His heart was as great as the world, but there was no room in it to hold the memory of a wrong.

-Emerson.

INDIAN OPINIO

Founded by Mahalma Gandhi in 1903

Former Editor: Mantlal Gandhi-1918-1956

He loves with purity considers not the gift of the lover, but the love of the giver.

-Thomas a Kempis.

No. 20-Vol. LV.

Friday, 24th May, 1957

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NEHRU ON PROBLEMS FACING AFRICA

HE Indian Prime Minister, Mt. Nehru said that have not yet found a new he had no doubt that the countries of Africa would emerge in freedom as some of them had already done.

In a message of good wishes to the Fifth Annual Conserence of the African Students Association (India) held at Kharagpur, Mr. Nehru said that as free countries, they would have to face different sets of problems than they did today and these problems would be difficult. It was of great importance, therefore, that young Africans should train themselves now to be able to shoulder those burdens and responsibilities of freedom later.

view that I have particularly African students to India for various kinds of training," he added.

The following is the text of the message: "I send my good wishes to the Conference of the African Students Association of India, which is going to be held at Kharagpur. It has been a great pleasure to me to welcome in India a number of students from Africa for higher education. Africa today is going through the travail of a new birth. This is both a painful and an exhilarating experience. Every individual and every country has to pay the price of freedom and growth. I have no doubt that the countries of Africa will emerge in freedom, as some have already done. As free countries, they will have to face a different set of problems than they have to do today; and these problems will be difficult. It is of great importance, therefore, that young Africans should out of the old ways and

"It is from this point of train themselves now so as to be able to shoulder these welcomed the coming of burdens and responsibilities of freedom later. It is from this point of view that I have particularly welcomed the coming of African Students to India for various kinds of training.

Many Difficulties

They will receive this in our various institutes of higher training. But, there is something which is not easily taught in books or lectures, and yet which is very important for those who aim high and who may have to shoulder great responsibilities. I do not know how far India will help them to acquire this strengthening of the moral fibre, intellectual integrity and a vision which looks ahead beyond the difficulties of the moment. We ourselves, in India, are facing many difficulties, and our young men and women are often a little frustrated or in doubt. In this age of transition and change, when all of us have been pulled

equilibrium, these doubts are not surprising. Yet, unless we find some anchor within ourselves, we cannot achieve great things.

In India today, much is being done. But, I imagine that, perhaps, something of

the greatest interest to our African friends will be the community development movement here. I am glad to know that at the Conference in Kharagpur, the subject of the community development is going to be specially discussed.

LIBERAL LEADERS QUOTED AT TREASON TRIALS

"2.35 p.m.: Alan Paton arrives in car N.P.N. 1782." These were part of the notes made at Riverside Durban by Detective Sergeant P. C. Swanepoel, of the Security Branch, Durban who gave evidence at the Treason Inquiry, Drill Hall, Johannesburg, in connection with a meeting held by the Natal Vigilance Committee.

Sergeant Swanepoel was among the Crown witnesses from Durban who referred to the presence of members of the Liberal Party at various meetings held in Natal and attended by the Security Police.

Giving evidence of a raid carried out by the Police on 15th August, 1954 on an Indian School at Frasers on the North Coast, Sergeant Swanepoel said that among those present at the meeting were Professor Leo Kuper, Miss Violain Juned and Advocate I. Unterhalter.

An Unknown European Female

Detective Sergeant P. Zulu referred to the presence of an "unknown Euro-

pean female" (recorded in his notes as "Mrs.?" in his notes) at a meeting held at the Bantu Social Centre on 26th May, 1956 to protest against passes for women. He said that this person represented the Liberal Party and was recorded by hin as having said as follows:

"I have brought this message to you from my organisation with regard to this pass question and other oppressive legislation, has come to our notice that African women who come to cities to seek work to support their children are to suffer at the hands of the police.

(Continued on page _2. 1

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 24TH MAY, 1957

Split-Personality Opposition To Apartheid

CCORDING to Press reports a hundred White citizens met at Ixopo last week and brought into being an organisation they styled the Natal Torch and Voters Association to "organise Natal voters, loyal to the Act of Union, solidly behind their Christian civic responsibility to all loyalist members of the Natal family under the Crown." Committees would be set up to constitute a "democratic authority capable of calling a regional convention representative of all the areas and races."

Speaking at this meeting, Col. C. W. Wood, apparently one of its brighter lights, stated that it was time the South Africans "came together on a policy of absolute resistance to the present Government until Afrikaner and Briton could work and live together on a 50-50 basis........"

Incredible Confusion

There is clearly solid determination behind all this to rid the Union of the evil of apartheid. Unfortunately for this country, it is a determination which springs from an incredible confusion of noble sentiments with simple unrealism and outright bigotry.

Because the issues at stake are so vital for people on both sides of the colour line it is the duty of all to see that straight thinking is introduced into the confused picture painted above. The policy of absolute resistance to apartheid is magnificent and noble; it now remains the only condition of survival for democracy and the decent conduct of public affairs:

No Combination

Its absoluteness, however, depends on certain realities which the Association seems in mood to ignore. One of these is that there is not a single force and no combination of forces on the White side with the potential to destroy apartheid at the moment. The "Natal voters, loyal to the Act of Union" together with "all loyalist members of the Natal family" are an incredibly small minority even in the province itself: For them to imagine that they can break apartheid's back is a form of blindness to reality which can be taken seriously only in a country like South Africa.

But to state, in all seriousness, that "all...races would be invited to a regional convention where the African, the Coloured and the Indian-would dutifully help the "Afrikaner and Briton (to) work and live together on a 50-50 basis" has about it a touch of innocent naivete which makes Strijdom's trampling of the Union Jack in mud hardly surprising.

No Breadcrumbs

The plain facts which must be faced are that the non-European wants no breadcrumbs from the Afri-Raner-Briton table; that he was not a party to the Act of Union and that numerically he has the potential to crush apartheid singlehanded, if forced by people like the Association under discussion, to that extreme. If he were free to influence events in the direction of his own choice he would prefer a broad front of all anti-apartheid forces, regardless of race, colour or creed. For him resistance can be absolute only if it takes this form.

Mention of "civic responsibility to all loyolist members of the Natal family under the Crown" has undertones of a form of racial bigotry which the Indian, the African and the Coloured dread with the horror they have for apartheid.

We repeat: The idea of an all-in front, uniting all races and pledged to crush apartheid; to set up a democratic society and to uphold the Commonwealth connection is as magnificent as it is product of straight thinking. On the other hand talk of Natal voters, loyalty to the Act of Union, loyalists, has in it features of split-personality thinking on the race problem which, at best, can only have the effect of undermining non-European confidence in the real aims of the Association.

Naked Deception On Bantu Education

HE government has changed its tactics in boosting Bantu Education. The new line is to hold it forth as better than what the European child gets. This is designed more for overseas consumption than for the local White supremacist. People listen better in America and Europe if you talk in tones to emphasise the paramountry of African interests in Africa. With Welensky boasting of £26,000,000 for the Federation while our own Apartheid geniuses of all kinds limp home with a miserly £1,000,000 in the form of foreign capital, Louw, Verwoerd and Strijdom feel it is time they spoke to the West in language it understands.

We should not be unduly worried by this piece of governmental deception. People in the West know what goes into making a good educational system. They know that syllabi by themselves don't tell the whole story. The soundness af a system today is dedetermined, not only by the amount of knowledge it pumps into a child's head, but also by the extent to which it develops his faculties; adapts him to the needs of fruitful living and the degree of efficiency it is able to procure from the teachers.

Verwoerd imagines, that talk of the syllabus alone, is enough bait. Let him please himself. The more he does it; the more he exposes the absolute wickedness of apartheid. Who, in their senses, can believe a race supremacist when he says he gives to the African child an education which will give him superior ability to what his own child will get from White education?

(Continued on next page)

Liberal Leaders Quoted At-Treason Trial

(Continued from front page)

Motor Car Licence

"I may mention that I have one pass to carry, that is my driver's licence. Had I been an African I would be carrying more than one pass. It would be a bad thing to put a woman in jail, children not told that mother is in jail. If women have to be jailed therefore, any jail has no work to do, for all jails are there for wrongdoers. So I end my telling you that my organisation is with you in this struggle."

Alan Paton's Speech

Sgt. P. G. Swanepoel read out the notes he had made of a speech delivered by Mr. Alan Paton at the Tanjore Indian School, Riverside, Durban on November, 1956 at a meeting held under the auspices of the Natal Vigilance Committee.

Mr. Paton was recorded as having said that the Group Areas Act was one of the most evil pieces of legislation ever passed and that his organisation was opposed to it.

Unity With White

"It is because I am a Christian," Mr. Paton was alleged to have added, "that I am standing here before you fighting the Group Areas Act. I say there must be unity with the white white people also. They are going to suffer spiritual sins for what is going on in this country today.

"I am concerned about the future of the children standing here today. The Technical Sub-Committee of the Group Areas. Act has recommended that all these areas where we are standing today are going to be European areas.

Evil Purpose

"The purpose of the Group Areas Act is an evil purpose. The Government first appointed a committee before the passing of the Group Areas Act. Their report said that there appears to be an ever growing demand for the repatriation of the Indians.

"If one day some of us have to answer before a higher tribunal for our sins on this earth, then the members of this particular committee will certainly have a lot to answer for... We are not fighting the Group Areas Act; we are fighting the whole idea that you can make out special treatment to anyone on account of his colour."

Mr. Hill's Speech

Mr. C. K. Hill was also reported as having addressed the meeting and as having inter alia said: "The Group Areas Act will have the effect of ruining the Indian, African and Coloured people economically."

Professor Leo Kuper

Professor Leo Kuper was, according to Sergeant Swanepoel, one of the speakers at the meeting called at the Kajee Memorial Hall, Durban on 14th August, 1954, to protest against the Western Areas Removal Scheme. Speeches made at the meeting were taken down by a short hand expert, a Mr. Marshall, who has

not yet been called by the Crown.

Head Constable W. B. Truter said that he attended a meeting at the Gandhi Hall, Lorne Street, Durban, at which Professor Leo Kuper was one of the speakers. According to the notes he made, Professor Kuper, inter alia, said: "We of the Liberal Party object on principle to the Western Areas Removal Scheme. We object to people being compelled to be removed. We say that people should not be used as chattels to be removed against their will.

We Object

"We object to the taking away of established rights. The people of Western Areas have lived there for many years. Some own properties there and freehold rights. Therefore we say nobody should be compelled to leave his property.

"We also say that the policy of apartheid is wrong. According

to this policy the Africans should have no rights in the cities. This we say is wrong,

Apartheid 'Sacred'

"The Government regard apartheid as something sacred. Orders must be carried out or else the full force of the Government is brought to bear on those who refuse to carry out these orders. Public meetings are banned so that no criticism could be levelled against the Government's actions. These are marks towards a totalitarian trend. This is the trend we object to.

"I also do not believe Rev. T. Huddleston said the words attributed to him by the Minister of Justice.

"The Liberal Party therefore objects to the destruction of settled communities; the taking away of existing rights; the policy of apartheid which denies people the right of place in cities."

GAMDHIJI— The Story Of His Life

LOVE OF SERVICE

CHAPTER XI

GANDHIJI now took up his old life again. He was busier than ever. In addition to his work as a successful barrister, there was much to be done for his countrymen. The Government had begun making new laws to make life difficult for Indians and to prevent them from prospering, and Gandhiji had to struggle more than ever before.

There was also the education of his little boys to see about. As there were no Indian schools in South Africa, and he did not want his children to go to a Ruropean school and forget their mother tongue, he decided to teach them himself. He always talked to the little boys in Gujerati and he gave them their lessons in Gujerati, too. Though all this meant much extra work for the busy young father, he undertook it gladly.

One day a poor leper came to Gandhiji's door, begging for food. Most people would have driven him away in horror, but Gandhiji could be not unkind to anybody, least of all to a poor leper. He gave the man food, bandaged his terrible wounds and took him to the house for a rest before removing him to the hospital. This kindness came from

the great love of the sick that had always been in his heart ever since he was a little boy. He had never lost his longing to be a doctor, either. But since that was impossible now, without long years of further study, he wanted at least to do some service for the

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Mrs. Gertrude Murray-Correa

sick, however small. So he began to go daily to a free hospital kept by a Christian Missionary. There he offered his services for two hours a day, preparing and giving out medicines in the dispensary.

Most of the patients were very poor Indian. labourers and Gandhiji was very happy to have this further chance of serving his own people.

As time passed, two more little boys were born to Kasturba. The first two sons had been named Harilal (beloved of Hari) and Manilal (precious stone). These are the kind of names that come naturally to parents' minds when they think of their darling children. But now Gandhiji's whole mind was filled with the thought that our duty in this world is to serve others. This made him very careful in choosing

the names of his last two sons. He knew that names are very important in our lives. A man whose name has a beautiful or holy meaning will surely feel obliged to live up to it. So Gandhiji called his third son Ramdas, or the servant of Ram, and the fourth son, Devadas, or the servant of God.

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(To be continued)

Naked Deception On Bantu Education

(Continued from previous page)

And, what is significant, the experts the Department of Native Affairs quotes as praising the system are conveniently anonymous. Let Verwoerd carry on. The more he does it, the more people will be convinced that Bantu Education prepares the African child for slavery. We have always suspected that the Minister of Native Affairs was not as clever as the Naziboeties thought he was,

Press Reporter Did Work

For Police

JOHANNESBURG.

THE Crown has decided to lead the evidence of the expert witnesses at the Treason Inquiry. At the request of the defence the hearing will be adjourned on the 29th May and will be resumed on 24th June, when the experts will be cross-examined by defence counsel.

Evidence at the Drill Hall is being led on spreches made by Congress leaders in Natai, some of them deal with individuals who are not among the 156 facing the Treason charge. Members of the Security Branch of the Police from Durbin have been giving evidence.

Besides evidence given by members of the Security Branch from Natal, evidence was also given by Mr. I. Linguage, a press reporter, of ameeting held at the Bantu Social Centre, Durban on 12th June 1956. Under cross-eximination he sta ed that at the time he made the notes he was on the staff of the 'Natal Daily Nims' and that he had sent a cipy of the record to the Security Branch of the Police.

Captain Lamprecht

Mr Language said that he had taken the notes at the request of Captain Lamprecht, the head of the Security, Branch in Durban and that he had received payments from the police for his work. His employers had not been informed by him of this fact; but he said that his employers knew that Le did part-time short hand recording for people o.her than his employers. He' had been a part-time short hand writer at the Supreme Court and the Regional Court, and was now employed by the "Pretoria News," also a paper belonging to the Argus group.

Among the speeches recorded by Mr. Linguage verbatim in short hand were the speeches of Dr. M. H. Motala, Dr. W. Z. Conco; Messrs, Errol Shanley and Robert Resha.

Non-Violence

Many of the Natal speeches emphasised the policy of non-violence and rucial harmony and two crown witnesses admitted under cross-examination that they had repeatedly heard this at Congress meetings.

Dr. Motala's Speech

One of the longest speeches recorded from Natal was one given by Dr. M. M. Motala dealing with the Congress of the People and the Freedom CharterThis was one of the speeches recorded verbatim by Mr. Language and was alleged to have been delivered at the Bantu Social Centre Durban on 12th June, 1955.

According to Mr. Language Dr. Motala said that the Freedom Charter would determine once and for all the rights and privileges not only of people belonging to any one colour, but people belonging to every race, colour and creed in South Africa.

The Vote

Dr. Motala was reported to have said that it did not require much evidence in order to be able to show to the people that every disability—whether it was poverty or hunger, starvation or question of disease or housing—flowed from one Act, the South Africa Act, which virtually made the non-European people of South Africa impotent by virtue of the fact that they were denied the vote in the land of their birth.

"There are today in South Africa, Dr. Motala was reported as having said, "a number of people, white and non-white who claim to be friends of the liberation movement, who claim to be friends of the Congresses, but nevertheless are apt to advance theories of constraint on the question of the vote. There are some people who say they (the non-Europeans) are not ready, not ripe, not sufficiently mature to enjoy franchise, unqualified franchise, in Sauth Africa.

Not Friends

"I want to warn you that these prople cannot be considered as friends of our movement. We must see them in the light in which they take their stand. So far as I am concerned I have no doubts whatsoever that every genuine friend of the struggle of of the non Europeans will stand on this platform for the demand of the complete and unqualified franchise."

Dr. Motala paid tribute to the work of the Congress of Democrats, of Father Huddleston, Canon Collins and the Rev. Michael Scott and referred to facts and figures from the Union Year Book showing the disabilities under which the non-European people of the Union suffered. "We find a most barbarous, a most ruthless kind of exploitation that is to be found anywhere in the world."

The Change

Dr. Motala according to Mr. Language added: "Now the all important question arises: "Who is going to change the state of affairs?" Well, I must say that this is not a condition that is unique to South Africa itself . The people of Asia and throughout the world suffered under similar conditions only as recently as ten years, ago. But those days so far as India, so far as Pakistan, Burma, China and a number of other countries, not excluding the Gold Coast is concerned-those things are things of the past now.

"And who was it that brought this change about in those particular countries? The peoples themselves. That is the answer and I want every single person in this hall to be convinced on this point, otherwise we don't get any further than where we are. We must be convinced that the power

of disturbing the status quo, the power to change the type of society, lies within ourselves."

Sacrifice

Dr. Motala was reported as having sold that no people in the history of the world had attained their freedom without sacrifice and the people of South Africa were no exception. He referred to the Bandoeng Conference and said that the non-European people were not alone in their struggle.

The Freedom Charter gave the lie to the contention that the non-European people desired to establish a Black Republic in South Africa.

The Surat Hindoo Mayawant Association Of South Africa

, Special Notice

Please take notice that the Annual General Meeting of the above Association will be held on;

Friday, 31st May, 1957 at 145 Prince Edward Street, Durban—at 10 a.m. sharp. All members are earnestly requested to attend

Agenda:

1. Minutes, 2. Treasurer's Report. 3. To read and confirm Constitution 4 Election of Trustees. 5, Election of Officials, 6, General.

Hon, President: G. Metha. Hon, Secretary: N. Bhagwan,



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The Indian Mutiny 1857—III

THAT this thought could even be entertained shows how far the mutual trust between British and Indian had deteriorated since the great days, scarcely a generation earlier, of Munro, Elphinstone, Metcalfe. By the fifties there had been a hardening of the religious arteries among both civil and military. The wise and tolerant attitude of the "golden age" had been replaced by evangelical fervour and and dogmatic certainty, fired by devotion to an Old Testament deity whose might was right. The Lawrences, Nicholsons and their famous colleagues were titians indeed in any age, but they lacked the intellectual resilience and broad bumanity of their predecessors. They were too certain of their

AIBIBIBIBIBIBIBALIBIBIBIBIBIBI C. W. M. GELL

righteousness and the superiority of their own brand of Christianity. This, while a part cause of the Mutiny for it existed equally among the military officers, helped them to suppress it ruthlessly and partly, at least, accounted for the ferocious vengeance they exacted. At the same time the greater numbers of English women joining husbands in India still further severed the close social relations of an earlier age, superimposed the ridiculous petty snobberies of the Victorian middle-class drawing-room on a society aiready too stratified, and made Englishmen much more touchy about "insults" to their women folk and vindictive in avenging them. Aloofness and social exclusiveness have been among the most consistent corrosives in the collapse of the British Empire.

In the horrors that followed during the actual Mutiny there was still much to admire on both sides, selfless heroism, generosity or loyalties to commanders or commanded that counted not the cost and often paid it in full agony, innumerable small brave actions (perhaps only the giving of water to 'a British refugee woman or some attampt to stand for reason or decency against the prevailing passions, to insist on fair trial for proven offences instead of out-of-hand extermination). There was the Viceroy, Lord Canning, who was widely reviled as "Clemency Canning" by the British for "weakness" in refusing to sanction (though he

processes of punishment during the suppression and wholesale judicial revenge when it was all over. There was the heroic Rani of Jhansi who, though she fought without quarter and spared few, was eventually killed (as few male Indian leaders were) fighting at the head of her troops in a man's attire. Today she has become India's Joan of Arc.

On the Indian side none was more despicable than the Nana Sahib, adopted son of the last legitimate Mahratta peshwa. He was responsible for the two appalling and irredeemably treacherous massacres at Cawnporefirst of the surrendered garrison and many of the women, despite a pledge of safe conduct; then of the remaining women and children just before the British columns arrived. But in the fearful retribution exacted, particularly for the second of these crimes. there is an instance of how mistaken spontaneous passion may be. For the men responsible for the second massacre were not mutinous sepoys, who refused to fire through the windows on the prisoners they were guarding, aiming instead at the roof; but butchers who were then sent in with knives.

True, mutineers were guilty of an offence punishable with death. And there were instances where immediate enforcement of the penalty on a small number, as in parts of the Punjab and northwest frontier, saved further deterioration of the situation and even greater severities later. But at Campore the recaptured men were being humiliated and punished primarily not for mutiny, of which most were guilty, but for murdering the women and children, of which most were innocent. Nor can any argument about mutiny as such justify the indiscriminate slaughter of the civil population which at Delhi and all too many other places disfigured the resumption of British

Again, much of this was caused by unfounded rumours Most careful subsequent inquiry has only revealed one actual case of outrage (as distinct from murder) against British women. But stories of rape and mutilation were widely believed. They led even the good and wish John Nicholson to "propose a Bill for the flaying alive, impalement or burning of the murderers of the women and children at Delhi. The idea of simply hanging the perpetrators of such atrocities is maddening." often could not prevent) illegal And the result in all too many

cases spilled over from summary executions into indiscriminate massacre of both mutineers and civilians. In this both British and Indian troops from elsewhere participated. "To the troops every man inside the walls of Delhi was looked upon as a rebel worthy of death," wrote Roberts. At Calcutta, far from active rebellion, double sentries had to be posted to keep British soldiers from going out at night into the bazaars to "avenge" the murders in Oudh and Rohillkand. In Bombay, nearly as far from the actual scene, troops were with difficulty prevented from fixing bayonets the moment they disembarked and killing every Indian man in sight

It is not, perhaps, a frame of mind that should especially surprise those of us who condoned

the carpet-bombing of Germany and the atom-bombing of Japan. But it is profoundly shocking nevertheless, As Woodruffe writes: "Fear of a stronger people whom they did not understand had turned in the sepoys to hatred, panic and murder. Deep hidden in English hearts too had glowed a tiny spark, never revealed or admitted, fear of a people far more numerous; that too had flamed up in uncontrollable hate when the despised and the feared rose treacherously and laid hands on English women. There were exceptions but merciless savagery on both sides became the general rule." Perhaps the most astonishing thing about the Mutiny is that it did, in fact, despite all this, leave so few abiding scar.. In that surely rather than in the atrocities both sides committed, lies something of the real nature of the British and Indian peoples.

(Concluded)

No Super-State

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU said that India was opposed to inter-state controversies being taken up at the Commonwealth Conferences, for the Commonwealth then would be converted into some sort of a "super state."

Shri Nebru was replying in the Rajya Sabha to questions about the statement of South African citizens of Indian Origin.

Replying to Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan, who had asked about the eviction of people of Indian descent from Johannesburg, the Prime Minister said that these broad questions had been repeatly raised in the U.N. and resolutions had been passed sympathising-with the protests made by India and Pakistan.

But these have had no effect on the South African Govern. ment. Recently another resolution had been passed asking the South African Government to discuss this question with the Governments of India and Paki-

So far as the Government of India is concerned-and he believed the Government of Pakistan too-it had expressed its willingness to have these talks. The U.N. Secretary General had been informed accordingly, but no dates for the talks had been

Asked whether this question will be taken up in the forth-

coming Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference, Shri Nehru said: "These questions have not been taken up there, and we have not been anxious that they should be taken up. In fact, we have not approved of the idea of questions relating to inter-state controversies being taken up in the Commonwealth Conference. We do not want to convert it into some sort of a super-state considering these problems."

Answering further questions, Shri Nehru said that the problem in South Africa was one of treatment of people who were South African citizen but of Indian origin. The South African Goverament was pursuing a deliberate policy of apartheid and people not of European descent were treated as below normal citizen-

The Civil Liberties Defence Committee announces a.....

PUBLIC MEETING

on Sunday, May 26, at 3 p.m. in the Gandhi Hall, Lorne St-Agenda:

Native Laws Amendment Bill, Group Areas Act. Speakers:

J. N. Singh, G. S. Nyembe, J. M. Didcott, R. Arenstein,

Today, of all days, the joy of giving is uppermost in every heart. The best thing to give to your enemy is forgiveness; to an opponent, tolerance; to a friend, your heart; to your child, a good example; to your father, deference; to your mother, conduct that will make her proud of you; to yourself, respect; to all men, charity; and to your loved ones?

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TOPIC OF THE WEEK.

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE. your fatherland which found

Open Letter To The Africanists—V

IN any case, there is no other them, but their points of exreasonable way out, Strij. dom is learning now that he can't just go roughshod over the minds of men as though human beings were ostriches on the farm he once had in the Cape. He is realising that he is dealing with the human mind: with the spirit of Man; with forces no tyrant has ever conquered in all history. It was because he realised this that he sat so silently during the debates on the Native Laws Amendment Bill, He is realising that you can force men along a particular route for a certain time; but that when they say they shall no longer go that way, nothing that you can do will force them to bend to your will. Because he is sfraid to follow the only way out, he shut his mouth.

If you agree with me that hope for South Africa lies only in shared power I shall ask you to consider what follows from this. You will need to see the problems which face the country from the perspective of builders and leaders of a mixed nation. I do not want the minorities to enjoy unfair rights over the majority. In like manner I do not want the majority to have over the minorities powers which can be abused. I want a mixed nation where people will not think in terms of minorities and majorities; where they shall be conscious, not of the things which divide them, but of those which they have in common and which work for their common good.

You will then reject, once and for all time, unilateral solutions. They only lead to dictatorship. Where power is shared, people agree on objectives. And conflict is eliminated. We must build a nation which will derive its real strength from the diversity of the cultural and other backgrounds of its peoples.

From there you will need to proceed to realise that you can build this strength only if your various peoples are taught to work together now, in one movement towards their common goal. Working entails your dropping group-consciousness in your attitudes and conduct. It will mean seeking out your countrymen from the other racial groups; making friends with them; working with them and seeking to see not only the weak spots in

cellence as well.

In the final reckoning this is one test of sincerity when you talk of race equality, People can be your equals only if you are ready to accept them as friends; laugh and cry with them. To accept them as like you. I faced this question myself and joined the Liberal Party where I found many who felt as I did and thought as I did on the White side, I do not say to you join the Liberal Party if you are not inclined that way. It so happens that it gives me the greatest happiness to be with those who think as I do on the race question as well as on the values of life, If you reconsider your attitude towards the Liberal Party, naturally, I would be happy. But what I urge is that you follow your own inclinations and seek out your own people from the other side of the colour line. It is one of the most fatal blows you can strike against apartheid.

I will not think you bad sons of Africa if you do not follow me. Join mixed congregations if you are churchmen; join mixed groups. Don't worry about your poverty or backwardness. It is because you have been deprived so much, that you fight race oppression, Work hard and set yourselves the highest goals. Don't listen to any nonsense about race determining destiny, whether from Verwoerd or anybody. Stick to your fellowmen on the other side of the colour line. They are few: not many. I think most of them will stand by you, too. Whatever you do, don't fight apartheid by practising apartheid yourselves.

Remember, when you build such a nation as I have described, you will be misunderstood; people will call you quislings; you might lose friends and business. All men who have changed the course of history for the good have suffered this at the hands of the shortsighted. That has never stopped them. It must not stop you, who have so much to

Also, please abandon the bloodbath mentality implied in your talk of conquest and counter-conquest. It leads nowhere. After your victory you will still have the racial minorities. After suffering, you will realise that it is wiser to settle the race problem peacefully. If, in the end, you will return to shared power as a solution, why not work for it now, instead of working for a bloodbath which will not do anybody much good?

Finally, remember, Sons of Africa, that you are not at the crossroads of history. The route you take will affect the relations between the East and the West. In other words on what you do today depends future peace between the East and the West and Africa, I would rather you were fairminded men imbued with that true love for

unending joy in helping all who bave made South Africa their home enjoy that liberty you want for yourselves. Allow me to repeat what I wrote in an earlier letter. Liberty is the life-blood of human existence; it is desired because it enables Man to perfect himself, not because it enables him to debase himself.

Let it be said of you, Sons of Africa, that you were wise and just men, whose name was written in history not in letters of blood or batred but in the abiding gratitude of those for whom, by your sense of justice and fairplay; by your love for liberty and by your courage, you made life richer, securer, happier and more beautiful,

(Concluded)

Africans Petition Johburg Mayor Against Permit System

A CROWD of several thousand Africans packed the square in front of the Johannesburg City Hall recently to protest against the African residential permit system. The crowd was orderly and there were no incidents.

A cheerleader led the singing of the African hymn, "Nkosi Sixelele iAfrica", and the cry, "Mayibuye, Afrika!" As six African leaders filed into the City Hall carrying bundles of signed petitions, a woman struck up: "The Burden is Heavy."

Once the leaders were inside, all singing ceased.

Police mingled with the crowd.

One of the organisers of the demonstration, Mr. Mishack Sibisi, said that it was in protest at a permit system current in Johannesburg by which people not born in various townships could no longer live

The petition presented to the Mayor, Mr. Max Goodman, said that under this system, "hundreds of men and women, indeed, even young boys and girls who were no more than children, are being arrested daily in permit raids and drawn from their families."

It said the arrests were not for formal offences but were for "lack of formal permission to live in the very houses in which we have lived for so many years, the houses in which our children have been born and in which our fathers and mothers have grown old."

The deputation was with the Mayor for an hour.

Speaking at a Press conference later, the Mayor said that the Africans appeared to think that the Johannesburg City Council was responsible for the permit system. He had told the deputation that this was not so, but the Government's Native Resettlement Board had control of the sys-

He had suggested that the Africans approach the "correct quarters"-the Ministers of Juse tice and Native Affairs.

£500 For Trial Fund

Those who contribute to the Treason Trials Defence Fund are not defending treason, but are performing a social service, said the Honourable R. Feetham, retired judge of the Natal Provincial Division of the Supreme Court and one of the sponsors of the fund, when he accepted a cheque for £500 from the Pietermaritzburg Indian Women's Association at a ceremony in the International Club recently.

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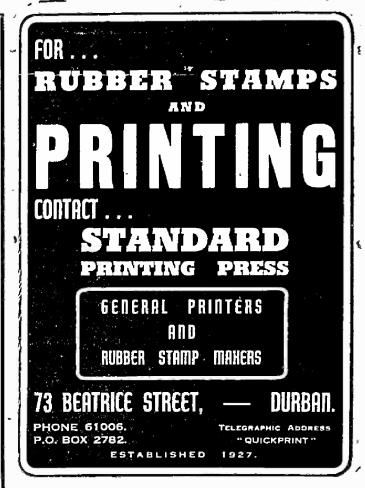
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London Letter

(From Our Own Correspondent)

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Freetown

GRINION

Freet

Government representatives will shortly have talks with Colonial Secretary on Sierra Leone's future form of Excoutive, it was announced here by Dr. M. A. Margai, Chief Minis-

ter in the old Government. Dr Margai's party, the Sierra Leone People's Party, which won the recent elections by securing at least 22 of the 28 seats, has called for an all-African Cabinet. The old Government had four African ministers.

Nairobi

MR. TOM MBOYA, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, said here that Africans did not want a British military base in Kenya. They did not want their country to be another football field of international politics. Mr. Lennox Boyd, the Colonial Scoretary, was misleading the British public and the world when he said there had been no objections to the project.

~ *

London

One of the main issues to be discussed at a conference which opened in London on May 23 of the Prime Ministers of the three regions of Nigeria will be independence within the Commonwealth in 1959. Dr. Azikewe, Prime Minister of the Eistern Region, said this when he arrived at Liverpool to attend the Conference. He said that financial problems would also be dis-oussed, adding: "It has been agreed that we shall sek the Government to 'appoint a fiscal commissioner, an expert, to go into the whole issue of revenue allocation and make his recommendations so that all regions will benefit from the Federal Exchequer." With Dr. Azikewe were the Minister of Transport for the Federation, Malan Tafawa Balewa, and the President of the Western House oi Chiefe, Sir Ades ji Adereme 1st, Oai of

The Premier of the Western Region will arrive in London on Friday, and the Premier of the Southern Region arrived at Liverpool on May 20.

Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Parliamentary Under-Scoretary for Commonwealth Relations, arrived back in London after a ten-day tour of Ghana. "The people of Ghana have a great deal of vigour and imagination," he said at the airport. "Now they require a period of consolidation to ensure a stable future."

The Manchester Guardian writes as follows:--

The governing party in Sierra Leone has been handsomely voted back thto power at the colony's first election on a broad franchise. With seven constituencies still to vote, the Sierra Leone People's Party has already a clear majority in the new

House of Representatives; and its old opponent, the National Council of Sierra Leone, has entirely disappeared. This outcome is more notable in that the six years during which the SLPP has been in office have bien troubled ones. The riots which arose from the Freetown strike in 1955 reflected rather on the official than on the political element in the Adminstration. But the disorders in the Proteotorate in 1955-56 were clearly shown to have been stimulated by the malpractices of several influential chiefe, one of whom was a Minister and another a member of the Legislature, both SLPP members, Wisely the Government did not attempt to cloak its supporters but sternly insisted on their suspension from office. Besides this there has been perpetual trouble over illicit diamond trading, which has threatened to convert one of the territory's strongest assets into a running sore. Nevertheless, Dr. Margai, the Chief Minister, and his collesgues have conducted affairs with good sense and moderation, and have been duly rewarded, especially in the Colony (the original area of settlement around Freetown). formerly the stronghold of the Opposition. Electioneering turned less on the past than on the speed of future progress towards independence, and perhaps it is a good sign that the SLPP's promises here were rather more modest than those of its rivals. Even so, its programme of "independence by 1962" is ambitious enough for a territory with a population of under two million people and only moderate economie resources.

London

The possibility of a chain of youth hostels through Nyasaand is now being explored by Mr. St John Catchpool, of the International Youth Hostels Association He believes that Nyasaland, which has large areas of country suitable for walking, could become Central Africa's tourist country...the Nyasaland Youth Hostels will be interracial and it is hoped that they will draw their members from the populations of Northern Rhodesia, particularly from the Copper Belt, and the Students of the Salisbury University Cole lege.

African Suspicious Of Promises By Nats.

THE African people were greteful to the Minister of Native Affairs, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, and the Government for what they had done to advance African self-help and self-government in the Transkeian Territories, but they could not regard any of the Government plans or promises without a certain feeling of suspicion, said Chief Victor Poto, Parsmount Chief of Western Pondoland and one of the senior chiefs of the Transkei, at the opening of the first session of the Transkeian Territory Authority.

This was because the African people had no real say at all in the place whence these plans emanated—the Union Parliament, said Chief Poto. No matter how bright and promising any of these plans might be, the fact that the people concerned had not been given a say in their formulation was bound to cause certain feelings of distrust.

Chief Poto appealed to the Minister to consider the question of adequate representation of African interests in the Union Parliament. He also appealed to the Minister to ensure that there was adequate consultation at all times between the Government and the African people over any matter affecting the African people.

Two Groups Of People

He particularly emphasized the need for full consultation when any matter affecting the Transkeian Territories was being considered and the importance of the Government remembering that there were two groups of people. Both were indispensable to each other and would continue to be so for many years to come and it would be most regrettable if any cause of friction were allowed to arise between them.

"When the Bunga was established the basic idea was that the Africans would gradually take over control of their own affairs in these territories. But under previous governments progress was to any that disappointment was capitaled by many people.

Nurses Differ On Nursing Apartheid

THERE was a big majority of African and Coloured nurses at a meeting of the Witwatersrand branch of the Nursing Association in Johannesburg recently to discuss the racial clauses of the Nursing Act Amendment Bill.

When, at the end of the afternoon, the meeting could not agree on the wording of resolutions on the Bill, it was decided to adjourn and hold the meeting again in committee.

Mrs. E. Bolton, the chairman, outlined the clauses of the Bill, which discriminates between European and non-European nurses.

Miss M. B. MacDuff said she could not see anything in the so-called racial clauses which would be detrimental to the nursing profession.

It gave the non-European nurses an opportunity of advancing through their owninitiative.

Sister R. Shezi said the Non-European Discussion Group of the association was strongly opposed to the Bill, which, if it became law, would lower the status of the nursing profession as a whole.

It might mean that South Africa would be refused affiliation to international nursing bodies.

Mr. G. L. H. van Niekerk, secretary of the Afrikaans Nursing Association, said this body welcomed the Bill wholeheartedly because it established the principle of racial separation between White and Black.

Dr. D. J. Goldstein said the Bill struck at the fundamental ethis of the nursing profession.

Land Gift Movement In India

By Mawalal Ramgobin

(Concluded from last week)

SARVODAYA workers and Vinoba's men go to the villages offering land to the landless. Though these bearers of land inquire from the villagers who are the most suitable persons entitled to receive the gifts, priority is given to Harijans and other backward communities. Care is taken to bequeath land to those people who are not occupied in other occupations and are in a position to cultivate the land. Under these conditions a pair of bullocks, seeds etc. are given to the recipient. The Sarvodaya workers are accompanied by revenue officials who complete the work of registration and other legal formalities. Among the few other conditions to which the grantee must comply is: If a coperative society is established in the village the grantee will have to join it."

The strictest form of procedure is maintained to carry out the work of the Mission. Vinobaji sees to it that: (;) Gift deeds are prepared in duplicate and are both signed and attest-

ed by witnesses.

(2) The forms, deeds etc. are to be both in the regional language and in Hindi, the national language of India.

(3) The committees are not to accept donations in the form of money but instead request the donor to purchase land with the money and donate it to the Yagna.

(4) Land must be distributed only when a gift deed is signed by him,

(5) If there is any surplus land then the committee may give the land to people who have some but not sufficient to

(6) Donors must be requested by the Sarvodaya workers, to look after the gifted land that is not distributed. The donor may even sow crops but the produc is expected to be handed to the Bhoodan committee after the expenses that are incurred are deducted.

With the scove instructions Vinoba began in his own humble way the work for national reconstruction. He believes he is doing exactly what Gandhiji would have done after independence. If what he wishes is done then he assures the Indian people that will have a real taste of freedom that they have won uniquely. He holds that even though leted in this crime Its real those mad flavour is alien to the Indian people, Until the poor man is raised they will never be able to taste the real freedom nevermind enjoying it. The poor should be the first charge of every man who has the welfare of the greatest number of suffering people at heart. The Charkha, the Harijan uplift work, village industries, nature cure, the scheme of Nai Talim (Basic Education) and all the various items of constructive activity which Gandhiji put forward were so devised as to touch these, the lower strata of society and bring immediate to them.

Today there is so much instability in the world that the situation is pregnant with immense dangers or immesurable rewards. Unfortunately we seem to be sitting on a volcano which may crupt at any mo-The forces that are ment. working in the world today must be taken into account, If we are not to be swept away by these currents then it is our duty to analyse and consider the motives and ideas which are in conflict with each other. Before we take any step these things have to be considered. for if we lack the correct view of things speech and action become blind.

It is commendable that Vinoba has drawn the attention of all men in the world to the impending fearful reality and the shadow of disaster that bestrides the world. His miss sion of Bhoodan, which embraces peace, love and good. will as its only qualifications is the best solution to the multifarious problems confronting the world today. It is my prayer that the movement gains momentum day by day in every part of the world, II it doesn't then I am afraid civilisation will crumble under the weight and reign of relentless competition, the right to make maximum profit at the expense of others and the exploitation of advantages gained so that differences between man and man may grow in geo. metric progression. These are all denials of not only people like Vinoba but even Christ and yet, for the execution of such unChristian plans, institu. tions equal in respectability to cathedrals and churches are established under the authority and protection of the state. I for one have alr y knelt to gi . nude for having guided men like Acharya Vinoba Bhave,

Five-Year Ban Imposed On Dr. Dadoo

DR. YUSUF MAHOMED DADOO, former President of the South African Indian Congress, has been served with a banning order, prohibiting him from attending any gathering "in any place within the Union of South Africa or the territory of South-West Africa" for a further period of five years.

The banning order, issued under the provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act, wag signed by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart at Capetown on the 24th day of April, 1957 and was served on Dr. Dadoo at his residence by members of the Security Branch of the South African Police.

In terms of a previous banning order Dr. Dadoo is indefinitely prohibited from taking part in the activities of the South African Indian Congress and a number of other organisations,

The new ban imposed on Dr. Dadoo has been strongly condemned by Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the South African Indian Congress; "We protest against this banning just as we have done in the case of all the banning orders that have gone before it," says Dr. Naicker and adds: "All South Africans who love democracy must unitedly condemn the increasing use of the Suppression of Communism Act and the Riotous Assemblies

Act, by the Minister of Justice to stifle freedom of speech in the Union."

Nkrumah Goes .To Christlansborg Castle

THE Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, today moved into Christiansborg Castle at Acera. He bas taken it over from the Governor-General to. use as his own residence and

The future Governor-General will be given the State House, which was built last year.

State House.

As Dr. Nkramah took over the castle, Mr. Kofi Baako, . Minister without Portfolio, issued statements, replying to British Press criticisms and declaring the transfer of residence "a wise move."

Mr. Basko said: "It is obvious from the comments of such papers as the "Daily Express," which has never supported our struggle for independence, and of "The Economist," they would have wished our country to be a glorified colonial territory

"We are not prepared for that sort of thing. Ghana has taken a decision and no volume of outpouring from British papers will make us change our minds."

The Minister added that Ghana had a "suitable place" for the Governor-General, "and should we have the pleasure of the Ouese visiting at the Queen visiting this country, she would most warmly wel-

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(From Our Own Correspondent)

NEHRU-KISHI TALKS

NUCLEAR tests and the gen-eral East Asian situation are likely to figure in the exchange of views between Mr. Nehru and the Japanese Prime Minister, Kishi, during the latter's visit to New Delhi on May 23. The two Prime Minis. ters will be meeting for the first time.

As the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to this country takes place soon after the Pakistan Premier's visit to Tokyo, it is possible that Mr. Kishi may like to have India's views on Kashmir at first hand.

Besides this, other matters of common interest including Indo Japanese economic relations may also be discussed.

India Has No Information

The Prime Minister, Mr Nehru, told the Lok Sabha that he had no information as to when the Security Council would consider the Jarring Report on Kashmir.

He also told members that there was no question of the report being discussed at the forthcoming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London. "We do not discuss such matters there,"

Mr. Nehru was replying to a question on the Jarring report which was the subject of several interpellations by Mr. S. N. Das and six others when the new Lok Sabha met for its first question-hour.

Pak Report Denied

Answering another question Mr. Nehru described as "completely wrong" reports in the Pakistani Press that the Government of India had refused permission to Mr. Jarring to visit Kashmir.

He said that the Government had, on the contrary, told Mr. Jarring that it would be "happy" if he visited Kashmir,

Mr. Nehru said Mr. Jarring had made it clear that he was here "only to visit Karachi and Delhi and talk to the two Governments." While in Karachi, Mr. Jarring had stated that he did not propose to visit any part of Kashmir.

Asked by Mr. Sraddhar Subhar as to how long the Kashmir stalemate would be allowed to continue, Mr. Nehru :replied: "I am afraid there is no answer to that."

Mr. Krishna Menon Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, Indian Minister of Defence, will arrive in New York to wards the end of this month in readiness for further Security Council debates on the Kashmir problem, it was learned in New York.

Indian sources said that Mr. Menon's arrival had tentatively been arranged for May 28,

Pakistani sources had no information about the plans of their foreign Minister, Mr. Fireze Khan Noon, to travel to New York, but they said he would probably leave Kaiachi dad Pact meeting there.

Prices Increased To Meet Cost Of 2nd Five Year Plan

The Finance Minister, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, presented the nation with a heavy bill towards the cost of the second plan in the form of Rs, 93 crores of additional taxation during the current year.

The Tax structure has been recast to provide incentives to work and save, while an annual tax on wealth and an expenditure tax bave been proposed for the first time. The latter will be actually levied only from next year.

The new tax proposals may effect the common man entailing as they do higher excise duties on a whole range of

soon after the early June Baghs items, including tea, coffee, sugar, tobacco, herosene, matches, paper, petrol and vegetable oils. A levy on railway fares and higher rates for post cards, telegrams and parcels have also been proposed.

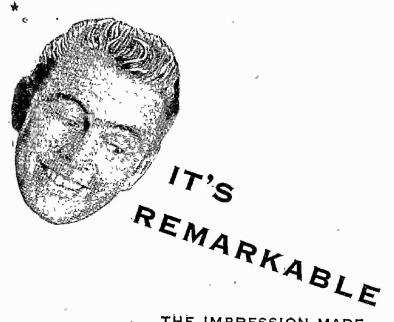
The hope, however, is that part or all of these increases will cut into existing profit margins as in the case of the recent cloth excise and will not necessarily pe passed on to the consumer, who is expected to show some resistance to higher prices.

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