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INDIAN

OPINION

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Blessed is the servant who loves his brother as much when he is sick and useless as when he is well and can be of service to him. And blessed is he who loves his brother as well as when he is afar off as when he is by his side; and who would say nothing behind his back he might not, in love, say before his face.

—Saint Francis Of Assisi.

—o—

A hundred thousand men coming one after another could not move a ton weight, but the united strength of 50 would transfer it with ease.

—George Washington.

—o—

Men are essentially interdependent. They must live in society to achieve the aspirations of their rational and spiritual nature.

—Robert M. Hutchins.

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Segregation Or No Segregation

Carrier Midway Docked At Capetown

TWO American senators protested on Friday, January 14 at a reported plan by the United States Navy to segregate 400 non-White members of the crew of the carrier Midway when it docked at Capetown on Saturday.

Senator Herbert Lehman (Democrat) sent a telegram to the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Charles Thomas, saying that to treat Negro crew members differently from White in South Africa, where there are strict race segregation laws, would violate the Navy's announced policy of non-discrimination and integration.

Senator Hubert Humphrey (Democrat) also protested in letters to Mr. Thomas and to the Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles. He asked that "immediate steps be taken to see that equal treatment is given to American service personnel allowed shore leave in South Africa, or eliminate Capetown as a port of call."

He wrote: "To me this is a shocking example of discrimination that should not be tolerated by our Government. Every American soldier or sailor is an American regardless of race, colour or creed, and is entitled to be respected and treated as such anywhere in the world."

Mr. Clarence Mitchell, Director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, also urged Mr. Thomas not to let the carrier dock at Capetown.

Mr. Mitchell said "we must not permit the Coloured, Jewish, Protestant and Catholic freemen of the United States to stain the shoe soles on the hate polluted soil of the Union of South Africa."

A Navy Department spokesman said the carrier would stop at Capetown in spite of this protest.

The commanding officer of the United States aircraft carrier Midway, Captain Reynold D. Hogle, and the American Consul-General in Capetown, Mr. John Stone, said on Saturday that they were completely satisfied with the arrangements made for the entertainment of the 400 non-White members of the carrier's crew during her two-day stay in Capetown.

Asked about arrangements made for non-White to drink in Coloured bars, Captain Hogle said he had no complaints about that. "If there are any I am not aware of them," he said.

"I would like to point out that some of the arrangements made are on a non-segregated basis. At Hartleyvale on Saturday afternoon and at the concert in the City Hall on Sunday night, European and non-European members of the crew were asked to attend.

Evidently the glamour of Capetown was too irresistible for the Naval Authorities to abstain from docking carrier Midway at Capetown.

(Continued on page 28)

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INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 21ST JANUARY, 1955

Disturbed A Hornet's Nest

THE Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru's recent reference to the possibility that India might come to conflict on a war basis with Goa, Pakistan or South Africa seems to have disturbed a hornet's nest. The South African papers are quite agitated about it and have taken Mr. Nehru severely to task.

Mr. Nehru has later corrected himself by stating that India bears no enmity towards any of the countries mentioned and that there is every possibility of her dispute with Goa and Pakistan being amicably settled in the near future and that in so far as South Africa is concerned India does not agree with the policy of racial discrimination and of a master race.

We may state at the very outset that we are no supporters of war to settle disputes. That is left to the Western Powers, who do not seem to be able to think in any other terms. One witnesses it in the re-armament race that is going on at the present time.

Concerning ourselves only with South Africa no one on earth can even remotely suggest that India has ever played the part of an aggressor. She has always been on the defence. South Africa on the other hand, has always been most aggressive, so much so that she seems just itching for war. Mr. Nehru's reference did not mean that India was contemplating going to war. It meant that there was a

possibility of war coming to her door. Can anyone deny that a cold war between India and South Africa has been in existence for quite a long time and that since the Nationalist Government has come into power it has considerably accentuated. Can anyone deny that South Africa by her discriminatory legislation has been hurling insults not only at India but the whole of Asia and all the non-European races? When one talks of war one seems to think only in terms of an armed conflict. It is not necessarily so. It can be a non-violent war and that is today already existing between the South African Government and the non-European people and the latter have the whole civilised world as their ally. So one need not be scared at the very name of war. Warning Mr. Nehru, the 'Natal Daily News' draws his attention to the repercussions his words have had on the Nationalists. It quotes the Transvaal Nationalist paper, the 'Transvaal' as having said: It is to be hoped that this statement by Mr. Nehru will open the eyes of all to the danger that the presence of Indians creates for the Union. Nehru has even raised the possibility of war. Everyone who has still an Indian in his employ, or buys from an Indian ought to realise what he is doing. He is busy cherishing the spearhead of a potential enemy in his fatherland...

The 'Daily News' comments: "Such are the sentiments that Mr. Nehru's original "release" has encouraged. Will he ever learn the lesson of silence."

There is nothing new in this. Some of the Nationalist papers have for a considerably long time been inciting the European public to boycott Indians and their stores. The case of the Indian in South Africa is like the fable of the lion and the lamb. We would humbly suggest that the time has come when one should realise that an armed force alone will not help to win the war nor keep the peace. It is the goodwill of the people that will help to avoid war and to keep the peace. It is not India but White South Africa that is boastfully shaking its fist at the millions of non-Whites. Let it be remembered that ants working solidly together can kill an elephant.

The Duty Of The Press

THE London correspondent of 'The Sunday Tribune' writes:

The first woman to be hanged in independent India has gone to the gallows in Delhi. The remarkable thing, writes the 'Manchester Guardian' correspondent in Bombay, is that Indian newspapers have hardly given the matter any thought or space.

A trial that would have been front-page news in European papers has only been reported on the back pages of most Indian papers. The hanging itself was given nine inches in India's biggest middle class paper, 'Free Press Journal' and Asia's largest English daily, the 'Times of India,' gave it even less. Yet the case of Ratan Bai Jain has every ingredient of the Western "news story"—love, hate, murder and arsenic.

Ratan Bai Jain was a jealous woman with a very attractive husband. She kept a clinic and suspected her husband of having affairs with three of her young employees.

In May last year she offered them sweets, which they ate. They died almost at once.

The police must have been informed for an autopsy was held—an unusual thing in India where the dead are cremated within three hours of death. Large doses of arsenic were found in the bodies and Ratan Bai Jain was arrested next day.

In July she was found guilty by the Session Judge at Delhi of triple murder by poisoning. This was confirmed by the Punjab High Court. The Supreme Court refused to grant special leave for appeal and the President of India rejected a petition for mercy.

The 'Manchester Guardian' correspondent explains the lack of attention given the case by the Indian Press to the difference in Indian and European ideas of "newsworthiness." Indians are shy of sex, he says, and dislike tales of violence and murder. They find more interest in, for instance, the progress of a small village irrigation programme.

Indian Press has no reason to be ashamed in admitting this. It is indeed a virtue the European Press would do well to emulate. We have not the least doubt that the percentage of crime would be greatly reduced and it would be a blessing to the public. Nowadays when one opens a newspaper one invariably finds columns filled with stories of murder, theft, robbery and other crimes and a vivid description is given for the reading public. They provide a lesson to those inclined towards such crimes. No wonder the percentage of crime in the country increases. Instead of giving importance to the welfare and the moral standard of the public the Press gives more importance to its own business side. The same is the case with picture houses. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Press is to a large extent responsible not only for the increase in crime but even for the outbreak of wars. For the growing racial tension in South Africa too the Press is more to blame than anyone else.

NOTES AND NEWS

Congress Leaders Arrested

THREE Congress leaders were arrested in Johannesburg last week following a raid on the headquarters of the Transvaal Indian Congress in West Street. The arrested leaders are: Mr. Ahmed Kathrada, former secretary of the S.A. Indian Youth Congress; Mr. N. Thandray, former acting secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress and Mr. Paul Joseph, former executive committee member. They are each banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. Members of the Special Branch raided the Congress offices and took away several documents. Messrs. Kathrada and Thandray were arrested during the raid. Mr. Joseph was arrested later. They were formally charged with contravening orders under the Suppression of Communism Act. The police granted Messrs. Kathrada and Thandray bail of £200 and Mr. Joseph bail of £100 but this was later rejected. Police provided the Congress with a list of all confiscated documents and letters. Three letters were returned to Mr. C. Cachalia.

Five Years Ban On**Mr. A. I. Meer**

Mr. A. I. Meer, a former secretary of the South African Indian Congress, has been served with two banning orders by the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, prohibiting him from attending

any gathering for five years and confining his movements to the magisterial district of Durban for 12 months. Mr. Meer is the first person in the Union to be banned for a period of five years. Those who had received banning orders in the past were prohibited from attending gatherings for a maximum of two years.

Sophiatown, Martindale To Be White Group Areas

Sophiatown and Martindale, from which about 60,000 non-Europeans, mostly Natives, were to be moved under the Western Areas Scheme, would be among the first White group areas to be proclaimed in terms of the Group Areas Act, the chairman of the Land Tenure Advisory Board, Mr. G. F. de Vos Hugo, said in Pretoria last week. A recommendation by the board that the areas should be so proclaimed would be forwarded soon, he said, to the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Dönges. This step was being taken by the board because it was thought that it would assist the Government in clearing the western areas of Johannesburg. When the inhabitants realised that there was no hope of staying on there, they might co-operate more readily in moving to the areas which had been set aside for them. Whether Newclare would be proclaimed a group area for Coloured people was still under consideration.

SOME COMMENTS ON MR. NEHRU'S STATEMENT

THUS the 'Natal Daily News'—Perhaps some day Mr. Nehru will learn that his self-imposed role as spokesman for everywhere east of the Suez imposes obligations, one of which is occasional silence. Take, for example, one of his most recent ventures into words. On Monday of this week there was released in New Delhi the text of a speech, made to the Congress Party Parliamentary Board on December 2, in which he said that there was a chance that India might "come into conflict with South Africa or Pakistan or Goa." This statement was no off-the-cuff affair, but a formal release.

... He should know that not unnaturally it had repercussions in far-away South Africa, and the repercussions were varied, uniformly hostile (although the trend of his disclaimer is more in accord with his character) and detrimental to those Indians in

South Africa whose cause Mr. Nehru champions. For example, it prompted the Transvaal Nationalist paper, the 'Transvaler,' to comment: "It is to be hoped that this statement by Nehru will open the eyes of all to the danger that the presence of Indians creates for the Union. Nehru has even raised the possibility of war. Everyone who has still an Indian in his employ, or buys from an Indian, ought thus to realise what he is doing. He is busy cherishing the spearhead of a potential enemy in his fatherland..."

Such are the sentiments that that Mr. Nehru's original "release" has encouraged. Will he ever learn the lesson of silence?

'The Star'

'The Star' (Johannesburg) dated January 11 writes:—

Nobody here will take Mr. Nehru very seriously when he

talks of the possibility that India might "come into conflict on a war basis" with South Africa. It can be assumed that few if any in India will take him seriously either. The statement is, nevertheless, a highly irresponsible one for a man in Mr. Nehru's position to make.

... There can be no doubt that when the Indian Prime Minister talks of war in this context he thinks of himself as taking the initiative. He might pretend to see a threat in an American-armed Pakistan; he can see none in the minute Portuguese enclaves or in a distant South Africa whose only wish is to be left alone by him and his friends.

This kind of talk is the more surprising coming from the great apostle of peace and neutrality. ... So far as South Africa is concerned, these gestures will be observed with interest rather than alarm. In being the first man on either side to mention the word war, Mr. Nehru is possibly doing no more than making a clumsy attempt to justify his country's contention that an international dispute threatening the peace exists; and that there is therefore a case for United Nations' intervention...."

'The Rand Daily Mail'

Thus 'The Rand Daily Mail':—Mr. Nehru kept a completely straight face when, in his speech at New Delhi on December 22, he referred to the possibility of India's coming "into conflict on a war basis" with, among others, South Africa. Nevertheless, because we want to be nice about it, we prefer to regard this as an outbreak of humour on Mr. Nehru's part, possibly delayed action humour since the speech was withheld from publication for more than a fortnight. The picture it conjures up of regiments of Indian soldiers crossing the Indian Ocean in canoes to invade South Africa is certainly an imaginative one, and we hope Mr. Nehru chuckled over it too.

Such jokes, however, should not be made by Prime Ministers. No country, even one that is more or less without war potential, can afford to talk of war with its neighbours. It is easy to imagine the stir that would have been caused in the world had a Prime Minister with a powerful military force behind him made a speech like this at the year-end. But so far the world appears to be unmoved by Mr. Nehru's statement.

It is a pity that Mr. Nehru does not concentrate more on

finding amicable solutions to the problems that have arisen between him and his neighbours. Such an effort would be much more becoming than making a bellicose speech—especially for a Prime Minister who, as he recently hinted, is contemplating retirement, in order to have "leisure to read and think." Or perhaps it is just because he thinks of throwing off the reins of office that he believes he can be a little skittish and reckless."

Segregation Or No Segregation**'New York Times' Comments**

(Continued from front page)

The 'New York Times,' in a leading article said that someone's judgment had slipped badly in allowing the United States carrier Midway, with a crew that included about 400 non-White sailors, to visit Capetown.

"Either South Africa should have agreed to waive its segregation practices in respect of the American sailors, or the Midway should have kept out of Capetown," the newspaper said.

"Under South African law the non-White sailors may not enter White restaurants, hotels or bars while ashore.

"We believe that this law is an affront to human decency and that its enforcement against our sailors in Capetown is an affront to the United States Navy.

"The Navy seems to have taken it lying down and that is not in Navy tradition.

"Our Negro, Filipino and Japanese-descended sailors are good enough to die for their country. If they are not good enough to go ashore in Capetown on equal terms, then the Navy should stay out of Capetown.

"South African law is one thing but elementary morality is another," the newspaper said.

[Note—This is a well-deserved slating to South Africa and fully justifies the stand the non-European have taken against its Apartheid laws.—Ed. I.O.]

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THE CANON COLLINS CONTROVERSY

MR. GELL'S recent series of articles on the above subject has occasioned the following correspondence:—

From the Director, South African Church Office, London:

Although much of what Mr. Gell says has some truth in it, he does the Church a great disservice in the manner in which he presents it. For like Canon Collins himself (and this has been the main criticism against him from responsible sources) he generalises too widely from particular instances and completely ignores the positive achievements. All right-minded Christians will deplore the particular instance in Mr. Gell's own parish, but the situation arises from exactly that emphasis in the Anglican Church which he holds up for admiration in Canon Collins, the primacy of the individual Christian conscience. Unless, indeed, Mr. Gell wishes to maintain that this primacy is only legitimate when it agrees with his own premises. Forced racial integration is just as indefensible as forced segregation.

The accusation against Canon Collins is that he deliberately ignored any expressions of inter-racial worship because they would weaken the thesis he wishes to maintain that the Church is "riddled" with the colour bar.

In particular, Canon Collins failed to notice the Anglican Church at Stellenbosch, which is the centre of the apartheid ideology of the Dutch Reformed Church and where our own Church has stood for complete fellowship for several generations; and in the actual parish where he was staying in the Cape which has recently restored this inter-racial worship and life after having been split on this very question. More surprising still, both Canon Collins and Mr. Gell are entirely silent on the magnificent experiment of an inter-racial community at Wilgespruit, conducted by an Anglican priest.

More generally, in the account of his visit which received wide publicity here and in the States, Canon Collins makes this observation:

"The Church sees to it that there is no chance for the Africans to outvote the white man."

This is not only gravely misleading, it is in fact untrue. There are now three dioceses in the Province—Zululand, Basutoland and St. John's—where the African vote is in the preponderance and decisive.

There are many of us, deeply concerned for the witness of

the Anglican Church in South Africa, who would apply the words of Bonhoeffer to the criticisms that are being levelled at it: "We know that hardly anything can be more reprehensible than the sowing and encouragement of mistrust, and that our duty is rather to do everything in our power to strengthen and foster confidence among men." (Letters and Papers from Prison.)

(REV.) C. T. WOOD.

Mr. Gell's Reply

I must deny that I "generalised too widely from particular instances." I used the case of my parish—admittedly a bad one, but unhappily not the worst—to illustrate my general argument. It is unfortunately true that such cases could be extensively instanced throughout South Africa, though naturally details will vary according to local circumstances. I am genuinely astonished that Mr. Wood should suggest that opposition to mixed worship can be founded on the Christian conscience. I should have thought that this was an issue on which Christians had to be quite uncompromising in principle, though there might be legitimate differences of opinion as to how the Christian decision could best be implemented. The use of phrases like "forced racial integration" is best avoided in any dispassionate discussion because of their emotional overtones. We are considering inter-racial worship or (in the immediate case of my parish) merely the use of the church buildings for separate non-white services. Referring to this case recently in the 'Church Times,' the Bishop of Bloemfontein commented: "It is the principle of the Church of the Province, often proclaimed, that every member of the Church has the right to worship in every church." The principle is as simple as that; but our practice too frequently contradicts this principle and the Christian conscience.

The most interesting thing about Canon Collins' remark that the Church in South Africa "is riddled with the colour bar" is that he did not originate it. It was said to him by an Anglican African priest. Even if—as neither Canon Collins nor I believe—the remark is inaccurate, it is a serious matter that Africans should think it true. In fact, they have much justification. Certainly, there are, as I admitted in my articles, "a few conspicuous and honourable exceptions." The two parishes quoted by Mr. Wood are among these exceptions and

quite a number more could be cited. But they remain a very small proportion of the total number of parishes having mixed populations. Nor am I unaware of the inter-racial experiment at Wilgespruit. My good friend, the Rev. Arthur Blaxall—Anglican priest, secretary of the Christian Council of South Africa and one of the leading spirits at Wilgespruit—would be the first to admit that this devoted and courageous little community are, as yet, but a drop in the vast ocean of white apathy or deliberate recalcitrance on colour questions. The more honour to Wilgespruit, but let us not use it as an excuse for the frailty of the rest of us.

Although I fully agree with Canon Collins about the Church making it difficult for Africans to outvote whites, I omitted this question from my articles for reasons of space. As Mr. Wood has now raised it, there are certain facts which should be stated. The three dioceses of Basutoland, Zululand and St. John's which he cites as having an African majority in their synods, cover almost exclusively African reserve territories in which the white population is an infinitesimal fraction of the non-white. It would be hard, indeed, to devise a method of electing delegates to synod in these dioceses which could produce a white majority. Even so, if Mr. Wood will publish the figures of white and non-white proportions in these synods compared with the ratio of white to non-white communicants, I shall be surprised if there is not a significant discrepancy.

How this comes about may be seen from the rules governing the election of delegates to synod in my own diocese of Pretoria. For European parishes, one delegate may be elected for every 12 communicants, two for every 75, three for every 150 and a maximum of four for every 300 and upwards. For African parishes, one delegate may be elected for every mission district, two if there are 400 or more communicants and a maximum of three if there are 1,000 or more communicants. The actual quotas vary somewhat from diocese to diocese. But in the neighbouring diocese of Johannesburg, which has proportionately one of the largest white populations of any diocese in South Africa, there are 17,196 white and 40,850 African communicants. Yet whites have 58 per cent of the voting strength in synod and

non-whites 42 per cent. There may or may not be a good reason for this state of affairs, but the onus seems to be on Canon Collins' critics to prove it.

Mr. Wood ends his letter with a quotation about the need for trust and confidence among men. May I quote Dr. Albert Schweitzer in support of, the contention that such confidence must be built upon absolute honesty in the face of facts?

"Since the essential nature of the spiritual is truth, every new truth means ultimately something won. Truth is under all circumstances more valuable than non-truth. Even if it comes in a guise which piety finds strange and at first makes difficulties for her, the final result can never mean injury; it can only mean greater depth. How strong would Christian truth now stand in the world today, if its relation to the truth in history were in every respect what it should be. Instead of allowing this truth its rights, she treated it, whenever it caused her embarrassment, in various ways, conscious or unconscious, but always by evading, or twisting, or suppressing it. Because while I was busied with the history of earlier Christianity, I had so often to deal with the result of its sins against the truth in history, I have become a keen worker for honesty in our Christianity of today." ("My Life and Thought," pp 65-7)



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BISHOP REEVES ON APARTHEID

THE Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rev. R. Ambrose Reeves, at a Press conference in London last week, held under the auspices of the Christian Action movement, said: "The Natives, Indians and Coloureds believe that the policy of apartheid fails to take into account that they are human beings who ought to have some share in determining their position in South African society."

"Here are masses of fellow-members of the Commonwealth who are suffering from an increasing sense of frustration and who bitterly resent the fact that although Dr. Malan claims that apartheid is positive and non-repressive in practice, they find that it discriminates against the non-European to his detriment."

"One is bound to ask how long 2,500,000 Europeans—themselves so deeply divided on many issues can possibly keep their supremacy over 10,000,000 non Europeans who, under pressure of such repressive policies are steadily becoming more politically conscious and who are increasingly aware of their rights as human beings."

"That time might well be short, but whether it be long or short there is an urgent need that Christianity everywhere should buy up the time that remains to the Church in South Africa so that it may have the men and the means that are necessary for a pattern of human life other than that offered by apartheid to be built up in what is still one of the finest lands in which human beings have ever been privileged to dwell."

The policy behind the Bantu Education Act "violates the principles upon which all true education ought to rest."

The probability was that the effects of that policy would be felt most severely in the great urban areas, like Johannesburg, where great numbers of Africans lived permanently in close proximity to Europeans.

He quoted the Minister of Native Affairs (Dr. Verwoerd,) as saying: "There is no place for him (the Native) in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour... Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drove him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pasture of European society in which he was not allowed to graze."

From such statements it was evident that the intention of the Act was to provide a form of training which would fit those

who received it to take their place in an uncivilised community in South Africa.

"In conscience, it is impossible for me to take any part, however remotely, in implementing such a policy."

"For this reason I cannot contemplate either selling or leasing our school buildings to the Government."

"To do so would, I believe, mean that Church property would be used to indoctrinate children with a racial policy which I am persuaded is contrary to the Christian Gospel."

This did not mean that the Anglican Church in the Southern Transvaal was abandoning African children.

The Church's buildings would be opened as church family centres, in which children, whose education would now be restricted to three hours, would be able to engage in out-of-work activities and leisure-time pursuits.

Bishop Reeves said that the Bantu Education Act was only one of the many legislative actions taken since 1949 to implement the policy of apartheid.

"Even if it is true, as Government spokesmen maintain, that the vast majority of Europeans endorse that policy, there are few signs that most Europeans are either prepared to make the sacrifices to their comfort which would be necessary to implement such revolutionary changes as apartheid demands or renounce the benefits of so called cheap labour in the factories and on the farms."

"One is tempted sometimes to dismiss apartheid as nothing more than a pipe dream, as impracticable, as attempting to unscramble a scrambled egg."

"But this policy, absurd as it may seem, is being pursued resolutely and relentlessly, ever causing increased tension, suffering and unrest. Fantastic it may be, but we have to reckon with the fact that there are those who are determined at whatever cost to put back each ethnic group into its own kraal. Even if in so doing they turn South Africa into a desert."

"In such a situation a heavy responsibility is laid upon the church to be bold in its witness to a better way of life than apartheid can possibly offer, and, in its own life, demonstrate that way in the hope that when men see at best the folly of their ways the church may be ready and able to help them in their extremity."

Bishop Reeves said that this was not to deny that some good

things had been accomplished in these last years in South Africa.

"The establishment of labour bureaux by the present Government is of assistance both to urban Africans and to rural Africans seeking work in the towns."

About 5,000 salaried posts in the public service had been made available to the Africans. Today they could qualify as skilled building workers in Native areas, receiving about 40 per cent. of the wages paid to the Europeans. In some places a determined attempt had been made to grapple with the appalling housing shortage, and since the present Government came into power, the Education Vote had been increased each year.

Answering questions, the Bishop said that it was only in his diocese that the schools were to be closed. In other dioceses the schools were to be leased to the Government.

He agreed that under the Bantu Education Act far more African children would be receiving "something" in the way of education than at present.

Asked what he thought would be the "last ditch" in the Church's stand on racial policies in South Africa, the Bishop said: "I believe the last ditch has been reached with the Bantu Education Act."

Asked about racial policies in the African colonies, he said that Christian churches in South Africa were doing all they could to build up forces against the present policies.

"It is very easy for you people here to criticise us in South Africa, where there are so many

glaring things. The immediate responsibility is for all people in Britain to see that their own Government puts its house in order."

"You need here to build up a much stronger public opinion about the colonial policy of Great Britain in Africa. Anything which is done to help solve multi-racial problems in other parts of Africa will help us."

He declined to comment on the proposed boycott of South African goods in Britain, as suggested by the Vicar of Paddington.

He said he disagreed with the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Church towards apartheid.

When asked whether he considered the actions of the Dutch Reformed Church as un-Christian, Bishop Reeves said: "Don't let us dub them a non-Christian church. I disagree with them, but of their sincerity I have no doubt."

He said he opposed the removal of Natives from Sophiatown to Meadowlands because he felt that there were Natives in other slum areas more urgently needing accommodation. It would have been the obvious thing to move the 20,000 Europeans and use that land for industrial purposes.

When questioned on his complaints about the loss of freehold land in Sophiatown, the Bishop said that the church had freehold land there valued at £75,000. The Minister of Native Affairs had said that there were only a few Native freehold properties. But that was not the point. The question at stake was the principle of the loss of freehold land. —Sapa-Reuter.

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આ મામલો કોર્ટના નિર્ણય ઉપર આધાર રાખે છે અને તે ચુકાદો ન મળે ત્યાંસુધી અમો નીચે જણાવેલી મીઠાઈ ખનાવી શકતા નથી-તે માટે દિલગીર છીએ પેડા, ખરફી, હલવો, જાંબુ, મગજ તથા બધી જાતના પાકો ખનાવવાની મનાઈ છે, તે સિવાયની બધી મીઠાઈ મળી શકશે.

આશા છે કે અમારા ગ્રાહકો અમારી સાથે ધીરજ ધરશે. અને ચુકાદો આવ્યે અમો જાહેરાત દ્વારા જનતાને અખર કરશું.

ઘણાં ગ્રાહકોના અમારા ઉપર ઓર્ડર છે તેને મીઠાઈ નથી મોકલી શક્યા તે માટે અમો દિલગીર છીએ. તેઓની લાગણી માટે અમો તેમના આભારી છીએ, અને ઇચ્છીએ છીએ કે આ મામલાનો સત્વર નીકાલ આવશે.

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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

MR. MTIMKULU'S DISAPPOINTING REPLY

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

I FIND Mr. Mtimkulu's reply to my two open letters to him most disappointing—for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is a masterpiece of evasion. Nowhere does Mr. Mtimkulu attempt to shed any light on the things I criticised at Ohlange. He merely tells me that he is sinned against as the people I should have addressed myself to are the Governing Council.

Secondly, his sneering reference to my "facile pen" reeks of a contempt for public opinion which comes ill of a public man in his position.

Thirdly and finally, I find his reply disappointing because he squeals about malice where no malice was expressed or intended. I have never hesitated to tell the world about Mr. Mtimkulu's abilities—not only in this column but in all sections of the South African Press. I have always done that not because he and I were just friends. My appraisals of his qualities were always objective and were no more than statements of fact known by impartial observers. For him to squeal about malice just because I say I want to know where he stands on Bantu Education is a piece of small-mindedness which I dislike very much in a public man.

Now for his evasion of my questions. Mr. Mtimkulu accuses me of having rushed to print without ascertaining the facts I should have had. That is not the position. I knew that he is a civil servant; that he is a servant of the Board of Trustees of Ohlange College. His explanation has not made me change my mind for one reason I consider good. I agree he is a servant of the Board. But he is a very special servant. He is regarded by large numbers of people on both sides of the colour line as a leader of African educational thought. That esteem he won for himself long before he became the servant of the Ohlange Board. As a matter of fact one of the strongest recommendations behind his appointment was the reputation he enjoyed as an educationist.

As an educationist people on my side of the colour line rightly looked to him to give guidance in a situation which was full of educational dangers for us as a people. If his position at Ohlange were merely that of a rubber stamp and not an edu-

cational leader his thesis would probably be valid. But since we recognise him as an educational authority, and since he has written and spoken extensively as such and since the Board employed him knowing this only too well, I find his hiding behind the Board quite unconvincing. He is a servant with special responsibilities to the public and, of course, to the Board.

He hints that as a civil servant and a servant of the Board political controversies are not for him. Perhaps that might be the case. But everybody knows that he is a very active member and leader in public organisations with well-known political attitudes on the questions of the day. As a leading member of the South African Institute of Race Relations, for example, he is committed to the political concept of race equality. I presume even the perfectly innocuous Joint Council of Africans and Europeans by its very nature adheres to the political concept of race equality. Quite naturally, when a situation develops at Ohlange which is in conflict with his well-known political outlook as expressed in membership of these bodies, it is proper that people should press for a clarification of his own position, independently of the fact that he is a servant of the Board. His activities in the Institute can either be criticised or commended publicly since the Institute is a public body. And when that is done he owes the public the duty to reply publicly because he is a member of a public body exactly at the time when he is also a servant of the Board. If these two roles are incompatible, I submit that is his own affair.

Against this background I find this hiding behind the Board unconvincing. He owes the African people a special duty to make his own position quite clear because of the regard in which he is held by the public.

But what I found particularly distressing was his attempt to create the impression that I was blaming an innocent man for what I criticised. In both my letters I did not blame anybody. I merely asked him to tell us what is going on at the place of which he is administrative head. I had a very good reason for doing that. Last year I was invited to ad-

dress a conference of teachers held at Ohlange. Mr. Mtimkulu did me the honour to attend that gathering and even took a leading part in the discussions which followed my talk. I openly attacked Bantu Education on that occasion and went to the extent of indicating that our role as a community was to refuse to surrender Ohlange to the apartheid tyrants who use it to destroy the ideals it was founded to perpetuate. After a lengthy discussion he and I came to certain points of understanding. At the moment I do not feel called upon to publish them all. But I remember I publicly undertook to educate the public on Ohlange's unique position. Since then I have written a number of articles on Ohlange as well as some on Mr. Mtimkulu himself. The public has responded very favourably to them. To find that while I did this in terms of our understanding with him Ohlange was negotiating with the Government to get the Board of Trustees to be recognised as a basis for a regional School Board embracing the Ohlange-Amaoti area placed me in a very awkward position. I felt I had reason to wonder if Mr. Mtimkulu had not misled me in the understanding we had arrived at and which is very well known to the teachers who attended that meeting.

If he knew what the Board had in mind at the time we came to the understanding, he probably unwittingly misled me when he encouraged me to go ahead with making the public realise Ohlange's peculiar difficulties. If he did not know which way his Board would go on Bantu Education then, I feel he owed me the duty to tell me that the understanding we had come to no longer stood as soon as he learnt of the decision to open negotiations. That he failed to do this justifies me in the attitude I have taken pub-

licly in asking him for explanations on given aspects of his administration because, when we came to the understanding he certainly did not mention the Board or the fact that he was a civil servant. Because I attach importance to statements of public figures of his standing, I made notes of the discussions and I find, to this day, that he still owes me the duty to explain the things I criticised in my open letters. Here again, I find his hiding behind the Board unconvincing.

He advises me to write to the Board for the information I have requested from him. As a matter of fact I shall be writing to the Board on the future of Ohlange as soon as I find the time is opportune. That I have not done so up to now was because such an inquiry would serve a limited purpose since the negotiations between Ohlange and the Government had not crystallised along definite lines. I can assure Mr. Mtimkulu that I shall write to the Board as he advises and will certainly keep my readers informed.

In the meantime I am distressed by the way in which he has run away from discussing a matter of vital importance to the African people at the moment.

All political comments in this issue except where otherwise indicated by Manilal Gandhi of Phoenix Settlement, Phoenix, Natal.

R. VITHAL

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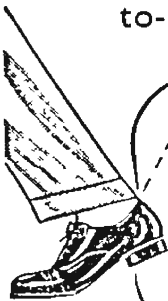
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OPENING ADDRESS BY MR. M. T. MOERANE,
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(Concluded from last week)

THE White man on the other hand views us ambivalently. He needs us just as we need him, for his own advantages; for the rest he regards us as a menace to his freedom, his way of life, his wealth; and just as we organise in one direction, he organises in the opposite direction. He too, like us, is in the throes of insecurity and fear.

But, look at this society a little closer, and you will find other tentacles of this multi-racial complex. The White people are not a homogeneous people, nor are they one race. The Afrikaner majority hold fanatically and grimly to their hard-earned political power. Do you call that freedom? Economically he feels terribly frustrated that the major part of the industry and commerce of this country is not in his hands. So he too swears that one day he will rule the country not only politically but economically and he bends his every nerve, heart and sinew to the realisation of this goal.

Perhaps the Jew is the happy man for as a group he has the most wealth. But, no; he too feels most insecure and afraid.

The Englishman is just as desperate with anxiety and fear. He has even tried to make a serious last bid to save for himself the province of Natal for he has realised his political impotence faced with the impregnable forces of Afrikaner nationalism.

The Indian and the Coloured are in no more favoured position; and so you could go on with this matter which would be so fascinating a game, were it not such a tragic reality.

These facts are real, relevant, basic and material for anyone who desires to make a real contribution to the peace and welfare of his people. The question is, are we all hopeless victims of the accidents of our birth and time; so that nothing but the relentless opposition of power to power, and the racial struggle will dictate who will enjoy what privileges? Is Might yet Right? Was Karl Marx basically right when he postulated the dialectic whereby he meant "the clash between the dominant class of a decaying society and the oppressed class representing a society which is coming to birth?" Must it

ever be that this land shall be ruled by might? If so then there is no morality but expediency; then he who has more power has a right to maintain it and use it for his advantage as long as he can; whether that power is political, economic, or numerical etc. Can we endorse this state of affairs? If so what do we understand, by freedom?

I want to suggest that we have sought for freedom in the wrong direction. A man is free in his mind and soul long before he is politically free. On the other hand thousands of men and women who have political rights are in no real sense free.

I am convinced that, contrary to materialistic philosophy, man is not a puppet of history nor a mere victim of circumstance. The free man is a creator of history and not its mere product. What is more, the personally free man is not only happy because he is not in bonds, but he alone it is that can promote and dispense freedom; that can inspire the fearful, the worried and the insecure. His faculties are free for the service of man, for he is not afraid and is not in bondage to self or to others.

It is in no arrogant spirit that I declare that I am a free man, I acknowledge no master but God; I regard all men as my brothers, whatever their colour, class or social status. No man can rob a free man of his freedom but himself. Remember, a man must be willing to stand alone in times of crisis, true to his sincere convictions, but then he must stand erect and then he is truly not alone for he is in touch with Destiny and God.

Can you and I blaze a new trail today, with malice to none but charity to all? Can we enrol ourselves as soldiers of a high cause whereby we shall, through willing sacrifice, return our country to the sanity it is fast losing through fear, racialism and greed? Shall we be content to follow the mob with its tragic cries or shall we forget pettiness, panic and fear, suspicion, hatred and bitterness and bear the burdens of the weak, be they White, Brown or Black? Ours is the opportunity. We have Destiny in our hands. The New Africa shall be born on our shoulders. Are you ready?

So as we consider the important matters of our education, our country and the future of our people, today I should like us to remember that we can either be narrow and bigoted and serve the interests of the moment and of a narrow circle; or we can begin to serve the true new vision of a great Africa. It is a matter of dedication and sincerity as well as a revolutionary attitude and outlook. I do hope that our deliberations will be characterised by this spirit.

I am very happy to welcome you to this conference.

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INDIA LETTER

(From Our Own Correspondent)

Bombay, January 6.

MR. NEHRU has returned from Bogor Conference of Colombo Powers. He is very satisfied with the result of the Conference. It was he who first mooted the idea of calling an Afro-Asian Conference. Political circles in India were surprised to find unanimity on the issues before the Conference, particularly on the question of inviting Red China. Mr. Nehru's novel experiment, nine years ago, with an Asian Relations Conference, has now blossomed into an impressive Asian-African Conference of about 39 independent and near independent nations.

Some of the Asian nations depending heavily on American aid to maintain their economy will not join the proposed conference. Phillipines, Thailand, Japan and Turkey are the countries that may not participate in the Asian-African meeting.

The proposed conference may even turn the tide in favour of peace. As Mr. Nehru put it, ultimately it is human beings that count even in this atomic age and nearly 1600 million human beings, about two-thirds of the world's population, residing in Asia and Africa must count. This staggering mass of humanity, if properly handled, could become a tremendous force in favour of peace.

Perhaps the greatest contribution which the conference could make despite its loosely-knit membership and vaguely worded agenda is to firmly plant in the minds of these millions in Asia and Africa the philosophy of peaceful co-existence. It would be a conference of tremendous political potentiality which would bring together Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of about 25 nations. For China, particularly, it would be both an opportunity and a challenge to find her place among these nations and disarm the susceptibilities of those who still tend to look upon her as a potential danger to her neighbours, both friends and foes alike.

At Bogor the Prime Ministers have filled an important void which they left open at Colombo Conference, when many regretted that no permanent machinery was established to ensure continuity of periodical meetings and consultations among these five member-countries. The political secre-

tariat that is being established to help Indonesia organise the Asian-African Conference might in all probability become a permanent institution. The Prime Ministers have translated into action the desire for economic co-operation which they had voiced at Colombo. At Bogor they decided to set up an economic commission to exchange technical personnel and otherwise help one another in a planned utilisation of their natural resources.

It was nearly about a year ago that Mr. Nehru inaugurated the first convention of African students in India at Delhi University with one of the most memorable addresses. The warmth of his fellow-feeling for the long-suffering people of Africa, segregated and humiliated in their own land, was expressed with a brooding sorrow and passion. The decision to establish a Department of African Studies at Delhi University was first announced at this convention. Delhi University hopes to enrol the first batch of students and start classes next month.

The School of African Studies will be open to graduates with at least a second class degree and will conduct a two-year course leading to a diploma, which will practically be equivalent to M.A.

Indian students must learn either Swahili, the most widespread language of East Africa or Hausa, which is similarly dominant in West Africa. African students, on the other hand, will be taught an Indian language which will in most cases be Hindi. Both will study African history, social anthropology, African culture, African geography, the constitution and governmental set-up in different parts of Africa, African economy and the continent's relations with the rest of the world, specially India and Asia.

The Delhi School will be the first centre of African studies in the East. African studies outside of the continent have been confined to the U.S.A., Britain, France and Belgium. As against some 200 African students in India today, there are over 8000 in Britain. There is this difference, however, that while most of the African students in Britain have been sent at the expense of the different colonial

governments, most of the Africans who have come to India for higher education have been enabled to do so by the Indian Government.

The Delhi School will be headed by an Englishman who was deported from Kenya two years ago by the Colonial Government as a dangerous person, because of his acquaintance with General Kenyatta and friendship with some of his lieutenants. He is Mr. Peter Wright, who had a long teaching career in India before returning to England in 1947 for reasons of health.

The Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust has sanctioned Rs. 1,859,000 for 1955 for running 16 Gram Sevika training centres, nine auxiliary nurses and midwifery training centres, 259 village welfare centres, 164 maternity and child welfare centres and a leprosy relief hospital. The Board of Trustees which met at Ahmedabad adjourned after passing the budget for 1955.

The Board reviewed the working of the Trust for the welfare of women and children in the rural areas during the last ten years and decided that efforts should be made to consolidate and intensify the work instead of expanding it. It was also decided that the work of training women workers for village work, which the Trust has been doing, should continue with greater intensification so that the need for trained personnel for the work of the Trust and other social service agencies could be met.

The Board will award five scholarships of Rs. 75 per month each to women undergoing training in medicine, who agree to work in rural areas under the Trust.

The Trust elected Shreemati Durgabai Deshmukh, Shreemati Indira Gandhi and Shree Amal Prasad of Assam as new Trustees.

The Gandhi Smarak Nidhi has sanctioned a total grant of Rs. 2,27,500 to the Trust for work in various States during 1955.

The Trust has so far trained more than 300 midwives and about 1500 gram sevikas. During 1955 the Trust proposes to train about 400 gram sevikas and 100 midwives.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave entered Bengal on New Year day to continue his Bhoodan work in that province. The people of Calcutta would never be attacked by workers of the Bho-

dan movement who are staging a peaceful revolution throughout the country. Explaining the reasons as to why Calcutta would remain a safe zone, Acharya Bhave said, "Calcutta is a place which should be attacked from a distance and that attack will be in the form of spreading ideas and philosophy."

While in West Bengal, he added, he would launch his campaign from Bankura where he hoped the people would respond to his call for donating land. When the people of Calcutta would hear of the generosity of the people of Bankura, they would change their mind and join the movement of Bhoodan.

Acharya Bhave also said that if ever he went to Calcutta, he would go there to discuss his experience of Bhoodan work. He would not ask for land or money from the Calcutta people. He would just want them to give their moral support to the revolution which would be conducted in West Bengal villages. He thought that the Bhoodan movement was very essential in Bengal if she were to solve various problems facing her. He aims at obtaining 2.5 million acres of land in Bhoodan from West Bengal. Acharya Bhave has avoided going to big cities during his tour on foot for Bhoodan activities.

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