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# INDIAN OPINION

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## H.H. THE AGA KHAN ON EAST AFRICA

IN an article in 'The Times' (London) H. H. the Aga Khan discusses the multi-racial problems of East Africa where in addition to 62,000 Europeans and 17,500,000 Africans there are 169,000 of Indian and Pakistani origin. Of these 91,000 live in Kenya, 44,000 in Tanganyika and 34,000 in Uganda. We give here an interesting extract from that article:

In East Africa more than in any other part of that continent, all races must co-operate so that they may expand the life and work of the various colonies, particularly Kenya with its multi-racial problems. Only in this way will it be possible to achieve better conditions for all.

New outlets for African employment based on African education are essential. They must be sought above all in the technical field and in better understanding of agriculture.

The citizens of East Africa who originally came from Asia have a duty, which they share with all the other communities, to contribute all they can to the common pool.

The future of East Africans of Asian origin lies in East Africa; their outlook should be entirely an East African outlook. In those parts of Africa where the climatic conditions have allowed an originally European society to grow up, its future welfare also depends like the Asian, upon contributing all it can to the development of that country.

I am convinced that a wide and prosperous future lies ahead of the various races provided local patriotism rises superior to racialism.

The maintenance of law and order in Kenya is the first step, but that step must be followed by the practical realization of the maxim that the work of reconstruction, advancement, and intellectual, spiritual, political, and economic development must be achieved by co-operation among all races.

There is one good hope for the future. When all races have united against violence this unity and partnership brought about in danger must be continued in peace. This, however, carries with it a certain essential adjustment of political thought in Great Britain.

For as long as we can foresee, the British people are the trustees of the population of East Africa, irrespective of race and colour. That trusteeship can never be adequately exercised unless there is a firm bipartisan understanding and interpretation of that duty between the two main political parties and informed public opinion among all classes in Great Britain.

There can be no real union in East Africa among the races if any portion of them believe that the trustees are divided or that they have particular favourite wards.

We have seen how at times of danger and struggle, as during the two world wars, bipartisan union in Great Britain was achieved and with what wonderfully successful results. The trusteeship of the African colonies in the years to come is an equally great responsibility, a touchstone of success or failure for the British race in one of the greatest challenges placed before it by destiny.

We cannot expect societies with different racial, educational and cultural origins to unite if the trustees are divided.

In Africa itself the ultimate need must be a general recognition of the principle, accepted by the French when in revolutionary times France became spiritually united as a nation, that anyone who has the ability to succeed has the chance of achieving success in economic, political and intellectual fields.



### Right Or Wrong

*Some people say:  
"My country  
is always right."  
Some people say:  
My country  
"is always wrong,"  
Some people say:  
"My country  
is sometimes right  
and sometimes wrong,  
but my country,  
right or wrong."  
To stick up for one's country  
When one's country is wrong  
does not make  
the country right.  
To stick up for the right  
even when the world is wrong  
is the only way we know of  
to make everything right.*

—Peter Maurin

—Courtesy "The Catholic Worker."



# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 31ST JULY, 1939

## A Killing Tax

**M**R. HAVENGA'S last week's budget speech came as a shock to the whole Union. The richest of the rich and poorest of the poor have been told to tighten their belts as fast as they can because the Union is (at least one would think it to be) on the verge of bankruptcy. The hardest hit are the poorest of the poor—the ten million Africans who have no say in the Government. They will have to pay 2d. extra on white bread and 1d. extra on brown bread—the staple food of everybody. Taxation is certainly necessary to run the affairs of a country. It could even be severe in times of stress. But no sane person will be prepared to believe that the people of the Union are today living in times of such stress that it is necessary to tax the most essential item of food required to keep the body and soul together. On the contrary, there is luxury abounding everywhere. Go to the shopping areas of the main cities, go to the beaches, go to the amusement places and you will not find poverty. But visit the darker places criminally neglected by the rulers and you will find hundreds of thousands of people living in abject poverty, and it is the latter that are going to be hit the most, directly and indirectly, by the new taxation. The Government has surely not lost its equilibrium to such an extent as not to be able to act more

wisely. It could have imposed heavier tax on many unessential and dangerously harmful things millions of people have become addicted to such as drink, tobacco etc., and innumerable other articles of luxury. But it can reasonably be suspected that there has been a sinister motive behind the imposition of this tax on bread to "fix" the African who has been causing so much trouble.

People overflowing with sympathy are now talking of schemes to sell bread to Africans at privately subsidised prices; of making up the extra 2d. on white bread and 1d. on brown bread by donations to prevent hardship to Africans; of adopting African families and directly subsidising the extra cost of bread to the families. A small group of Durban citizens, we are told, is organising a bread subsidy plan for Africans at Westville, the final details of which are not yet known. Some form of subsidised bread distribution, possibly with the assistance of Government or municipal officials, is also being thought out. Does one consider the humiliation behind all this. Must Africans live on charity? Is it not a reflection on the State to allow such a thing? We do hope the leaders of the African people will under no circumstances countenance such proposals. For that is just the thing the Government would like so that if the Africans were to open

their mouths they could at once be reminded of the charity on which they were living and threatened of its withdrawal. No one should submit to such slavery of one's soul.

We have often been suggesting in these columns that one should not allow oneself to be slave to anything and that one must try to reduce one's requirements to the barest minimum; that if we do not do so voluntarily today we shall have to do so compulsorily by force of circumstances tomorrow. Moreover this is an essential injunction upon those engaged in a life and death struggle as we at the present moment are. The best thing would be to do without bread. There is no sin in declaring a boycott on bread. There is no harm done in trying it as a self-

disciplinary measure rather than to live on charity.

What is very significant is that just about the time this new tax on bread was imposed it came to light that about one hundred tons of fresh grapefruit had been dumped in Durban because it could not be disposed of. Very "generously," we are further told, they were dumped in a location area and non-Europeans were advised that those who wished to they could help themselves to them. Could they not have been distributed in a more civilised manner among the poor, we wonder? There must be something radically wrong somewhere when such a thing could take place in a society claiming to be civilised. No wonder that communism would thrive when capitalism goes so mad.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### Bread Costly While Tons Of Fresh Fruit Gets Dumped

About 100 tons of fresh grapefruit had been dumped in Durban towards the end of last week, after intensive efforts had been made to dispose of it otherwise—even to the extent of giving it away, said Dr. W. J. Allwright, general manager of the Citrus Board, in Pretoria. Dr. Allwright explained that the grapefruit was surplus, over and above a contract order given by a Durban firm. Dr. Allwright explained that the firm had ordered about 1,300 tons of grapefruit—medium, small and factory size, the latter a very small fruit, often with pips, although in this particular order the smallest were mainly pipless. The grapefruit was railed to Durban on instructions to growers at the rate of about 150 to 200 tons a week. Growers were asked to send on their quotas but, said Dr. Allwright, it was not like "ordering off the shelf," since the growers themselves usually found it difficult to assess how much fruit they had, and at what rate it should be sent. In this instance the quantity railed was misjudged by two days, said Dr. Allwright, which was something which seldom happened. In addition, there was a sudden spurt of

railing by growers in the last day or two. The Durban firm then found itself with roughly 125 to 150 tons too much. Normally, said Dr. Allwright, a firm finding itself with too much could absorb the surplus, but in this case the firm was working to a very tight schedule and could not. The firm, however went to the extreme trouble to try and dispose of the surplus, and cabled half-a-dozen firms overseas. Meanwhile, the Citrus Board offered the fruit to other factories for nothing barring a 9d. charge for each pocket and for transport. Nobody wanted the fruit. The medium-sized fruit was than sold on the fresh fruit market in Durban at normal prices, and the balance of the medium-size disposed of to other factories in Natal. Then remaining small sizes were offered to the fruit trade in Durban at 1s. a pocket, but without success (9d. for the pocket and 3d. for transport). Only then, said Dr. Allwright, it was decided to dump about 100 tons remaining. This was done in a location area, and non-Europeans were advised that they could help themselves which he understood, they were d

### Church News On Liberal Party

Doubts about the wisdom of the recent formation of the Liberal Party of South Africa, are expressed by 'Church News', official journal of the Church of the Province of South Africa, in an editorial in its latest issue comments thus to the newly formed Liberal Party of South Africa: It would make much more for national stability if all politicians were to become more individually liberal than that a separate party should be launched. "The main speeches of those who were responsible for launching the new party were favourably disposed towards eventual extension of the franchise to all, though this important qualification was not, apparently, defined. "The Church has always advocated the admission to civic responsibilities of those qualified by education and ability, but this is a very far cry from 'universal enfranchisement.'" Mr. Alan Paton had stated as a reason for the formation of the new party that it was the only alternative to nationalism—not only Afrikaner, but also common nationalism. 'Church News' states: "In this we think Mr. Paton was unduly optimistic. "There is always the danger that the several racial groups—African, Indian, Coloured—would themselves form political parties on nationalist lines." "In so doing they would merely be following what is undoubtedly a world trend—a trend which may well be deplored, but which nevertheless exists." It was not the Church's desire to decry the valuable contribution liberalism could make to the body politic, but it doubted whether the institution of a separate party was wise. Indeed, it might in the long run defeat its own ends.

### Colour Bar In Capetown

**Theatre**  
(An application by three non-European ratepayers for a rule nisi calling on the Capetown City Council to show cause why the Municipal Orchestra should not be prohibited from performing for the current season of opera at the Alhambra Theatre, was dismissed with costs by Mr. Justice Herbstein in the Supreme Court, Capetown, last week. The application, was made by Herbert Ernest Abrahamse, a school teacher of Lochabie Road, Lansdownie; Norman Simon Aranes, a tailor of Kromboom Estate; and Arthur Davids, a medical practitioner of Claremont. In their petition they claimed that the orchestra should be prohibited from performing at the opera as long as non-Euro-

peans were refused admission "on racial grounds." They claimed that as citizens and ratepayers they had been and were being deprived of the right to attend orchestral concerts during the three weeks that the orchestra is engaged at the Alhambra, Stating that this wider relief raised a "most important issue and one which may, and probably will affect the whole future of the Capetown Orchestra," Mr. Justice Herbstein said it was essential that the Council should have the fullest opportunity of placing its views before the Court before an order, was given which "may prevent the Council from continuing the policy—in force since 1914—of hiring out the orchestra." The Court would not be justified, therefore, in allowing the applicants to go beyond the terms of their prayer. Mr. Justice Herbstein added: "It seems to me that if the applicants desire a ruling of the Court on the power of the Council to hire out the orchestra, they should institute fresh proceedings in which that issue is directly raised."  
—Sapa.

### Street Collector Discharged

An exception by Mr. Sami Khan to the Municipal Regulations regarding the collection of money in the streets was upheld by Mr. J. T. Malherbe in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court, last week when Mr. Khan appeared for a Native woman charged under the regulations. In his application, Mr. Khan said they were vague, unreasonable, arbitrary and void. They left the decision whether permission to collect should be granted to the unfettered discretion of the City Council. Moreover, the regulations provided that the Council would not consider any application unless a police report was first obtained. This virtually amounted to a delegation to the police of the powers to refuse an application—as the police might not make any report, and the Council would then be powerless to consider it. Upholding Mr. Khan's exception, the magistrate said the City Council must give guidance about the conditions under which permission to collect could be granted. The case was dismissed. Dora Tamana, of Blouville, Retreat the Native woman before the court, had been charged with "unlawfully organizing, assisting, or being concerned in any collection of money, or attempt to collect any money without the consent in writing of the Corporation under the hand of His Worship, the Mayor." This was alleged to

have happened on June 28 at the Grand Parade.

### Curfew On Africans At

#### Stellenbosch

The Stellenbosch Town Council last week adopted a final recommendation by its Native Administration Committee for the enforcement of the curfew for local Natives recently promulgated. A notice is sent to the public telling them that no Native man or woman—except registered voters, teachers, ministers of religion, marriage officers and court interpreters—shall be allowed out in Stellenbosch without a permit from an employer between 10 p.m. and 4 a.m. The police at Stellenbosch will be asked to help enforce the curfew. It was also reported to the Town Council, states the 'Cape Times' that a discussion took place at the Native Administration Committee meeting following a statement by the chairman, Mr. W. C. Dempsey, regarding Native women looking for work and who did not have the necessary documents. The Town Council adopted the committee's recommendation that notices should be sent out with the curfew circulars drawing the public's attention to the fact that they were liable to prosecution if they employed Native men

or women who did not have permits.

*When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me: when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow.*

*When I see kings lying by those who deposed them. When I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes. I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, frictions and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs of some that died yesterday and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries and make our appearance together.*

—Joseph Addison.

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## LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

## COUNSEL TO LIBERALS

## II—PRACTICAL POLICIES

By C. W. M. GELL

FOR the Liberal Party will establish its bona fides by its practical policies—not by admirable but theoretical affirmations of the rights and dignity of man nor (as Mr. Sam Kahn has invited it) by expressing its views "on the great questions of war, world peace, the Monarchy, the bombed women and children of North (not South) Korea and the massacred populations of Malaya and Indo-China." Nobody else is interested at this stage in the Liberal Party's opinion on international affairs. But many are waiting for it to give a clear, unequivocal lead on some of our most pressing South African problems.

I hope it will declare itself without reservations against: (1) the industrial colour bar—examining carefully the scope of "equal pay for equal work" within the framework of plural trade unions; (2) residential segregation that involves compulsory eviction or legal prohibition of purchase or occupation—Liberal spokesman recently mentioned "colour bars by consent," if this means the sort of voluntary grouping that leads like-minded people to seek social kinship and residential proximity to each other, the phrase is unobjectionable if platitudinous. But the Liberal Party must have nothing to do with legal or social pressures enforcing "group uniformity" by excluding or including individuals in areas not of their own choice. Anyone who believes that the absence of compulsion will lead to "swamping" or "penetration" on a scale beyond the ability of public opinion to absorb is either ignorant of economic realities or overlooks what could be done to dispel aggressive social intentions by improving amenities in areas predominantly inhabited by the underprivileged and by providing attractive and adequate new sites. However, both in this and other matters, the Liberal message is not that social reform can be achieved without material and emotional sacrifices, but that the Whites must be prepared to share their privileges and opportunities if they would be true to their religion and their civilisation. As an immediate issue under this head, the Liberal Party must fight for non-European freehold rights and uncompromisingly oppose the Western Areas scheme both on grounds of principle (the loss of freehold and the use of compulsion arbitrarily applied by one

race group in its own interests) and because there are far worse slums that should be cleaned up first;

(3) social segregation except by the purse in services and amenities provided from public funds—the writer knows from his own experience that non-white fellow-travellers on e.g. the railways are good, bad and indifferent companions like any Whites;

(4) the pass laws, the master and servant law, the Bantu Authorities Acts, the Suppression of Communism Act and the two Swart Acts.

I hope to hear the Liberal Party come out unreservedly for (5) universal compulsory education, fighting the transfer of "Native education" to the Native Affairs Department and its modification against African wishes into something "appropriate to the Natives' national traditions and their role in a white economy." Africans have heard much about the superiority of our civilisation. They have opted for it and cannot now be turned back to tribalism or serfdom. They must march with us or against us;

(6) mixed and non-European trade unions—with the hope that White trade unionists will see the dangers of workers in one or similar industries being divided into racial unions and take steps to develop inter-racial partnership in mixed unions which can apply the "equal pay for equal work" doctrine without detriment to standards or prejudice to individuals;

(7) slum clearance and non-European urban housing;

(8) rehabilitation of the Reserves by planned depopulation through the abolition of migrant labour and the provision of proper housing facilities in the industrial areas—ultimately the objective will be de-reservation, when Africans are free and able to purchase property in the open market.

This far from comprehensive list includes many of the immediate problems on which the Liberal Party will be judged by its attitude. Not all matters which can be settled by a simple yea or nay. There are in some of them complexities and implications about which Liberals will have to learn by experience, hard work and advice of those qualified to give it. But they are subjects in tackling which Liberals must prove that their principles are

applicable—not necessarily without modification for a Liberal is not a rigid dogmatist—but without betrayal in essence or concession in substance to expediency. In proving this, Liberals can bring themselves and their cause out from the drawingrooms and university precincts among the people, the dirt and sweat of the political arena, and the stubborn, intractable facts; can clear themselves of charges of starry-eyed impracticality; and can learn to work not only with other political parties but with those few organisations, institutes and missions who have been holding the last precarious bridges between Black and White by their steadfast devotion in the main centres of non-European misery. For the full conception of the Liberal Party is not merely of a political talking-shop, not merely of an educator of White opinion and a bulwark against Black despair, but of a bridge between those who think, those who talk and those who act—on both sides of the colour bar.

With the Congresses it has to beat out the trials of a common society with a common citizenship based upon a common humanity, leading one day to a South Africa deserving the loyalty and love of all her peoples. Other Opposition parties may disagree about pace and method; not, I hope, about the Liberal destination. For I can see no other goal consistent with the spiritual and moral implications of the civilisation we are proud to belong to. If the road ahead looks long and arduous, Liberals believe they go forward more nearly armed with the basic principles of Western civilisation than any other South African party today. These they must stand by against all temptations to compromise on their essentials. In them repose the Liberal faith and strength. For their loss no votes won by opportunism can ever compensate. This is the Liberal challenge to all South Africa which it must meet successfully if it is to survive as a united, civilised country.

## BIRTH CONTROL ON ETHICAL BASIS

ADDRESSING the annual meeting of the Suid Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns, Professor Dr. A. E. Cilliers, of the University of Stellenbosch, last week, said that birth control on an ethical basis had become essential throughout the whole world, and especially in South Africa with its increasing non-European population.

It was the duty of political and spiritual leaders to act immediately to provide guidance for the ignorant people—millions of women, especially non-Europeans, who were now multiplying daily in their helpless ignorance. Information services and help could be supplied by building mothers' clinics throughout the country, using the money which was so lavishly spent on various free services today.

"While the world population was increasing at more than 20,000,000 a year, politicians and so-called statesmen of the world were behaving like the proverbial monkeys with regard to the population problem—they hear nothing, they see nothing and they say nothing.

"They are only thinking of winning the next election or the next war.

"The secret of providing sufficient living space for each nation," said Professor Cilliers, "was not to conquer new territories or markets, nor to produce more goods. The key to the secret was—smaller reproduction.

"All apartheid legislation—social, economic, residential or political—would in the long run be of no avail if the problem was not tackled at its roots," said Professor Cilliers.

All the apartheid measures would in time to come have to give way before the influx of non-Europeans streaming into European territories in hundreds of thousands from the reserves, where they cannot exist.

The Europeans were restricting their own birth rate but the non-Europeans knew no better and could not help themselves—they were breeding recklessly. Although the Europeans called themselves the guardians of the non-Whites, they were doing nothing for the non-Europeans in this respect.—Sapa.

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## AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

## SMEAR TACTICS AGAIN

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE present campaign against so-called "moderate" African leaders suggesting that some of them are planning a sell-out might be a shrewd bargaining move on the part of a section of the non-white political leaders or it might be a sinister attempt to make it impossible for the white democrat to get to appreciate the African viewpoint at closer range.

As indicated in my last article, it is well-known that certain white political and other groups are trying, through their own leaders, to establish top-level contact with the African community. But these talks are purely exploratory at this stage and in so far as I know, are not binding on any organisation or on any community. The Africans taking part in them do so purely as individuals.

Nor is there a previously prepared political programme which they are to bind themselves to.

Against this background, one finds it difficult to understand the present hysteria against participation in purely exploratory talks. This however, does not mean that those who have had so much [to say against these talks might have no case. To do them justice, we might as well go into it. Their fear is that exploratory talks conducted behind closed doors at this stage might commit the African National Congress in a way its general membership might not like, or in a way which might cripple the African peoples struggle.

The people who take up this view—to the extent that they are not trying to make Dadooism the dominant influence in African politics—would be quite justified if they were not so preoccupied with the past. In the days of the "personality" leader a private discussion with the white community behind barred doors often tended to produce unhappy results for the community. But the Africans have since learnt from their blunders. The leadership of Congress we have to-day is truly representative. What is more, it is intelligently aware of its responsibility and duties. It has even shown that it is ready to suffer personal loss to uphold the interests of its followers. When you take a man like Chief Luthuli and study his sacrifices to uphold the resistance movement, you begin to see what I mean. Now, when political groups on the white side want to meet him to understand from him precisely what it is he wants for his people which has made him risk the things he has risked, it is both his

right and duty to meet them on conditions satisfactory to him.

Chief Luthuli holds a very unique position—both personally and symbolically. It has fallen on him to make the heaviest sacrifices for the African National Congress and its ideals. At no stage whatsoever has he ever hesitated when duty called. Some of the people who talk of a sell-out have lost nothing by comparison. If anything, advantages have come to the way of some. To create stumbling blocks for those who have shown they will sacrifice everything for the cause is a bad way of leading us to freedom.

## Wholly Unjustified

In any case, the present hysteria is wholly unjustified and unreal. There is nothing to which the Africans are going to bind themselves so far as I know. That point should dispose of very many fears. But there is a second point, equally important. The groups which are trying to establish contact with the Africans are not in power. Supposing—purely for argument's sake—they and the African leaders came to some form of agreement, the compact would be binding on them and the men they would have met but NOT on the government or the official Opposition!

Whatever discussions might be in progress or might be in the process of being launched cannot be of much value if they are meant to be a settlement of the Colour problem. It would be wholly unrealistic to talk of a settlement with opposition groups themselves fighting for their very existence. What is actually happening is that by slow degrees and under the pressure of the Malanite tyranny, growing numbers of Europeans realise that their only salvation lies in joining hands with the Africans—as the Indians realised long ago—and with them presenting a united democratic front against race-hatred and its evils of domination.

By launching the resistance movement, we on the African side wanted to bring the point home to the European democrat that his own liberty is in danger from the Malanites and that we were determined to make this a country of free men. Our argument—the resistance movement—impressed the white community tremendously and provoked two significant reactions. From the Government and its supporters and sympathisers it drew forth

the anti-Defiance Acts. From the white democrats it drew forth the Liberal Party and the discussions now being arranged.

Up to now, the reply given by the African National Congress to the Anti-Defiance Acts has been half-hearted, feeble and unconvincing. There is nothing wrong with that, if the African National Congress thinks that it is more important for it to dwell on the other and more positive reaction from the white side.

## Unrealistic

But it becomes singularly unrealistic if the other reaction as well is not made better use of. Then a situation is created where Malan can go to the white liberal or democrat and say: "I told you long ago. You cannot work with these fellows. It is your colour they are fighting. See how they are spurning your extended hand of friendship. They are not democrats. They want to establish a Black tyranny in the place of what they call a white tyranny. Your only way out is to stand solidly with me on the white front and fight by my side to the death for the survival of your skin and culture!"

I would call it very bad statesmanship if our leaders placed themselves in the position to give the white democrat cause to wonder if they are not in the position in which Malan would see them. And unless some people in Congress are very careful, a situation will arise where it will be impossible for the African and the European to agree.

For this reason, it would be well for these people to say clearly whether they want a peaceful solution or a violent one. It is no use saying you want a peaceful solution and at the same time be not prepared to make the sacrifices such a solution demands. The greatest condition required is acting in good faith and having confidence in those you work or deal with until they prove they do not deserve it.

If violence is what you want, then you can dispense with good faith and trust in others. You can suspect and distrust every whiteman or every Congress leader, barring your own personal friends and cronies.

Finally, if anything comes of the exploratory discussions, the African National Congress will have to be approached formally. But such an approach can be made only after a lot of ground has been prepared. That can best be done by men meeting not in their political capacities.

I mentioned Dadooism earlier in this article. There are people in the African National Congress who are so much under the influence of the Dadoo approach that

they might even suspect that the discussions under way might disrupt Indo-African unity. Now, if any of the white people who have a hand in the arrangements now being discussed have in mind the idea of throwing a wedge between the Indians and the Africans, they must be warned that the African people will not stand that for a minute. We no longer fight now exclusively for the African. We want South Africa—our country—a country where free men will live, no matter what their race or colour is. I think our Indian allies must trust us in all the negotiations we undertake. Dadooism is based on a fundamental distrust of everybody who is not a Dadoo-boy. The Dadoo-boys in the African National Congress in turn appear to distrust every Congressman who does not toe the Dadoo line.

## Real Danger

The real danger in this is not so much in the way in which it will create obstacles for Afro-white agreement as in its effects on the African National Congress internally. It is not all the provinces which think Dadooism is such a wonderful thing. And if the Transvaal African Congress is dominated by the Dadoo-boys, that is not the position in Natal and we are determined that it should never be. We are determined to run our affairs in a direction we consider best for ourselves as a people and will not accept the position where we have to toe the Dadoo line. I think the Cape too wants to be free to run its affairs in the light of its own experiences.

But if on every occasion the Dadoo-boys of the Transvaal will come along to lay down the law for everybody, they must also realise that they and they alone will be responsible if their obstinacy and subservience to Dadooism weakens the central administration of Congress and encourages the move towards stronger provincial autonomy. It would be tragic if, in their shortsightedness, the Dadoo boys brought about a final split in the African National Congress.

People must realise that the African National Congress is a national liberation movement and NOT a political party. People with all shades of political views can be members of Congress. An ardent capitalist can stand side by side with the reddest communist, united in their single goal of destroying race tyranny. In like manner, the African liberal can stand by the African conservative. This is the real strength of the African National Congress. So long as it realises

(Continued on page 477)

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# NEW BUS TERMINALS A DANGER TO LIFE COUNCIL OF SCIENTIFIC AND INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH PUBLICATION DIVISION

At a conference called by the Sydenham Branch of the Natal Indian Congress to discuss the serious danger to the life and limb of passengers who were now compelled to take their buses at the new decentralised bus terminals at Winterton Walk and Lorne Street the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"This conference of representatives of 12 organisations in the Overport, Sydenham, Springfield and Mayville areas:

(1) Views with grave concern the dangerous situation created at the new Bus Terminal at Winterton Walk, where already several accidents have taken place, one extremely serious, in which both the legs and the pelvis of the victim were broken.

(2) Notes that this terminal is most inconvenient to the large number of women, children and workers who have to walk nearly a quarter mile more than previously and in doing so have to cross the Old Dutch Road, Winterton Walk, Warwick Avenue intersection which is extremely busy with vehicular traffic especially during peak hours.

(3) Notes further that danger to life and limb of the non-white peoples will be accentuated once schools reopen and nearly 6,000 school going children will use the thoroughfares through which buses will travel.

(4) Expresses its dissatisfaction at the way in which the Durban City Council rushed its decentralisation plans without prior consultation with the people affected by it.

Resolves to request the City Council to immediately suspend the continuation of its decentralised scheme, and to establish a central terminus at the Testing Grounds."

The conference was attended by representatives of the four Congress branches in the Western Areas of Durban, Mayville, Sydenham, Overport and Springfield and eight other local organisations.

Mr. Ali Khan who represented the Blount Workers Union was in the Chair.

Mr. M. P. Naicker, Chairman of the Sydenham Branch of the Natal Indian Congress leading the discussion on the new terminals stated that some Councillors and a local daily suggested that the demand for the Testing Grounds as a central bus terminus had been an afterthought. Mr. Naicker tracing the history of this demand said that the demand for the Testing Grounds was made as early as 1949 in a

resolution passed at a conference of the Natal Indian Congress. This demand was again made by a conference of numerous organisations representing over 50,000 people in 1950 and in 1952 a petition signed by over 25,000 people making the same demand was presented to the Mayor by representatives of the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress. "This," Mr. Naicker said, "was proof that the demand for the Testing Grounds as a central bus terminus was a carefully considered request of the vast majority of our people."

Arising out of the discussion it was conveyed to the meeting that a Durban Bus Passengers Welfare Committee had been formed to take up the whole question of the unsatisfactory conditions under which passengers had to travel in non-European buses and to press for the demand of establishing a central terminus at the present Testing Grounds. A resolution pledging full support to this new-formed organisation was unanimously passed by the meeting.

## Bus Passengers Welfare Association

At a meeting of the newly-formed Bus Passengers Welfare Association the following resolutions were unanimously passed states its Secretary Mr. S. Veerasamy:

(1) To request the City Council to give permission to hold a mass meeting at Nicol Square to consider a resolution condemning the establishment of the new bus terminals at Winterton Walk and Lorne Street and demanding the Testing Grounds as a central bus terminus for all non-European buses;

(2) To print post-cards addressed to the Mayor of Durban making the above request. Such post-cards to be widely distributed to all passengers who agree with the demand for the Testing Ground;

(3) To call a conference of all organisations in the borough of Durban in order to discuss fully the demand for the use of the Testing Grounds as a central terminus;

(4) To request the Road Transportation Board to establish intermediate bus stops to operate during peak hours at the following places: The Sydenham Post Office; at the vacant land adjacent to the Queens Bridge in Umgeni Road; and at the corner of Brickfield and Sparks Roads, in order to assist the thousands of bus passengers who during peak hours are left standing for long periods at bus stops.

## WEALTH OF INDIA—RAW MATERIALS VOL. III

THE Council of Scientific and Industrial Research announces the publication of *Wealth of India—Raw Materials Vol. III*.

The first volume of this encyclopaedic work on the natural resources and industrial products of India appeared in December 1948; the second was published towards the end of 1959.

In his foreword to the series, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru says:

"I have found this dictionary fascinating and it has opened out vistas of thought to me. I have no doubt that this book, produced by many scholars and experts after much labour, will be of great value to the builders of New India."

The first two volumes were warmly received by the press and the scientific circles, both in India and abroad. Handsome tributes were paid to the manner in which the work has been planned and executed, and to the format and neat printing of the volumes.

The books are excellent for references, general reading and teaching, and should be in all libraries, universities and other institutions," says 'Science,' the leading Science Weekly of America. Of the articles in these volumes 'Nature' writes, "One cannot but be impressed by their high quality, their value being much increased by the numerous references to the original literature. Every student of plant utilisation will be induced by them to wish that comparable reference works on the economic plants of other countries were also available." Another international journal declares: "We have no doubt that the world's planners will find in these volumes a mine of information of great value to them."

The third volume, just released for distribution, contains articles under letters D and E and deals *inter alia* with about 600 species of economic plants, three minerals and four animal products. The following classified statement gives a selection of subjects on which information—production, processing, utilisation and trade—has been assembled and presented.

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In the case of botanical subjects, the scientific name of the genus forms the title of each article, and is followed up by a brief account of the genus. The important economic species are described in the alphabetical order of their scientific names. After the title, the common English name, if any, and the standard references are given. Names in Indian languages are from regional floras and published lists of Indian names. No attempt is made to give a botanical description of either the genus or the species. The parts of economic importance, however are described adequately. Where the species are of minor importance, a short generic note is considered sufficient. The distribution given is according to standard Indian floras. Purely ornamental or horticultural plants are not included.

For minerals and animal products, their common names have been found more convenient. Articles on minerals have been scrutinised by the Geological Survey of India. Occurrences have been listed in great detail, owing to the absence of precise information regarding reserves.

This volume also includes a valuable index to the regional trade and common English and Indian names, found in the first three volumes.

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## SMEAR TACTICS AGAIN

(Continued from page 473)

that tolerance is its real strength, it will grow from strength to strength. But the moment people forget this and begin to say that everybody should think as they do from that moment Congress will disintegrate. And if that happens, the Dadoo-boys will bear the blame for acting as if everybody should stand at attention when the Transvaal speaks. We are not all Transvalers and we do not all see things as the Transvalers do. There are situations where the Trans

valers may be right and others where they may be wrong. Where they are on the right, we have always stood by them. But where they are wrong, they cannot count on the other provinces following blindly. They have to realise that there are things where we might be right and where we might be wrong and exercise the tolerance we show towards them. When they do that they will strengthen Congress and stop their smear tactics.

## OFFERING AN ALTERNATIVE TO COLONIALISM

By THELMA MIELKE

"BULLDOZERS flattened the homes of 7,000 Africans today after the natives had been forced out of two shantytown settlements in the suburbs of Nairobi...several scores... had been captured in the area, 500 others had been detained for further investigation and 800 were to be charged for not producing proper permits. The mass of mud-and-water huts was destroyed during week end raids that led to the arrest of twenty-three Africans..." This came from a Reuter's dispatch to the 'New York Times' dated April 19th, Nairobi, Kenya.

Since the end of World War II, the struggle of the colonial peoples has reached an unprecedented degree of rebellion against foreign domination. Many of them were involved in that war, and they have decided to take seriously for themselves the promises of the Allies for freedom of all people—and not just freedom for the major allied powers.

Conference after conference, the colonial peoples see nothing except the concerted effort by the administering powers to retain their hold on these colonies even though some terminology might change and some slight concessions might be made in a hope to quell the unrest.

Now the Allied Powers are asking the colonial peoples to resist invasion, but for what purpose? To retain their colonial status? For a person in a colony that is a pretty unimportant and unexciting thing for which to die. Referring to his countrymen, the King of Cambodia recently said, "They do not want to die for the French and help them stay

there." ('New York Times', April 19, 1953.)

There is only one way to solve the problems facing these people and that is by ending the whole colonial system immediately by direct negotiation. The system is now passing through the stages of violent death that all social orders have died.

### How Can It Be Done ?

Shortly after India obtained her independence there was much discussion that India would call a conference of the colonial peoples. This can still be done. Such a conference should not be under the auspices of any agency or international organ where the colonial powers have the controlling voice. It must be a conference for the liberation of peoples and not for the perpetuation of colonialism.

Countries ideally suited to sponsor such a conference are recently constituted free nations such as India, Burma or Indonesia. The meetings should be held in one of these countries so that delegates will not be barred from entrance and that surveillance and other forms of intimidation will be absent from the meetings.

### Who Shall Go ?

The conference should be a meeting of the people themselves and not of experts from the colonial offices. Representation should be as wide as possible from varied groups: political parties, professional groups, labour unions, religious bodies, student associations, etc. The delegates should not be the handpicked collaborators with the original invaders—the colonial powers.

To secure thorough-going representation, a general amnesty of political prisoners must be declared. In many instances the chief leaders of resistance are now in prisons accused of common crimes. People who oppose colonial regimes are referred to as "terrorists" to prejudice their cause in the minds of all liberal thinkers while the soldiers who murder the colonial people and destroy their property are pictured as the "protectors" of the "democratic way of life."

The time has come when all of us must be forced by subject peoples to define our terms. Though temporarily embarrassing, to have to explain one's self is always best and even most useful in the end.

The time is past when a colonial power ought to be able to enforce her wishes by insisting that any question of colonial policy is an interference in her internal affairs. Colonialism is in itself the supreme apex of interference in the internal affairs of another country.

### What Can A Conference Accomplish ?

Nobody knows better the problem and how to solve them,

together with the aspirations of subject peoples than they themselves plus that scattered handful who have chosen to identify themselves actively and publicly against colonialism—as Rev. Michael Scott is doing in Africa.

This meeting of dominated nations can issue a statement of purpose, a Declaration of Independence—if you will—along with the establishment of the actual machinery to set up a permanent body.

Such a formulation will do the Allied Powers a great service because it will force them to put content into their favourite words—"liberty"—"democracy"—"equality."

The Colonial powers are working together and voting together in all international organs. The resisters of colonialism must unite. They have nothing to hide—nothing for which to apologize. There is the most important cause of the mid-twentieth century—ripping down a decaying social structure and setting up a world of free nations.—'The Catholic Worker.'

## N.I.C. (MERE BANK BRANCH)

"THE Non-European people in particular, and the entire population of South Africa in general are shocked at what has been correctly termed 'the black budget' of Mr. Havenga the Honourable Minister of Finance," said Mr. M. P. Naicker, Organising Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress speaking at the Annual General Meeting of the Merebank Branch of Congress held last week.

"The two pence increase in the price of bread," continued Mr. Naicker, "will hit the working class people the hardest and it is difficult to understand the need for such an increase when numerous luxury products could have been taxed instead."

Speaking on the Group Areas Act, Mr. Naicker said that the ultimate object of the Government in this regard was to reduce the non-white peoples to wage slaves and only the united opposition of the people will save them from complete economic destruction.

Calling for maximum activity in the area, Mr. R. G. Pillay who was elected Chairman of the Branch said, "we in Merebank will have to do everything possible to organise our people so that we can be prepared for any attack by the authorities."

Resolutions condemning the

ban imposed on Dr. Naicker President of the Natal Indian Congress and Chief A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress and also rejecting the Group Areas Act in toto were passed by the meeting.

An unopposed motion by the chairman calling on the City Council to suspend the present decentralised bus terminals and to extend the Victoria Street bus rank to include the Testing Ground was passed with acclamation.

The following officials were elected for the ensuing year: Chairman, R. G. Pillay, Vice-Chairmen, Messrs Billy Jugnath, P. M. Govender and L. Ramsunder, Jt. Secretaries, Messrs S. N. Pillay and M. A. Govender, Treasurer, Mr. M. K. Govender.

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# INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, July 3.

**D**URING the last one year unemployment among the educated urban population had shown a marked increase, while the prices of essential commodities remained at the highest level. The purchasing power of the people is reduced due to high prices, causing depression in the trade. Such distressing situation had raised a hue and cry from various sections of the people and the press. Consequently the peoples' eyes were riveted on the All India Congress Committee's session of Agra for a lead in removing unemployment and relieving the economic distress.

In the Five Year Plan stress was laid on the improvement of agriculture, and the bulk of expenses and priorities were granted to the development of land. As India was a deficit country in regard to food and had to import grains worth over Rs. 100 crores at the time of formulating the Plan, the planners rightly gave the priority to the development of agriculture. Now the situation has changed. Our food production has increased and is likely to increase further. So now emphasis will be shifted to industrial development of basic industries like iron and steel and small scale industries which can provide a good deal of employment.

The All India Congress Committee called upon the Government for a higher rate of development investment and the expansion of the Five Year Plan in such directions as will lead to an increase in the volume of employment.

The resolution passed by the Committee emphasised the need for the State to accept "an increasingly active and positive role in regard to the development of industries, especially cottage and small scale industries by the establishment of co-operative societies."

The Committee directed the State Governments to undertake programmes of work, including public works of different kinds in order to give relief and greater purchasing power to the people, where unemployment becomes acute due to special circumstances.

The colleges and schools are turning out nearly four times the number of educated persons than the pre-war average. This number is out of proportion to the possible openings of the

kind-sought by them in the present conditions, and the quality and kind of education which they receive is, according to the Committee, not well adapted to present requirements. So, the Committee suggested that the education system should be reorganised from this point of view and admission to the public services should depend on special tests of merit and ability and not merely on the possession of degrees.

The Committee attached the greatest importance to the introduction of far-reaching land reforms in India. While progress has been made in this direction by several State Governments, much yet remains to be done in order to make the actual tillers of the soil, the owners of the land. The State Governments should take immediate steps in regard to the collection of the requisite land data and the fixation of ceilings on land holdings, with a view to redistributing the land as far as possible among the landless workers."

Steps are being taken to see that these resolutions are put into practice by the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States.

The A.I.C.C. approved the foreign policy of Mr. Nehru.

In the resolution on Africa and the Middle East, the Committee stated that "it has noted with deep sorrow the conflict which is going on in certain parts of Africa, resulting in the cruel and forcible suppression of large numbers of people. Behind this conflict lies the policy of racial and colonial domination. The Congress has always stood for colonial freedom and racial equality, and this denial of both is of the gravest concern to it and can only lead to disastrous racial conflicts which may affect the whole of Africa and powerfully influence people in other parts of the world. Any assertion of the racial domination will inevitably meet with resistance and no stable and peaceful society can be based on the theory or practice of a dominating race or of colonial control.

"The Committee regrets that no way out has thus far been found to resolve the conflicts in the Middle Eastern countries and that the path of negotiation is not being pursued."

In an impassioned reference to events in Africa and the

Middle East, Mr. Nehru, the Congress President, said that India, short of war, would fight for equality all over the world. The people of Africa were being treated in their own land as cattle or as wild animals. It was a scandalous thing. The people of Asia and Africa would look after themselves tomorrow if not today. We want to help them with all our heart and soul. It is a matter which concerns the whole world.

In a reference particularly to Africa, Mr. Nehru said that the happenings there amazed him. The whole of Africa might be ablaze if this sort of thing goes on and it would be a bad thing to have a racial war."

In pursuance of the resolution of the A.I.C.C. on unemployment, Mr. Nanda, Central Minister for Planning, announced a four-point plan by which this problem will be tackled by the Government. This scheme envisages that (1) the Government will encourage and inaugurate such undertakings like cottage industries as absorbed more man-power; (2) all future Government activities will aim at "labour intensive" and not "capital intensive"; (3) adequate steps will be taken to absorb urban unemployed in the crafts and industries concerned with the production of goods of common utility, (4) proper insistence will be laid on basic education, and manual labour will be a feature of every educational institution.

Members of the Indian Steering Committee appointed to meet its counterpart in Karachi and pave the way for the meeting of the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan have reached Karachi and started negotiations with the Pakistani Steering Committee. Both the Committees have immediately come to an agreement in regard to the procedure and mode of settling 40 items on the lists of the two Governments.

The leaders of the two Committees revealed that the items reviewed included financial disputes, administrative questions relating to customs, travel, records and boundary disputes. According to the leader of the Indian Steering Committee, Mr. B. F. H. B. Tyabji, reports were being sent to certain Ministers on the items reviewed and discussed for the settlement of disputes on agreed lines]

Mr. Nehru will leave for Karachi probably on the 25th July. He will stay at Karachi for two days only and try to settle as many problems as possible with Mr. Mahomed Ali, the Prime Minister of Pa-

Dist. Mr. Mahomed Ali will pay a return visit to Delhi to solve the remaining outstanding questions.

Official circles in New Delhi regards the offer of the South African Premier, Dr. Malan, at Cape Town, of his Government's help to Australia "in the event of any threat from India" as "the latest manifestation of the South African Premier's deep-seated Indo-Phobia.

These circles said that no amount of wild charges would obscure India's well-known policy and oft-declared desire to live in friendship with all the countries of the world.

They hoped that Dr. Malan's hallucinations would not cause embarrassment to Australia, with whom India has the friendliest relations. Since India is accustomed to these periodic hysterics of Dr. Malan which have now lost even their imaginative novelty.

As regards Africa, they said, "Not only has India no territorial designs, but her declared policy is that even persons of Indian origin living in Africa and other overseas territories should not only merge their interests completely with those of the indigenous populations but also not look up to India as their protector"

They added: "India is naturally concerned with the discriminatory racial policies pursued by Dr. Malan's Government both from the humanitarian point of view and since these policies created tensions and conflicts which may threaten peace. Apart from India the conscience of the whole world has been aroused by the policies of the South African Government and the resolutions passed by the United Nations and the writings in the world press and statements by leaders show the concern of the civilised world at the Malan Government's action."

Disturbances have occurred in Bengal and Madras during the last few days.

In Calcutta an agitation was started against the enhancement in tram fares by one pice. The agitation, sponsored by anti-Congress political parties, took an ugly turn when they started violence, using crackers, stones and other missiles against the police. After the arrest of the leaders of the agitation, the movement had nearly died down and a call was given for a province-wide strike by the "resistance committee" on July 15. When the strike call did not evoke enough response, the supporters of the "resistance committee" resorted to hooliganism,

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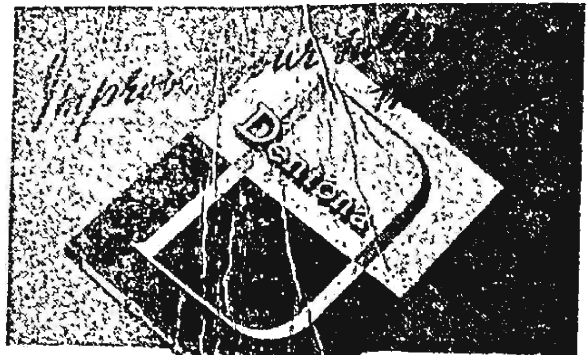
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