

In July last year he refused to allow a Cape Town Coon Carnival troupe to leave the Union for a tour of Britain.

In February last year he refused to allow two Coloured boxers from Jamaica and British Guiana to enter the Union.

Dr. Donges has also been vigilant in other fields.

In April he banned the entry of two Negro bishops of the African Methodist Episcopal Church; in October last year he refused to issue passports to two European women trade unionists who wanted to attend a garment workers' conference in Europe; and in September last year he refused an entry permit to a journalist from the staff of the 'Times of India.'

Among books and publications

he banned during the year were 'Champion the Voice of Young Canada,' 'Seretse Khama and the Bamaungwato People,' two UN pamphlets discussing race prejudice, and 700 packs of playing cards.

Among publications temporarily held by the Customs by arrangement with Dr. Donges's department were 'Ring' (a boxing magazine), 'Men Only' and 'In South Africa,' by Francis Brett Young, a book commissioned by the Union Government.

### The Ban-wagon

Commenting on the above 'The Cape Argus' writes:

In the past five years a formidable number of people in South Africa have been forced to climb on the ban-wagon of the Department of the Interior. The newest conscribed travellers on this unagreeable vehicle are members of the South African Indian soccer team, who have had to cancel their tour of India at the last minute.

Ram Gopal, an Indian folk-dancer, has been refused permission to come to South Africa on a purely cultural tour. Last year the Minister of the Interior declined to allow a troupe of Cape Coloured Coons to visit Great Britain. Two non-European boxers were not permitted to enter South Africa to fight non-European opponents at the time of the Van Riebeeck Festival.

Sometimes there must be valid

reason for what seems to be arbitrary action. The department, however, has reserved the divine right of silence to itself. It would be illuminating to know exactly why the Minister of the Interior has declined to allow South African Indians to play soccer in India—despite the personal intervention of the Administrator of Natal, whom the Government themselves entrusted with a second term of office. One would imagine that the appearance of an Indian soccer team before Indian crowds might help to dispel the belief

in India that their compatriots in the Union are a downtrodden minority living in ghettos.

In the same way Coloured Coons exercising their fascinating art before English audiences might persuade some of our overseas critics that non-Europeans are allowed a life of their own.

Quite apart from the fact that the Department of the Interior seriously interferes with the traditional freedom of individual movement, the department's ban-wagon gains the worst possible publicity for South Africa.

## UNION'S THREE CHOICES

"WHAT seems to be the question facing South Africa today?" asked Mr. Alan Paton at a memorial meeting to Mr. J. D. Riebnallt Jones in Durban last week. "It is the question of whether we are going to have two societies or whether we are to create one common society.

"If we are to have two societies before us, we must have two completely separate societies or we must have one dominant and one sub-dominant society or we must have one common society.

"The ideal of two separate societies," my reason rejects as impossible. The ideal of one dominant and one sub-dominant both my reason and conscience reject, because I commit myself to the ideal of a common society, the same ideal to which the Joneses, the J. H. Hofmeyrs, the Sastri and the Hoernles all committed themselves.

To achieve the ideal of two separate societies requires an amount of time, an amount of money and an amount of land; and also, I believe, an amount of selflessness which we do not possess. But I have not yet met a thoughtful South African who thinks it can be definitely maintained.

"The new Liberal Party is no

new that it has not yet had the time to become beset with political experience. Therefore I feel entitled to say something about it, especially because I feel Riebnallt Jones would have joined it, or alternatively, would have had reasons for holding aloof from it (which I advance as a mere supposition, not as a probability), but he would have said in his heart about the new Party: These are things in which I believe."

"This new Party will not, I trust, waste its time and its energy in attacking Dr. Malan, Mr. Stranas and the new Federal Party. It has an ideal to set before South Africa. It may not have any well-thought-out programme as yet, but it will come.

"It can only be done politically and practically by the widening of the present society, by the extension of the franchise to people who can enter that society fully understanding that society, its ideals and aims. I am not the kind of man to despise the liberal African, the humble Indian labourer on his small plot of land, or the depressed Coloured people. But I say there would be no political sense in claiming that any of these should enter the present society without qualifying himself to do so.

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## LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

## SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS—(3)

## WHAT IS THIS "BROWN MENACE"?

By C. W. M. GELL

These articles have been taken not from 'The Forum' as inadvertently stated in the previous issues but from 'The Evening Post' (Port Elizabeth.)

FIVE years ago the late J. H. Hofmeyr exactly summarised the three phases of our Indian policy: "(1) The self-interest of the European brought the Indian to South Africa; (2) self-interest has sought to get rid of him from the country; (3) self-interest, in so far as this cannot be achieved, is determined to keep him in what is regarded as his place."

Having dealt with phases (1) and (2) in my previous articles, I am here concerned with (3).

Lack of space prevents a detailed examination of the economic condition of our Indians. Briefly, it is a picture of great contrasts—small, fairly well to do commercial communities in the Transvaal and the Cape, and some pockets of appalling poverty; a very wealthy minority of financiers and industrialists in Natal and a vast, impoverished, under-nourished, under-employed majority living in unspeakable slums.

For many years the wealthier Indian traders in the Transvaal and Natal have been hedged about by increasing restrictions on the rights to residence and trade. Today the Group Areas Act threatens to deprive them of their whole livelihood by isolating them from the main shopping centres.

As Mr. Hofmeyr very rightly said in 1932: "At the back of the segregation agitation, trade rivalry is a very important factor."

It is true that the Group Areas Act theoretically applies indiscriminately to all race groups. But since it is applied by one group only without reasonable opportunities of appeal to the courts, the result is—and is intended to be—discrimination against non-Europeans. This will fall hardest upon the most advanced of the non-Europeans of whom a large proportion are Indians.

Take, for instance, the original Lydenburg scheme to dispossess the town's 146 Indians, move them two miles out of town to a site on a hillside adjoining the sewage farm and reduce their trading licences from seven to one. Other Transvaal towns had prepared similar schemes. These are now being somewhat modified, but the principle remains

And the latest Durban zoning envisages moving half the city's Indian, Native and Coloured populations—a total of some 150,000 people—in exchange for one-fortieth of the European population (about 3,000 people). £9 million of Indian-owned property will have to be sold and only £800,000 of European-owned property. This is discrimination.

If the commercial minority is so persecuted and the majority live in squalor, why do our Indians not want to return to India?

First, only perhaps five per cent. were born there and possibly another five per cent. have ever been there. To prefer the devil you know is a very common human characteristic.

Secondly, despite conditions in Natal which are an abiding disgrace to our civilisation, the Indian community is still a little better off here than the all-India average.

Comparative figures for 1947-8 show the average annual income per head of the Natal Indians outside Durban to be about £39 (Europeans £156, and probably £250 if the industrial and commercial areas were included). For the Durban Indian labourers, who comprise half the total of Natal Indians, the figure was about £21. The all-India average was then about £14.

Since the great majority of the inhabitants of India are peasant cultivators producing much of their own food and sometimes clothing too, the gap is not as big as the figures suggest. But there remains a small margin in favour of our Indians here. The hope of economic improvement is, of course, the mainspring of all emigration.

Most of our Indians came from the poorest parts of India and have a fitted proportionately less than the various European immigrant communities in this country. Nevertheless, they have benefitted somewhat. And they are unwilling to risk slipping back that little by starting afresh in a country they do not know.

But if they have benefitted, why are they so dissatisfied with their treatment in this country? Undoubtedly the first answer to this is that they are a sensitive

people coming from a cultural and civilised heritage far older than our own. Our refusal to treat them on their merits as persons—some of them educated and cultured people, others poor labourers, but all persons with a proven capacity for self-improvement—goes to the root of their pride.

Racial self-respect is not confined to Europeans. Hence the Indians' very natural dislike of the word "coolie." Not many Europeans like to be reminded of menial origins!

Secondly, the Indians used to have more rights here than they have today. They had the parliamentary franchise in Natal until 1896 and the municipal franchise until 1924. They still have the threatened Coloured franchise in the Cape.

Commercial and residential restrictions have grown much more severe in the last 20 or 30 years and the Group Areas Act is likely to damage Indian interests far more than those of any other race group. Thirdly, there is the insecurity of being treated permanently as "an alien element in the population."

If, in these circumstances, our Indians have sometimes seemed to be too selfishly mercenary, have been disinclined to plough back their profits into this country, have appealed for outside help since they have no effective voice in municipal or political life, and are now helping a campaign for more rights and opportunities for all coloured peoples, can we, who brought them here and have created the restrictive conditions under which they live, find it in our consciences to blame them? Would we in their place do otherwise?

For what actually is this "Brown menace" which moves us to such ungenerous policies? Certainly they are fertile people who breed too fast. But not as fast as the last census figures suggested. These showed a 28 per cent. increase in our Indian population since 1946. But some 30,000 Indians were somehow undercounted in 1946 and the real rate of increase was about the same as the Coloureds' 18 per cent.

Even so, the Indians only form 2.9 per cent. of the total population and about one-seventh of the White population. Of course, the situation is locally aggravated by restricting their inter-provincial movement. Thus Europeans constitute the following percentages of the Provincial totals:

Europeans: Natal 11.4, Transvaal 25.0, Cape 21.0, O.F.S. 22.7, 20.8.

Indians: Natal 12.6, Transvaal 0.9, Cape 0.4, O.F.S. 0. Total 2.9.

Let those who talk about a "Brown flood" sweeping through the country if the inter-provincial restrictions were removed, honestly ponder these figures.

Can three per cent really "flood" 97 per cent. or even the 81 per cent. White population? Is it not really more dangerous to coop up over 80 per cent. of our Indians in our smallest province and limit them to unskilled work in a country desperately short of skilled artisans?

In such conditions the majority will continue to live in the poverty, disease and homelessness which ensure the maximum rate of reproduction and constitute a menace to the health and political tranquillity of the rest of the country.

If we had a little courage and common sense, our Indian community could today make nearly as great a contribution to the country's economic prosperity as their fathers and grandfathers did in the second half of the last century in Natal and, in the process, would convert themselves into useful, productive citizens.

Further, the commercial competition of the Indians is a much overrated bogey.

In 1948-9 Indians held 7,700 General Dealers Licences and 2,813 Fresh Produce Dealers Licences. Europeans held 58,574 of the former and 10,444 of the latter. That is to say, Europeans and Indians held these licences in almost exactly their population ratios of 7 to 1. By no stretch of the imagination do these figures represent a serious threat to White business.

Indians, however, usually work harder, more resourcefully and with smaller margins of profit than many European traders are willing to do. In an age of ever rising prices such thrifty retailers are an asset to our economy, unless they transgress fair trading legislation which should take care of racketeers.

Some say that Indians exploit gullible Africans and this may be true in some cases. But, on the other hand, they commonly treat Africans with a courtesy and patience not often shown to them in European shops, and the usual oriental method of bargaining over the price leaves both parties satisfied that they have outwitted the other.

In a country with an already complicated racial pattern, the introduction of the further Indian complication was probably a mistake.

But now that it has happened and is irreversible, it would be

sensible to adopt such a policy as drew out the best qualities of the Indians in the service of the whole country, rather than throwing them back on a rather too pronounced mercantilism or condemning them to a sordid struggle with poverty, hunger, disease and homelessness. Such conditions do not breed loyal citizens.

The solution of our Indian problem requires, first, that we accept their permanence here, and, secondly, that we develop their potential abilities as skilled

and semi-skilled artisans and technicians, of which we are so short.

Granted the will, it is perfectly possible to create these expanding opportunities for all non-Europeans, while safeguarding the skilled salary scales by law and trade union action on the principle of equal pay for equal work.

South Africa could be such a very much larger country than one-race thinking will permit.

(Concluded)

## CONGRESS PROTESTS AGAINST SITING OF BUS RANK IN SCHOOL AREA

THE following Press statement was issued by the Natal Indian Congress:

The Natal Indian Congress once again expressed its strongest protest against the decision of the City Council to use the Centenary and Winterton Walk sites as bus ranks for non-European buses under its decentralisation plans. The Congress has consistently demanded that the Testing Grounds adjoining Warwick Avenue should be utilized to extend the present Victoria Street bus terminus and that the Council should make proper provisions for bus shelters, parking bays, crush barriers, and other facilities at this traffic centre, and that as a temporary measure to ease the congestion at the Victoria Street bus rank, it should decentralise the present non-European bus rank.

However, even as a temporary or trial measure the siting of the decentralised bus termini at Centenary Road—Carlisle Street, and Winterton Walk are most undesirable, and dangerous. Both proposed termini are in the midst of an area traversed by thousands of school children who use the Centenary Road, Winterton Walk and Carlisle and Lorne Streets as thoroughfares to and from schools. Besides six Indian schools, including Sastri College which is in addition used by hundreds of students attending the M. L. Sulian Technical Classes and the Natal University Non-European Section, the area houses the St. Aidans Hospital, the Fire Station, an African primary school in Carlisle Street and the African Womens' Hostel. The use of this area as a bus termini, especially at peak periods can be disastrous and dangerous to life in addition to causing serious inconvenience to the hospital and educational institutions.

We are of the opinion that it would not be difficult at all to find other sites just as suitable

for a temporary plan of decentralisation pending the erection of a proper traffic centre at the Testing Ground site. So far not a single ground has been advanced by the Council against the use of the Testing Ground as a Traffic Centre.

Our Congress a little while back held a representative conference by 24 organisations including the Trades and Labour Council which supported this demand to utilise the Testing Ground for a non European traffic centre and this demand was backed up by a petition of over 25,000 bus users which was presented by officials of the African and Indian Congresses to the Mayor of Durban in October last year.

We have again requested the Mayor not to finalise the decentralisation plans before hearing the views of the African and Indian Congresses who represent the vast majority of the non-Europeans in Durban. We wish to point out at this stage that the protests against the use of the school area as bus termini are so great and widespread and made by so many interested organisations including the National Council of Women and The Safety First Association, that the Council should reconsider its decision.

We appeal to the Mayor to convene a special meeting of the Council to hear the view point of all interested organisations and then decide on this subject which is causing so much concern among parents and the public at large, and which decision was only supported by ten Councillors at the last Council meeting—a minority even of the Durban City Council.

The Natal Indian Congress has addressed an urgent letter to the Mayor and all City Councillors putting forward these proposals and urging them to convene an urgent meeting of the Council to reverse their previous decision.

## Citizens Petition Mayor For Public Meeting

Professor Leo Kuper and 40 other European voters of Durban including many lecturers at the University of Natal have requisitioned the Mayor of Durban to call a public meeting at the City Hall on Sunday 24th May to discuss the siting of non-European bus terminals under the City Councils decentralisation plans.

The petition states: "We, the undersigned citizens and voters of the City of Durban hereby urgently request and petition Your Worship, to convene and preside at a meeting of the citizens of Durban to be held at the City Hall on Sunday the 24th May, 1953, at 2.30 p.m. for the purpose of considering and adopting with or without amendments, the following resolution:—

"That this meeting of the citizens of Durban is fully aware of the chaotic conditions at the Victoria Street non-European bus rank and firmly believes that immediate steps must be taken to remedy this dangerous situation.

"This meeting, whilst appre-

ciating the efforts of the City Council to tackle this problem, is seriously perturbed at the decision of the Council to use the areas around Winterton Walk, Centenary Road and Carlisle Streets, which are traversed by thousands of school children daily, for bus termini under its decentralisation plans.

"This meeting is seriously concerned with the danger to life that is inherent in the proposed plans and therefore resolves:—

(1) To request the City Council to reverse its decision to site non-European bus termini for North bound and West bound buses, in the school area around Centenary Road;

(2) To recommend that the present Testing Grounds in Warwick Avenue be used for the extension of the present Victoria Street non European bus rank; and that proper provision be made there for adequate bus shelters, parking bays, crush barriers, latrines and other facilities."

The Petition was delivered to the Mayor.

## PROHIBITION ORDERS SERVED ON DR. NAICKER

DR G. M. NAICKER, Acting President of the South African Indian Congress, and President of the Natal Indian Congress was served with two notices signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, prohibiting him from attending any public gathering within the Union of South Africa and from being in certain magisterial districts of South Africa.

Both these notices of prohibition were issued in terms of the Riotous Assemblies Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The notices read as follows:

No. 1. "Whereas I, Charles Robberts Swart, Minister of Justice for the Union of South Africa, am satisfied that you are promoting feelings of hostility in the Union of South Africa between the European inhabitants of the Union on the one hand and the non-European section of the inhabitants of the Union on the other hand, and now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by sub-section (12) of section one of the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1914 (Act No. 27 of 1914), as amended, I prohibit you for a period of twelve months from being in any of the magisterial districts of Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Dundee, Johannesburg, Pre-

toria, Port Elizabeth, East London and the Cape.

"The period of twelve months shall take effect after the lapse of seven days as from the date upon which this notice is delivered or tendered to you.

"Given under my hand at Pretoria this 5th day of May, 1953."

No. 2. "Whereas I, Charles Robberts Swart, Minister of Justice for the Union of South Africa, am of opinion that there is reason to apprehend that feelings of hostility would be engendered between the European inhabitants of the Union on the one hand and the non-European section of the inhabitants of the Union on the other hand if you were to attend any public gathering in any place to which the public have access within the Union of South Africa.

"Now, therefore, under and by virtue of the powers vested in me by sub-section (4) of section one of the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1914 (Act No. 27 of 1914), as amended, I do hereby prohibit you from attending any public gathering in any place to which the public have access within the Union of South Africa during a period of twelve months with effect from the date that this notice is delivered or tendered to you."

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## WHERE LIES THE HOPE OF MANKIND

(Continued from front page)

Two more values I must mention: neighbourliness and the influence of nature. Few things are more painful and tragic than the spiritual isolation and starvation which obtains in vast populations where there are no organic or functional ties and values.....

Another value of the small agro-industrial community is close contact with nature, for nature is still man's finest teacher and a potent means of maintaining his spiritual balance. Nature stimulates the habit of observation, of thought and meditation, and these

tend to produce stability of character.

Civilizations collapse when they become rich and powerful, not when they are small, diligent and hard-working. It was when Rome became a powerful empire..... that her civilization began to decay, and ultimately perished.

The hope of mankind lies in the creative society of the small community, not in the mechanistic society of the giant state, and from now on all man's genius must be directed to building it, here and everywhere.

## BRITAIN'S COLOUR BAR IN AFRICA

By JULIUS LEWIN

IN British Central Africa and in British East Africa today men and women who form more than 99 per cent. of the inhabitants, are denied three things because the colour of their skin is not white but black or brown. They are denied equal opportunity; they are denied effective political rights; and they are denied proper social status.

Here is the first illustration of how this happens.

### 1. The Colour Bar In The Copper Belt

Some of the richest copper mines in the world are in Northern Rhodesia. All the highly paid skilled work on the mines is reserved for white immigrants. No native African, however capable he may be in fact, is allowed to do skilled work. Most Africans do only rough unskilled work and receive less than one-twentieth of the wage that the skilled white men earn. For many years the facts of the colour bar in the copper belt were hidden from the public eye in Britain. In recent years, however, the attention of the British Government has on several occasions been directed to this injustice. The African workers themselves caused disturbances in 1935 and in 1940, mainly because of discontent with this situation. Now that they have organised their own trade unions—the white men have long had a strong union—more trouble can be expected to arise. The British Government has done nothing to alter this dangerous situation.

How it could be altered without hardship to the present white miners has been described by a commission presided over

by a British trade unionist which inquired fully into the problem. Its report is of value because it shows how an industrial colour bar could be gradually relaxed without detriment to white labour already in the industry.

The commission found that any further progress by the African must be in the direction of replacing the white men. It describes various categories of skilled and semi-skilled work that should be transferred to the African as soon as possible. Quite rightly, it asks that no white man at present doing such work should be discharged in order to make room for an African. But as vacancies occur in the future, it proposes that they should be filled by Africans and not by Europeans. The commission did not add another necessary proposal. It should be made a condition of the entry into the colony of future white miners that they be replaceable by Africans at any time after due notice. It should also be made perfectly clear that the object of replacing imported white miners with indigenous black miners is not to provide the mine-owners with cheaper labour. To guard against this danger, it might be necessary to accept the principle of "equal pay for equal work" and to consider its practical implications. Where, for instance, an African did the same work as the European he replaced, he would be entitled to claim the same pay as the European had received. The mine-owners might be induced to accept this principle because they know that the white miners recruited from Southern Rhodesia and South Africa are not really an efficient or stable labour force. At the same time the Govern-

ment must take steps to provide technical education which would qualify Africans to replace Europeans steadily in future years. There is ample evidence that Africans would quickly qualify. Indeed, much of the desire to maintain the present colour bar springs from the very rapidity with which untutored Africans have in practice and without formal training learned to do semi-skilled work. The Africans are coming to regard the present situation as intolerable. And no wonder! Is there any other country in the world where the Government allows employers to import skilled white men while itself doing nothing to train the indigenous people to do skilled work?

In South Africa there has long been a rigid colour bar on the gold mines of the Rand. As a South African, I have protested against this law and tried to get it relaxed.

South African policy is often severely criticised in the British

Press and my country's name has become notorious for its bad racial policies.

But the colour bar in the British copper mines is much the same in its effects as the colour bar on the South African gold mines. The main difference is that it is not so well entrenched and could more easily be relaxed without disturbing the whole economy of the colony.

When the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. George Hall, was asked in the House of Commons on March 12, 1941, whether the British Government "would throw the whole of its weight against the practice of the colour bar in the copper belt," he replied:—

"I think it necessary to make it quite clear that the Colonial Office and the Government do not stand for the colour bar either in this country or in any of the colonies."

Yet the colour bar remains in the copper belt under British rule.



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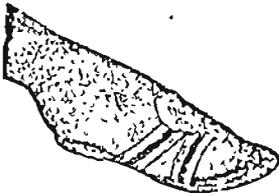
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## GROUP AREAS PLAN FOR JOHANNESBURG

ALTHOUGH the extended time limit for presenting the Government with Johannesburg's group areas plan expires at the end of this month, so many differences of opinion exist even among city councillors, states 'The Star,' that when the scheme is placed before the City Council on May 26 it is likely to have a stormy passage.

The biggest problem is the allocation of suitable areas to Asiatics. The original intention to set aside Pageview (largely the old Malay Location) as one of the localities for Asiatic occupation hangs in the balance.

Objections have been raised by a number of European interests, and the non-European Affairs Committee has been asked to meet a deputation this week.

Some Europeans consider that there ought to be an extensive buffer zone between Pageview and adjacent European-occupied localities, notably part of Mayfair. Other European interests consider that the whole of Pageview ought to be cleared of non-European occupants.

Even if the City Council finally agrees on a plan it is possible that it may not receive the approval of the Government. The plan still tentative at present, has first to meet with approval from the Non-European Affairs Committee, then the General Purposes Committee and after that it comes before the City Council.

It then goes to the special committee set up under the Minister of the Interior, then to the Minister of Native Affairs and from him to the Land Tenure Advisory Board for investigation and report before the scheme is finally promulgated.

The right of ownership of property by Indians in the old Malay Location dates back to the early days of Johannesburg, and in the event of Pageview being designated for Asiatic occupation the City Council would feel itself committed to pressing for the grant of freehold tenure to Asiatics and Malays.

But for the past couple of years the Government have refused to grant permission to Asiatics to acquire ownership in this locality. In some quarters this is considered an indication that the Government have plans about the future of this township.

It is estimated that there are today 18,000 Indians in Johanne-

sburg, and if the original plans of the city authorities to demarcate this an Asiatic locality have to be set aside the problem arises where the Asiatics are to be accommodated. Hundreds of Indian families are already under notice to vacate premises they now occupy in other localities and do not know where to go.

A private township for Asiatics has been established on land immediately east of Leoz railway station. It is outside the city limits but it would be inadequate to cater for any mass removal of Indians from, say, Pageview.

Details of the tentative scheme considered by the Non-European Affairs Committee were published in the 'Star'

## MR. NEHRU OUTLINES INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

IN response to a Communist request in the Lower House of Parliament in New Delhi last Friday, that he should outline his foreign policy before he left for London to attend the Coronation, Prime Minister Mr. Nehru made a major foreign policy statement.

Listening in the galleries were the senior members of nearly every Diplomatic Mission in New Delhi. They included Sir Alexander Clutterbuck, the British High Commissioner, and Mr. George Allen, the new American Ambassador.

Mr. Nehru welcomed Sir Winston's proposal for a conference of the leaders of the world powers at an early date, and added: "I would earnestly commend this suggestion."

He said he noted President Eisenhower was not opposed to such a conference, but had said the time for it was not ripe.

Mr. Nehru said he felt a solution of the Korean problem was more likely to be found on the basis of the United Nations resolution and the Chinese eight-point proposals, than on the latest United Nations counter-proposals which, he said, diverged considerably from the United Nations resolution.

Mr. Nehru said India had been mentioned in some of the Korean proposals for undertaking various responsibilities.

"We are reluctant to assume any distant responsibilities," he said, "but if agreement is arrived at between the parties concerned and the task suggested for us is within our competence,

recently in terms of that scheme the following displacements of population from the areas they now occupy would become necessary:

From Newtown: 509 Europeans, 55 Coloured people and Asiatics, 973 Natives.

From Fordsburg-Burghersdorp: 195 Europeans, 880 Coloured people and Asiatics and 228 Natives.

From Ferreira'sdorp (intended for Chinese occupation): 97 Europeans, 913 Coloured people and Asiatics and 266 Natives.

From Pageview (which is undecided at present): 11 Europeans, 2,331 Coloured people and 2,885 Natives.

The proposals in relation to the future of Burghersdorp, although incorporated in the figures mentioned, are also uncertain at this stage.

and not opposed to any policy that we pursue, we do not wish to escape that responsibility.

Mr. Nehru said the cold war had somewhat toned down.

He was cheered when he said there had been a marked improvement in the relations between India and Pakistan. He said he would do everything he could to dispel the clouds which had darkened the horizon of the two countries.

Turning to Africa, he said he hoped the violence there would cease. The whole continent of Africa was in a process of dynamic change and eruption and racial policy in South and other parts of Africa had come into conflict with the rising nationalism and consciousness of the African nations.

"Unfortunately, there has been a great deal of violence on all sides, and repression which has brought misery to vast numbers of people.

"No solution of the African problem can be based on racial discrimination or on suppression of the African people, who have suffered so terribly for centuries past and who must command our sympathy.

"I earnestly hope that the methods of violence will cease there, for this can only bring misery to all concerned."

Mr. Nehru said it was a misfortune that India's relations with Pakistan had been strained during the past five or six years. During recent weeks there had been a marked improvement in these relations, with many friendly gestures

from Pakistan which India reciprocated.

Mr. Nehru made his statement just before the House of the People adjourned at the end of the Budget session. He later repeated the same statement in the Council of States (Upper House) and was again loudly cheered.

At the end of his statement in the Council of States, the Deputy Leader of the Communist Party, Mr. Hupesh Gupta expressed "general appreciation" of the speech.

"We hope the Prime Minister will give full and courageous expression to the deepest urges of the Indian people for the establishment of world peace now that new possibilities have opened," he said.—Sapa Reuter.

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## BANARAS BROCADES

By C. V. VISWANATH

TWO almost entirely unrelated ideas occur to every Indian when the name of Banaras is mentioned—the holiness of the place and the beautiful brocades that have borne the stamp of speciality through the ages. These two attributes of the holy city have not faded with the passage of time.

As in the past, so at present also, there could hardly be a better choice of a fitting present for important occasions than a Banaras brocade—the latest instance was the presentation of such brocades by the President of the Indian Union to the Maharaja of the Himalayan domain of Bhutan at the latter's installation as Ruler.

The sight of a silk sari with designs woven with gold thread raises visions of a cavalcade of historic pageantry beginning with the epic ages. The fame of the Banaras silk and brocades has spread not only to the four corners of India through the increasing stream of pilgrims through countless centuries, but also to distant lands, so much so that they formed an important item of merchandise even in days when men crossed the seven seas in wind-jammers. The New World also took a great fancy to them and there has been a sizeable export trade in the Banaras silks and brocades. Small wonder, because their bright hues as well as intricate and attractive designs are such as to focus feminine fancy in whatever climate or civilization. The Banaras weaver's skill was and still is unsurpassed in creating these works of art.

Before World War II, the annual output of the Banaras product was valued at 100 million rupees. About 100,000 weavers and about 10,000 tradesmen are devoted solely to the Banaras silk and brocade industry which employs about 30,000 looms, most of which are throw-shuttles. Although mainly concentrated in the holy city itself, the industry is pursued in some of the neighbouring districts also, but all the products are brought to Banaras and sold to the merchants there. The silk weavers of Banaras manufacture "kinkhaba," saris, shoe brocades, scarves, "dupattas," "pitambari," sari borders, "chaddars" and "rossi" silk.

Investigations conducted recently by the Uttar Pradesh State into the present state of this large-scale cottage industry showed that the annual out-

put of silk yarn would be about 300,000 lbs, worth about 10 million rupees. The gold thread used, would come to another 10 million rupees' worth.

## Raw Materials

The chief raw materials used are silk and organzine, gold and silver thread, art silk, cotton twist and dyes. Mysore, Bangalore, Murehidabad and Jammu and Kashmir, within the country, and Japan, China and Italy, among foreign countries, are the chief sources of supply of silk yarn. Supplies from abroad were absent during the last war, and the industry had to turn more to internal supplies, which, however, were and are not considered sufficient to meet the demand. Although about 600,000 cultivators are engaged in the silk industry in Mysore and the quality of the yarn turned out there is good, 60 to 70 per cent. of the yarn production is used up in the fast developing silk weaving industry in that state itself. The yarn made at Murehidabad is unsuitable for Banaras saris. The silk produced in Jammu and Kashmir State is considered good, but there also the extensive and developing weaving industry takes up most of the yarn produced.

Weavers at Banaras obtain their yarn requirements through dealers who supply the material on cash terms. Credit is also allowed, but at higher rates, and there are no co-operatives in the line.

Till the first world war, gold and silver thread used to be imported from France, but that industry has since been started in Banaras itself and developed. Surat, in Bombay State, has, however, outstripped Banaras in the gold and silver thread industry and monopolised the trade in Madras and Banaras.

The abnormal rise in the price of gold has resulted in restricting the output of pure plated gold thread. Sulphur coloured thread is being used sometimes as a substitute. Imitation or brass thread is, however, not used for Banaras textiles.

The dyes used are direct and basic because of their brightness and also because they help to maintain the natural gloss of raw silk. Again, expensive, saris are not mass produced, but each made in different colours. Since it would be quite expensive to make a separate warp for each sari, different pieces on the same

warp are brush-painted in various colours.

## Manufacturing Organisation

The Manufacturing organisation of the sari and brocade industry consists of independent weavers, manufacturers-merchants and brokers. The independent weaver works in his own home with the help of members of his family and purchases his own requirements of yarn, lace and dyes. He sells the product either direct to a merchant or through a broker. About 75 per cent. of those engaged in the industry belong to this class.

The weavers have not taken kindly to co-operatives in the past, because of the complicated marketing system built up by the middle-men, but the idea is catching up.

While the value of the annual consumption of Banaras saris and brocades within the country is placed around 40 million rupees at present, the export trade in these articles is estimated at five million rupees. The exports are mainly to Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, Singapore, Egypt and Fiji, while scarves and shoe brocades are sent to U.K. and U.S.A. Foreign tourists visiting India also make large purchases, with the growing popularity of the sari in many countries of Europe and America.

So far as the international market is concerned, it is recognised that Banaras silks and brocades have been luxury articles. They have been used for decorative canopies and tapestry in princely palaces and mansions, special umbrellas used in temples and as regal symbols and costly dresses for idols in places of worship. They also form part of family heirlooms as well as wardrobes in current use. No dancing troupe or dramatic company's collection of costumes is complete without them, nor a well-to-do bride's trousseau. — India Information Service.

## IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA

(NATAL PROVINCIAL DIVISION)

Pietermaritzburg: Tuesday the 12th day of May, of 1953 before the Honourable Mr. Justice Shaw.

In the matter of: an application by the Trustees of the Bai Jorbal Rustumjee Trust for leave to borrow a sum of £12,000 upon mortgage of immovable property.

Upon the motion of Mr. O. A. Craft Levy, Counsel for Applications and upon reading the documents filed of record

## IT IS ORDERED

That a Rule Nisi do issue calling upon all persons concerned to show cause, if any, in this Court on Tuesday, the 26th day of May, 1953, why an order in the following terms shall not be granted, to wit:—

1. That the Trustees of the BAI JORBAL RUSTUMJEE TRUST be, and they are hereby authorised

(a) by a single transaction or a series of transactions, to borrow within three years from the date hereof monies to a total amount not exceeding twelve thousand pounds (£12,000) plus a further total amount not exceeding one thousand pounds (£1,000) for contingent costs or outlays, provided that interest on any monies so borrowed shall not be at a higher rate than seven per cent (7 per cent) per annum.

(b) as security for any monies borrowed as aforesaid, to pass a mortgage bond or mortgage bonds over that piece of land known as Lot 22 AA City and County of Durban, Province of Natal, in extent 27 perches 1.49.25 square feet, provided that any such mortgage bond or mortgage bonds shall contain a clause requiring the Trustees to establish a sinking fund for the redemption of the Bond and to deposit therein regularly a fixed annual or monthly sum to be arranged with and approved by the Master, with power to the Master to vary the fixed sum should he consider circumstances so warrant.

2. That the Registrar of Deeds for the Province of Natal be, and he hereby is, authorised to register any mortgage bond or mortgage bonds passed as aforesaid.

3. That the costs of this application be paid from funds of the said Trust.

## IT IS FURTHER ORDERED

That publication of this rule be effected within one week in two issues of one English and one issue of each of the two Indian newspapers circulating in Durban.

By Order of The Court,  
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## AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

## YOUTH IN OUR STRUGGLE

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

A FEW weeks ago I received a short letter from an Indian young man in which he asked me to write an article outlining what I consider Youth's function in the present struggle.

The greatest need of the moment is tolerance. The greatest contribution the younger generation can make to hasten the advent of the day when we shall all be free is to cultivate an outlook on life which finds joy in the variety of Man's cultures, attitudes, races, languages and political loyalties. To a balanced man this variety makes life the rich and precious experience that it is.

We have to learn that the white young man is not an enemy just because he happens to have been born with a white skin. We have to realise that he has as much right to live and prosper as anybody else. And, which is much more difficult, we have to be ready at the same time to make allowance for the circumstances of history which have made him imagine that the world belongs to him and his ancestors. Unless we are prepared to put ourselves in his position and from there start on the path of the truth as we see it, we are not likely to solve the racial question.

This applies to African and Indian Youth in its attitude to the white people. There is quite a lot of this tolerance needed as between the Indian and the African.

On the African side, Youth has to know two things about the Indian—first, his very rich store of culture and, secondly, the fact that he is a minority group. It is ever so easy for the African to dismiss the Indian contemptuously as a pusillanimous double-dealer. Men are not stereotypes. The human personality is a marvel of creation; it grows continuously and in this process gathers new experiences and reveals new beauties which lie hidden within it. Judged by this standard, that is, the flowering of the human personality, India's performance is such that she is nobody's inferior—and has been that for thousands of years.

He who has the civilised man's regard for the human personality will tremble with awe when face to face with what India has done, during the last four or five thousand years, for human refinement.

He will treat with respect and admiration a people which has done so much to conquer the primeval environment of the jungle. The balanced man does not lose anything by acknowledging freely the virtues and attainments of the other men.

It is perhaps very difficult for the African to appreciate India's contribution to human culture because the Indian who has made his home in South Africa is as poor an ambassador of India as the Malanites are poor representatives of Western civilisation. The local Indian has been cut off from the great movements in India which made the country discover its real place among the nations of the world for so long that he has lost contact with the true spirit of India. Where India is the champion of human freedom everywhere, the local Indian very often appears handicapped by attitudes acquired in a colonialist environment.

African Youth has to discern between India and people of Indian descent in this country and, in doing that remember always that the Indians here are a minority group. Minority groups everywhere are a frustrated people, except where they are free to lead their own lives within larger communities. If the Indian has been rather slow in accustoming himself to the accomplished fact of African nationhood, it is simply because he has grown amidst circumstances where the whiteman laid down the law and nobody said: "No." It is only within the last ten to fifteen years that we as a race have organised ourselves in a way to look the whiteman in the face. It is only in that period that we have shown our own strength. If the Indian takes his time in accustoming himself to this change, we must remember that he might feel he has no real guarantee that we shall treat him better than the whiteman.

We come to Indian Youth. The younger generation in this community can base its own relations with the African on happier foundations by acknowledging freely the fact that the African is as good or as bad a human being as any Indian. With the Indian's better economic position, it is so easy to look down on the African; to dream nostalgically of In-

dia's great culture, which is hardly understood by the local Indian. But the Indian who comes with these airs to the African is a fool. He only brings nearer the day of his ruin. You do not make friends with your neighbour by despising him—in your house, in your cinemas, in your stores or anywhere else. In fact, to use the language of commerce, to do that is bad business. I like Pandit Nehru's advice to the local Indian—that he should regard himself as the guest of the African. A guest you welcome in your house is one who treats you with respect and appreciates your hospitality. If the Indian can convince us that he is such a guest his future here is as secure as it can be.

Youth, in particular, can bring about this state of affairs, largely through the schools. And one notes with joy the attitude of Indian pupils—at least in urban schools—is noticeably different from what it was only ten years ago. That is a beginning in the right direction and let us see Youth encouraging this healthy development. On both the African and Indian sides we must build up an attitude of mutual respect and friendship in our schools. If the children are told the good things about the other side, they will not grow up in fear and hatred. In this task the Indian teacher can be very greatly helped by Indian Youth. It has been done on the African side.

We next come to political goals. Here, I think Youth is called upon to lay its services entirely at the disposal of the African and Indian Congresses—depending on the race of each individual young man or woman. Non-European young men, in particular the Indian, are not pulling their weight in their national organisations. I want to see alert young men and women with a keen political sense and who know what they want from A to Z. We have young men and women who will make it their life's purpose to sacrifice their lives to assert the dignity of the man of colour in this country. Of what value is your money or name if you can be kicked on the pants by a whiteman just because you happen to have a dark skin? Youth must have within a burning determination to give its life itself, if need be, to bring the day nearer when these things shall never again happen in this country.

Young men and women need to have the courage of their

convictions and must not be afraid to think independently. To do this makes one very unpopular sometimes. But the greatest joy in life is to be able to speak your mind freely, no matter who says what. Non-White Youth needs to learn to do that.

But politics is not life. It is only one department in the great intercourse between human beings which we call life. I think our goal at all times should be to make the Indian and the African share as much of a common life as possible. I do not want the Indian to abandon his own religious and cultural background; nor do I want the African proselytised. I do want to see each treating the other as a human being. I want to see friendship clubs set up to make it possible for increasing numbers of African young people to cultivate friendship with Indian Youth.

I look forward to the day when we shall all be South Africans; when it will no longer be necessary for us to know ourselves as Africans, Indians, Coloureds, Englishmen, Jews or Afrikaners,—when we shall have forgotten race and shall know only that we are South Africans. The road to that goal is hard and fraught with heartbreaking disappointments. But the goal is so noble that it is worth every sacrifice that young men or women of all races can make. This, it means to me, is the real function of the Youth in South Africa to-day.

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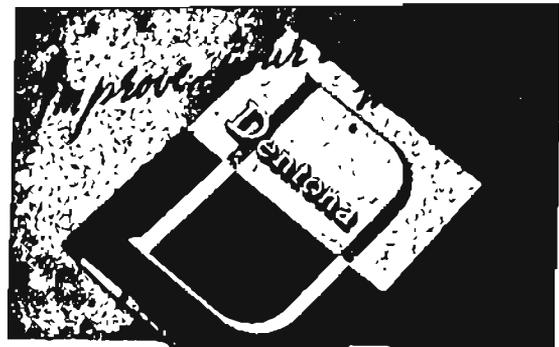
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