

Misrepresentation and Misunderstanding about India

THE late Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mr. Gandhi's secretary, who died a few days after his internment, wrote in one of his last articles in *Harian*:—

Excerpts from British newspapers just received give one a fair idea of the kind of news from India on which Britain is fed. Thus the Calcutta correspondent of the *Star*, writing towards the end of April, asserted that "Gandhi has become a lone voice crying in the wilderness of non-violence, that it meant "definitely the end of the Mahatma as an Indian political leader." That, however, represents his views. As for news, this is what he has to say:

"I was present at Allahabad over the week-end, when Nehru was badly heckled and almost assaulted. The taunts hurled at Nehru, coupled with the obvious annoyance at the inability of the Congress leaders to give a lead to the Congress, showed me more plainly than I have seen before how easy it would be for a real Indian leader, with a policy of practical value and general compromise, to stride on to the stage and hold his position as the man of the hour. True, I would not be so bold as to state that there is such a man in the offing. The Madras Congress leader, Mr. Rajagopalachari, may turn out just the man."

The correspondent visualises "a trial of strength between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachari," of which, I am sure, both are equally unaware.

Another Calcutta correspondent—the representative of the *Observer*—gave this wonderful evidence of his capacity to understand what Gandhiji says and writes:

"He (Gandhiji) has also made clear that whereas men must on no account fight, women are expected to defend their honour themselves, since 'God has given them nails and teeth.' Naturally, these teachings affront the manhood

and common sense of the majority of the Indian public as also Indian women, who in some parts of Bengal are organising themselves and asking for arms to defend themselves."

That, however, may be dismissed as arising out of ignorance or of stupidity. What is far more subtle and insidious is Sir Stanley Reed's analysis of the breakdown of the Cripps proposals. He writes in the *Spectator*:

"Far deeper was the eleventh-hour demand that the executive authority should be forthwith transferred to a cabinet of Indian leaders, untrammelled by any control of the Viceroy or the British Cabinet. Sir Stafford's analysis of that proposal is conclusive; it would vest sole authority in a nominated, non-responsible irrevocable body, dominant over the minorities, and free to keep or brake the pledges to which the British Government stands irrevocably committed.

"Were these the basic reasons for the rejection of the Declaration? I suggest not. Behind this facade lie deep-rooted forces—on the one hand, the refusal of the Congress to compromise on any solution which does not leave it in entire command of the destinies of India, without qualification or reserve; on the other, with the minorities, the tremendous but intangible influence of fear. The great body of Muslims, with the Scheduled Castes, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, fear that their political, social and economic rights will be insecure under a government entirely dominated by Congress or, in other words, caste-Hindus. When we speak of minorities let us be clear what we mean. During the second Round Table Conference figures were produced, and not challenged, showing that the "minorities" represent fifty-two per cent. of the Indian people. Until there is some abatement of Congress pretensions, and

a genuine appeasement of minority fears, no final settlement is possible."

For one thing the demand for cabinet responsibility was not an eleventh-hour demand, but the demand for the written implementation of a verbal promise that Sir Stafford had been throughout the negotiations making. That the cabinet, if it had been created, was not to be a Congress cabinet but a mixed one everyone knew. And that the proposals would have no meaning without a genuine cabinet is conceded even by Edward Thompson :

"The break clearly came over the matter of cabinet government. Most people will agree that the division of defence functions finally offered covered all that could be fairly asked in war-time—if the Government had been a genuine Cabinet."

The reference to second Round Table Conference and the "Minorities" Pact is mischievous in the extreme. The statement that the clever figures were not challenged is an astonishing statement. Sir Stanley knows very well indeed that the 'minorities' do *not* represent fifty-two per cent. of the Indian people, and that the Congress is not synonymous with caste-Hindus. But having backed the Muslims, they must adopt their argument, however absurd it may be.

But we simply refuse to enter into this controversy now. The Congress demand for the withdrawal of the British rule is the rebellion of an anguished people against the diabolical game of divide and rule, and the refusal to allow the Britisher any longer to arbitrate between different sections of Indians. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would weigh his words fifty times before he uttered them, and when he said he would not reconcile himself to "dictator Amery's" dictation, he meant more than he said. The expanded Council wherewith an attempt is being made to bamboozle America—all the British papers make no secret of the fact that the Cripps proposals were made in order to appease America—is neither national nor Indian. What India wants is not a Council nominated by

Britain but by a Free India after the British have made their exit from the Indian stage.

That to-day it is a dictatorship—whether it is of Lord Linlithgow or Mr. Amery makes not the slightest difference—is not denied even by the Britishers themselves. Sir Lionel Haworth, writing in a British journal, thus describes the limitless powers of the Viceroy :

"While in fact the Viceroy works through the established system in India, he can at any time assume powers which equal, if they do not exceed, the powers which are held by the President of the United States of America.

"These powers are in hereditary descent from Clive and Warren Hastings, limited only by the necessary changes which have come from the march of time.

"Let us take a few concrete examples. Could the Viceroy introduce conscription into India? The answer is 'yes'.....

"Could he take over factories and devote them to Government work as we have done in England? Again the answer is 'yes.' But all factories are already working overtime in Government work. In both circumstances he has only to promulgate an ordinance signed by himself and his order would become law.

"He can take over land that is necessary for defence, under powers which are already in existence. He can build new forts and take any other defence measures that are necessary. He can build aerodromes or he can improve ports and harbours. He can move troops and evacuate civilians, as indeed has already been done at Madras.....

"Thus it will be seen that there is no limit to what the Viceroy can and may do, and a refusal of the Congress to take part has little effect on the actual war-work."

It is from this dictatorship that the nation wants to get free and would not hesitate to launch a struggle for it.

BAN ON INDIAN PRESS

THERE is no such thing as freedom of the Press in India. Mr. Gandhi's *Harijan* has been totally banned while practically all the other papers supporting the national struggle for Independence in India are subjected to such humiliating restrictions that a person with any self-respect would rather suspend the publication than submit to such humiliations. Mr. Gandhi was asked what he would do if *Harijan* was suppressed. This was the reply he gave in *Harijan* dated July 19:

".....*Harijan* may be suppressed, its message cannot be, so long as I live. Indeed, the spirit will survive the dissolution and somehow speak through the millions. For, with due apologies to Veer Saverkar (President of the Hindu Maha Sabha) and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, (President of the Muslim League) I claim to represent the joint spirit of millions of Hindus and Mussalmans, and other non-Hindus who call themselves children of Hindustan. I am living, and hope to have the strength to die, for the freedom of every inhabitant of this land.

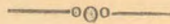
".....I suggest that it is no small matter to suppress such a paper. The loss will be more Government's than the people's. They will incur much ill-will by suppressing a popular paper.

".....And *Harijan* is not an anti-British paper. It is pro-British from head to foot. It wishes well to the

British people. It tells them in the friendliest manner where, in its opinion, they err.

"The Anglo-Indian papers I know are Government favourites. They represent a dying Imperialism. Whether Britain wins or loses, Imperialism has to die. It is certainly of no use now to the British people whatever it may have been in the past. In that sense therefore Anglo-Indian papers are really anti-British as *Harijan* is pro-British. The former are disseminating hatred day by day by hiding the reality and bolstering Imperialism which is ruining Britain. It is in order to arrest the progress of that ruin that, frail as I am, I have put my whole soul into a movement which, if it is designed to free India from the imperial yoke, is equally intended to contribute the mightiest war effort in their behalf. If they suppress *Harijan* let them know what they will seek to suppress.

"Let me add to that without needing any pressure from outside, I am using the greatest restraint in the choice of printing matter. Nothing is being consciously published that would give any clue to the 'enemy' as to military objectives or dispositions. Care is being exercised to avoid all exaggeration or sensational matter. Adjectives and adverbs are well-weighed before being used. And they know that I am ever ready to acknowledge errors and mend them."



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TRUTH ABOUT INDIA

THOUGHTLESS
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SINK SHIPS



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THOUGHTLESS
WORDS
SINK SHIPS



A.S. Xuma
104 End St.

In this Edition:

J.A.S.

UNWORTHY OF THEIR SALT

**LET US PAY PRICE OF FREEDOM
IN BLOOD AND TEARS**

UNWORTHY OF THEIR SALT

WE give below some interesting and informative notes on India written by the late Mr. Mahadev Desai, Mahatma Gandhi's secretary, in *Harijan* dated July 26 :—

How some ex-satraps, who are still enjoying fat pensions from India's treasury for "services" rendered to India, are continuing to do those "services" may be judged from pronouncements by two of these. In a lecture on conditions in Orissa delivered before the East India Association in London, Sir John Hubback is reported (*Times of India*, July 13) to have said that, "the unrest which has resulted in the outrage"—Major Bazalgette's murder—"had without question been organised by the Congress party's 'High Command,' as part of their campaign to compel the Rulers of all States to agree to the election of State representatives to the Federal Legislature with a view to securing Congress domination at the centre." Apart from the several lies that he has packed in one sentence, Sir John is guilty of a libel, against the Working Committee of the Congress, which the Government of India ought, in fairness, ask him to withdraw. The agitation was the result not of Congress propaganda but of the gross misrule in the small states that even officials including the Viceroy had condemned, the agitation was kept under control by the Congress, and the outrage was condemned in unmeasured terms by every responsible man in the Congress. If the Congress High Command were in any way responsible, why was Sir John silent over the incident so long? Sir John vainly talks of the Federation scheme which the Congress had all along boycotted and has not a word to say about the brutal shooting down of hundreds of unarmed men and women in Dhenkanal, Talcher, Ranpur and Gangpur.

Now comes a libel against Gandhiji by Sir Henry Lawrence, who acted as Governor of Bombay for a little while. Gandhiji can be libelled with impunity,

for his non-violence will not let him go to the law courts. This is what Sir Henry wrote the *Spectator* (London):

"Sir,—Mr. Gandhi's views on Civil War in India may shock some of your readers, but he has made no secret of his hostility to the Moslems for many years.

"Last summer his private secretary, M. Desai, published a life of the present President of the National Congress, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (with a foreword by Mr. Gandhi). Writing of Hindus and Moslems, Mr. Gandhi is quoted as saying, 'if it is to be our lot that we must shed each other's blood, then I say that the sooner we do so the better it is for us.'"

Sir Henry must have ample evidence of Gandhiji's "hostility to the Moslems for many years," but he produces none in this poisonous letter, beyond the sentence he has quoted in it. Let us see what a wilfully vicious distortion it is. It is wrenched out of a context that I must indicate in brief and give the whole quotation. The extract is from a chapter in my book entitled, 'The Turn of the Tide,' describing the worsening of the Hindu-Muslim situation, followed by Gandhiji's 21 days' fast, the Unity Conference in Delhi and so on. Then these two paragraphs follow:

"But neither the fast nor the resolutions of the Unity Conference solved the problem of Hindu-Muslim Unity. The Conference was attended by most of the prominent leaders, but they had not come as representatives of their communities, and none had the strength to get the warring groups to listen to them or act upon the resolutions. Almost immediately after the Fast riots broke out in Jubbulpore and Allahabad. In 1925 the sad tale was repeated at various places in the country, so much so that in May of that year Gandhiji had to declare at a public meeting in sheer exasperation and almost in desperation:

"I have admitted my incompetence.

I have admitted that I have been found wanting as a physician prescribing a cure for this malady. I do not find that either Hindus or Muslims are ready to accept my cure, and therefore I simply nowadays confine myself to a passing mention of this problem and content myself by saying that some day or other we Hindus and Muslims will have to come together, if we want the deliverance of our country. And if it is to be our lot that, before we can come together, we must shed one another's blood, then I say the sooner we do so, the better it is for us. If we propose to break one another's heads, let us do so in a manly way.

"This situation, even since that pathetic declaration, is just the same, perhaps worse. But among those who hold steadfastly to the *will* to unite whatever happens—and this is what will ultimately count—the name of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad stands in the forefront."

But that is the British way of being worthy of the salt one has eaten!

"Criminally Irresponsible"

A correspondent of the Nottingham *Guardian* inveighs against the talk of "a generous gesture" towards India, for "unfortunately Hindu India, Moslem India, and the Princes India are three separate and antagonistic entities. None trusts the others, and it would be a criminally irresponsible act on the part of the British Government to give one power over the others." He then wisely adds:

"Mr. Churchill, with characteristic clear sightedness, has always recognised these obstinate facts. Consequently he has been called a reactionary, a die-hard and worse. If Indians

themselves will not get together and agree upon a basis of self-government, in spite of endless suggestion and persuasion from the British side, then no system imposed from outside can be other than a disastrous failure."

That is exactly what we say. It is because we agree that any system imposed from outside would be a disastrous failure and would be criminally irresponsible," we want the British to retire in dignity, and let the Indians do what they like with themselves.

Commonsense

That there is sturdy commonsense in certain quarters is evident from what the *South London Press* said about Sir Stafford Cripps's visit to India. It hoped—alas vainly—"that Cripps, a personal friend of the Indian people's leaders, will offer them nothing less than complete equality with Britain," but wisely added:

"Whatever her status, it is obvious that India does not want to be invaded, nor is it likely that even pacifist Gandhi's followers would want to talk "peace" with Japan.

"As a nation with its own rulers, India could fight on the same terms as any other of our allies.

"Like any other country, she could form a wartime alliance for strategic reasons without the slightest reference to the internal politics of either ally.

"Well, to conquer nearly 400,000,000 people is not easy. And if only a proportion carried out Gandhi's non-cooperation ideas, it would virtually be impossible."

What India wants to-day is to be "a nation with its own rulers," and yet as the paper rightly says,

"whatever her status India does not want to be invaded."

LET US PAY PRICE OF FREEDOM IN BLOOD AND TEARS

(Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru)

“AMONG the many astonishing things that Sir Stafford Cripps said in the statements made by him on the eve of his departure from India was this: That the Congress wanted every thing or nothing and now they have nothing. Only the last part of this sentence is true and it has been true for all these years. But if Sir Stafford imagines that what we suggested to him was all that we have wanted or want to-day, he was grievously mistaken. For we have wanted an unfettered complete independence in the present and the elimination of every foreign control in the political, economic and every other domain.

“We have wanted to live our lives in our own way without interference from any outsider. And though we cannot unwrite the history of the past century and a half, the painful memory of which will persist, yet we want to remove everything in so far as we can, that might keep the memory of our subjection fresh. We want to get rid of this world of Excellencies and Highnesses and the pomp and pageantry and wasteful extravagance and incompetence of our British rulers. We want to say to them, as I have said before in the words of a great Englishman: “You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!”

“.....It was not what we wanted that we told Sir Stafford Cripps but something that we considered essential and irreducible, if we were to shoulder affectively the burden of to-day and defend this dear country of ours to the uttermost.....”

“It surprises me how far we went in our desire for a settlement. Many of my colleagues and even the man in the street come and tell me that we went too far and gave up many a precious thing we had so long clung to. Yet we did so deliberately for we almost forgot everything for the moment except the peril to India and our immediate duty to defend our motherland. But we could

only defend her shoulder to shoulder with our own people, with millions of hearts stirred to action, with millions of stout arms raised in her defence, with millions, it may be, of our dead offered at the altar of her freedom. We could not defend her freedom from the mountain tops or from Viceregal residences.

“.....It was because of this that we went to the uttermost limits of concession in our talks with Sir Stafford Cripps. For we were anxious to face the peril with the organised power of the state and our masses functioning together. That is not to be now and we function separately. From our side there are going to be no approaches to the British Government for we know now that whoever comes from them speaks in the same accent as of old and treats us in the same way.

“So blood and tears are going to be our lot whether we like them or not. Let us not be afraid, let us not lose our anchor, let us not run away from our post of duty. But rather let us accept them willingly as men and women who go out to meet their hearts' desire. The turn of fate's wheel has brought this new ordeal to us, the last ordeal that can face a nation. Whether we remain up or go down we shall do it bravely and with dignity, thinking ever of the honour of that great and beloved land that has given us birth and sustenance. For each one of us, man or woman, old and young, is a little bit of India and something of her old time story clings about us. Each one of us has her precious honour in our keeping, each one of us may do something to add to that glorious heritage. What we have, what we are, we owe to her. Can we ever repay that debt even if we give our lives for her sake? Our blood and tears will flow; it may be that the parched soil of India needs them so that the fine flower of freedom may grow again and its fragrance envelop the land. We shall pay the price, and it will be well with us if we remain true to our faith and do not falter.”

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TRUTH ABOUT INDIA



104 Broad St. Durban

104 Broad St.

Dr.

Why America And Other Nations Should Sympathise With India's Struggle For Freedom

[In this Special Edition we present the reader with an interesting chapter from "India In Bondage" by the well-known American writer, Dr. J. T. Sunderland. It is the most authoritative and the most impartially written book on India containing unchallengeable facts. Needless to say the book is banned in India by the British authorities. The chapter we have reproduced is a telling reply to those who consider India's problem to be one of Britain's concern and therefore contend that it is not the business of any outsider to interfere in it.—Ed. I.O.]

THOSE who claim that India's struggle to free herself from British rule is solely the domestic affair of Great Britain, with which no other nation has a right to concern itself, should do a little reading of history.

As a fact, have nations struggling to free themselves from the oppression of a foreign yoke never received sympathy or encouragement from other nations? Have we Americans never extended sympathy or aid to such struggling nations? Has Great Britain herself never done the same? The fact is, the true spirit of both America and England has always been that of wide interest in liberty, and sympathy with nations and peoples in any and every part of the world who were struggling to shake off alien despotisms and gain for themselves freedom and nationhood. England's record in this

respect has been very noble. Let us glance at it.

We in America can never forget the sympathy extended to us by several of England's greatest statesmen, and also by many humbler people, in our Revolutionary War. Nor can we cease to remember that in our Civil War the working people of England to a remarkable degree stood by our national government, even against their own interests, because they believed our national cause to be the cause of human freedom.

When Greece early last century went to war to throw off the yoke of Turkey, the English people took a very deep interest in the struggle. They did not for a moment think of it as a mere domestic affair of Turkey, in which they had no right to interest themselves. Lord Byron's dramatic espousal of the Greek cause attracted the attention and was the admiration of liberty-lovers in all lands.

With Italy's struggle to free herself from the yoke of Austria, England warmly sympathised, and showed her sympathy by the strong public utterances of Gladstone and public men, and also by giving shelter and aid to Italian refugees Mazzini, Garibaldi, and many others, who were driven into exile on account of their efforts to obtain their country's freedom. The enthusiasm with which Garibaldi was welcomed to England after his patriot army had won its entry into Rome was not less than that which greeted Kossouth in

America after his heroic struggle for liberty in Hungary. A personal witness thus describes the great scene in London :

"I was one of the number who had the honour and pleasure of giving welcome to the brave Garibaldi when he came to London after his glorious victory in freeing his country. He was met at the railway station by tens of thousands of young and old, rich and poor, and escorted through the streets to the Duke of Sutherland's mansion. It was such a spectacle as seldom if ever has been seen in London before or since. Pen cannot describe it. When we arrived in front of the horseguards, those nearest Garibaldi's carriage unhitched the horses, and the carriage with the hero was dragged the rest of the way by thousands who delighted to do him honour. It was the enthusiasm of a liberty-loving people for the work done by that one man not only for Italy, but for the whole world a victory won for freedom over tyranny."

These facts and incidents show the noble and true England, the England that did not regard the struggle of Greece and Italy as mere domestic concerns of Turkey and Austria. If this England had always been in power, India would never have been conquered and enslaved! If this England were in power to-day, India would soon be set free.

Turn now to America. The United States, assisted as she

was by other nations in obtaining her own freedom, has manifested throughout a large part of her history an earnest sympathy with nations, wherever located, who were struggling to throw off a tyrannical yoke and to establish for themselves governments based on principles of justice and liberty. Said Washington in a notable public utterance delivered the same year at his farewell address:—

“My sympathetic feelings and my best wishes are irresistibly excited whenever in any country I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banner of freedom.”

When the South American nations were engaged in their struggle to throw off the yoke of Spain and gain their independence, the sympathy for them in the United States was ardent and almost universal. Nobody thought of their struggle as a mere domestic affair of Spain in which we should not interest ourselves. Our was the first nation to recognise the new republics. This did not occur until 1822 but as early as 1816, Henry Clay urged that we should carry our national sympathy so far as forcibly to intervene in their favour.

President Monroe in his annual message to Congress in 1822 expressed in unmistakable language his own sympathy and that of the American people with Greece in her struggle for freedom. One memorable evidence of America's sympathy is seen in the fact that the eminent Boston philanthropist and educator, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, later the husband of the equally eminent Julia Ward Howe, went to Greece (as did Lord Byron in England) and rendered distinguished service to the Greek people in their war for liberty.

With the revolutionary or semi-revolutionary movement in Germany in 1848, to establish liberal government in that country, the United States manifested profound sympathy from the beginning. Our minister to Berlin, Mr. Donelson, was instructed to keep in close touch with the movement and give it any encouragement he could without diplomatic discourtesy or offence to the Berlin Government. He was informed from Washington that an important part of his mission was—“to manifest a proper degree of sympathy (on the part of America) for the efforts of the German people to ameliorate their condition by the adoption of a form of government which should secure their liberties and promote their happiness.”

He was instructed that it was the “cordial desire of the United States to be, if possible, the first to hail the birth of any new government adopted by any of the German States having for its aim the attainment of the priceless blessings of freedom.”

The profound sympathy of this country with the struggle of Hungary for freedom under the leadership of Kossouth, in 1849, is well known. President Zachary Taylor showed his own interest and that of the American people in the struggle by appointing a special agent with authority to recognise the independence of the new State “promptly, in the event of her ability to sustain it.” In his annual message (of 1849) President Taylor declared that he had thought it his duty, “in accordance with the general sentiment of the American people, who deeply sympathised with the Magyar (Hungarian) patriots, to stand prepared, upon the contingency of the establish-

ment by her of a permanent government, to be the first to welcome Independent Hungary into the family of nations.”

“The feelings of the American Nation are strongly enlisted,” he declared, “by the sufferings of a brave people who have made a gallant though unsuccessful effort to be free.” On the failure of the Hungarian revolution Kossouth and his companions took refuge in Turkey. The American Congress passed a joint resolution (which was approved by the President, March 3, 1851) declaring that the people of the United States sincerely sympathised with the Hungarian exiles, Kossouth and his associates and concluding as follows:

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that the President of the United States be, and hereby is, requested to authorise the employment of some of the public vessels to convey to the said United States the said Louis Kossouth and his associates in captivity.”

Accordingly an American frigate was sent to bring the exiles from Turkey. Kossouth arrived in this country in October, and his stay here was an uninterrupted triumph, exceeded only by the welcome given to Lafayette twenty-five years before. He was greeted with enthusiasm at the National Capitol by both Houses of Congress. President Fillmore received him most cordially and invited him to dinner, and Daniel Webster made the principal speech at the great Washington banquet. Said Webster:

“We acclaim the pleasure with which we welcome our honoured guest to the shores of this far land, this asylum of

oppressed humanity.....Let it be borne on the winds of heaven that the sympathies of the Government of the United States and of all the people of the United States have been attracted towards a nation struggling for national independence, and towards those of her sons who have most distinguished themselves in the struggle. Let it go out, let it open the eyes of the blind, let it be everywhere proclaimed, what we of this great republic think of the principles of human liberty."

It should not be overlooked that the United States Government was the first to recognise the French Republic in 1848, and also the present French Republic inaugurated in 1870.

One more marked illustration of our hatred of tyranny and our sympathy with liberty abroad should be noticed. I refer to the historic past that in 1867, our President and Congress compelled Napoleon III to abandon his effort to set up in Mexico an imperial government contrary to the will of the people of that country. In this case we did not stop with expressions of sympathy with Mexican freedom, but we went so far as to offer military aid in its defence.

Such are some of the notable occasions and ways in which, throughout a large part of our national history, the people of this country through our most eminent and honoured leaders have expressed our sympathy with nations and peoples struggling for freedom. I have set forth the facts in some detail so that the true tradition of America in the matter may clearly appear.

Says Dr. E. B. Greene, Professor of History in the University of Illinois :

"A study of American history shows that the well-established tradition of the Republic has been that of sympathy with popular government abroad; that this sympathy has repeatedly been declared in public utterances of our official representatives; and that we have never felt ourselves bound to suppress in the formal documents of our Government, our deep interest in free institutions, and our sense of the essential unity of the cause of liberalism and self-government throughout the world."

Have these facts of the past no bearing on struggles for freedom going on in the world now? Have they no bearing upon the greatest of all such struggles, that of the people of India to free themselves from a foreign yoke? If Washington and Monroe and Clay and Webster were alive to-day, would great India in her brave and just struggle for freedom and nationhood, lack friends, sympathizers and defenders in America? Who can believe it? Our fathers did not regard the struggle of any oppressed people anywhere, to shake off their yoke and obtain freedom, as the mere domestic affair of the oppressing nation. They regarded it as a matter of world concern, which ought to enlist the interest and sympathy of every liberty-loving nation and person in the world. In an address delivered before the India Society of New York in February, 1925, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of *The Nation*, said :

"I believe that what is going on in India is of such enormous import to America and to the whole world that no American has a right to overlook it. I think the world needs nothing so much to-day as to see the Indian people set themselves with all their minds and with all their strength to the attainment of self-government. However great the odds with which they must contend, I believe that the heartfelt sympathy of Americans, yes, even those Americans who love England and as I do, should go forth to the people of India in all their aspirations."

In such words as these we hear the voice of Washington, of Jefferson, of Franklin, of the Adamses, of Patrick Henry, of Webster, of Garrison, of Channing, of Sumner, of Lincoln, of all the men who have done most to make this country illustrious and honoured by the world as a leader in the cause of human freedom.

Nothing can be more clear than that the true tradition and spirit of America as manifested in all our noblest history is that expressed in the ringing lines of our honoured poet, James Russell Lowell :

"Men! whose boast it is that ye
Come of fathers brave and free,
If there be on earth a slave
Are ye truly free and brave?"

Is true Freedom but to break
Fetters for our own dear sake,
And, with leathern hearts, forget
That we owe mankind a debt?

No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear,
And, with heart and hand, to be
Earnest to make others free."

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JOHANNESBURG SOCIAL SECURITY ACTION COMMITTEE

SOCIAL INSURANCE SUB-COMMITTEE

At the adjourned meeting of the above Sub-Committee, held in the Committee Room, City Hall, Johannesburg, on Friday, 11th December 1942 at 3 p.m., the following were present:-

Professor J.L. Gray (Chairman)
Hon. J.D.F. Briggs
Professor Dalton
Mr. S.M. Nana
Mrs. J.K. Robertson
Mr. D.N. Murray (Hon. Secretary)

1. LEAVE OF ABSENCE.

RESOLVED

That Dr. G.D. Laing, Mr. J. Fleming Orr and Dr. A.B. Xuma be granted leave of absence from this adjourned meeting of the Committee.

2. MEMORANDUM BY PROFESSOR J.L. GRAY AND MR. J.R. SULLIVAN.

(The Committee then discussed Section III (National Social Insurance) of the memorandum by Professor J.L. Gray and Mr. J.R. Sullivan).

The Chairman emphasised that this memorandum was purely a personal agreement between Mr. Sullivan and himself. Their discussions had been tentative and exploratory and hampered by lack of time.

Para.1. Professor Dalton drew attention to the fact that funeral benefits were not included, though included in the Beveridge scheme. The Chairman said that the list of benefits proposed in para.1 need not be exclusive.

Para.3. The Chairman said that the second method of constituting a Social Security Fund was the one favoured by himself and Mr. Sullivan. A flat rate of contribution for medical benefit was not favoured owing to the great differences in income in this country. He pointed out that though it was suggested that contributions should be limited in most cases to those likely to avail themselves of the benefits, the higher income groups would be heavily taxed by income-tax, super-tax, etc. Professor Dalton suggested that the word "fixed" should be dropped from section (ii) line 1, as it was inconsistent with the words "varying with age, sex and wages" in the following line.

Para.4. The Chairman stressed the importance of not attempting to make the scheme apply to everyone in its early stages but to begin it on a small scale under conditions where it would have a reasonable chance of success and gradually expand it to include other categories. Those belonging to categories excluded from the scheme would not have to contribute. It was anticipated that the scheme would lead to a considerable decrease in industrial insurance but would have little effect on ordinary commercial insurance.

Para.5. Mr. Nana suggested that the final words "and the different needs of groups" should be omitted.

Para.6. The Chairman explained that the functions of the Commissioners referred to in this section would be purely financial. They would make the payments authorised by the Departments of Social Welfare, Labour and Public Health, but it would not be their function to define any of the benefits or to decide questions of policy, which would be done by the Department concerned. Professor Dalton said he did not

favour the centralisation of the scheme, but believed that friendly societies, trade unions and local machinery should play a large part.

Para.7. The Chairman explained that the word "orphan" included any child with only one living parent who was unable to support him.

Para.8. The Chairman referred to some of the difficulties in connection with family allowances. It seemed that the cost of introducing these on an effective scale would be very great. Mr. Murray suggested that they should be introduced on a small scale as a first instalment and later increased. They could be supplemented by increased child welfare services. The Chairman said that if the family allowances were not large enough to combat child poverty, the money might perhaps be spent to better advantage on child welfare services. Professor Dalton stressed the importance of rehabilitating and strengthening the family rather than taking the child away from its family environment. He also referred to the possibility of raising the European birth-rate by means of family allowances. It was suggested that the Executive be asked to appoint an ad hoc Committee to investigate the question of family allowances. Professor Dalton suggested that before such a Committee met some of the members should be asked to draw up memoranda for the Committee's consideration.

Para.10 Professor Dalton suggested that it should be left to the Government to fix the actual rates of the benefits as the Committee was handicapped by lack of statistical data. The Chairman pointed out that it would be an advantage to public speakers if they could give details of the proposed benefits, but agreed that any figures suggested by the Committee would have to be tentative ones.

RESOLVED

That this Committee refer section III of the memorandum by Professor J.L. Gray and Mr. J.R. Sullivan to the Executive Committee.

(THE MEETING TERMINATED AT 5 P.M.)

Social Welfare - General

ABX. 4212129

12/12/1942

JOHANNESBURG SOCIAL SECURITY ACTION COMMITTEE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A MEETING OF THE ABOVE COMMITTEE WILL BE HELD IN THE SMALL COMMITTEE ROOM, CITY HALL, JOHANNESBURG ON THURSDAY, 17th DECEMBER 1942 AT 3 P.M.

D.N. MURRAY

Hon. Secretary

12th December 1942.

A G E N D A

1. Confirmation of minutes of meeting held on 27th November 1942 and of meeting held on 28th November 1942 (attached).
 2. Consideration of memorandum by Professor J.L. Gray and Mr. J.R. Sullivan (attached).
 3. Consideration of reports of Sub-Committees on Social Insurance and Social Services (copies of minutes of meetings attached).
 4. General.
 - (a) Resignation of Mrs. Hoernle.
 - (b) Letter from Head of Department of Economics, Natal University College.
-

ABX. 421212b

From D. B. Molteno, M.P.
(Cape Western).

Nat. Keys

Temple Chambers,
4 Dale Street,
Cape Town.

11/12/42.

Dear Peter, I regret very much that I am unable to attend this year's Conference of the African National Congress, especially as I have attended fairly regularly for the past few years. However the election this year took me very largely away from my ordinary work for my constituency, with the result that such work has heavily accumulated and keeps me here.

Many thanks for your telegram of congratulation after the election. From my personal point of view the large majority by which I was returned certainly encourages me, especially after 5 difficult years owing to the inadequate and reactionary system of representation. I hope also that the election will prove, in the long run, to have been of some value to the Congress in the

From D. B. Molteno, M.P.
(Cape Western).

Temple Chambers,
4 Dale Street,
Cape Town.

Cape since it accustomed some local African
leaders to working together who had previously
not been in such close touch with one another.
I am watching with interest and sympathy
the efforts of Messrs. Makenzie,
W. Steyn, Kekana etc. to reorganise the
Congress here. When Mr. Celeka was
here a month or so ago he seemed
encouraged by Congress projects here.
Please convey my greetings to the
Conference and my best wishes for
its success.

With kind regards to Mrs. Xuma
and yourself and the compliments
of the approaching season.

Yours sincerely,

D. B. Molteno.

ABX. 421213

87 CALEDON STREET,

CAPE TOWN.

13th December 1942

A.H.C.
Cape

The Chairman,
African Cape Congress Special Conference.

CRADOCK. (Cape Province)

Dear Sir,

I have been instructed by the Provincial Executive Committee of the Cape African National Congress (Western Province), held on Sunday 13th December 1942, at the above address, and attended by the undersigned members of the said Executive, to forward to you the following resolution passed by the said Executive:- In accordance with Section 58 A, of the Congress Constitution, this Executive feels that it cannot recognise the Cradock Conference of the 16th Decemner 1942, as Constitutional. Therefore, whatever decisions are arrived at there, this Executive shall regard ^{as} nul and void.

Further this Executvie wishes to put on record its intention to appeal to the National Conference under Section 138 of Constitution, for the Appointment of an Arbitration Board to investigate certain aspects affecting the Congress in the Western Province.

Proposed by:- NDIMANDE ~~Sec.~~ Sec. (Cape Town Branch)
Seconded by:- TOMELI. G. (Kangas Branch)
CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY.

NDimande (Regional Pres.)

SIGNED:-

R.N. Dimande

W.J. Tsikue

D. Naaloo (Mrs.)

J. N. Tomelli

S. M. Stanley Silwana (Chairman Cape Town Branch)

Joseph Mkatlo (Acting Sec.)

G. Leboela
J. Sebeela

Minutes of Meeting of General Committee held in the Conference Room, Non-European and Native Affairs Dept. on Monday, 14th December, 1942, at 1:00 o'clock.

PRESENT: Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, (in the Chair), Mr. Graham Ballenden, Councillor A. Immink, Mrs. Rheinallt Jones, Major H.S.Cooke, Dr. David Murray, Dr. Ray E. Phillips, Mrs. Ray E. Phillips and Mr. J. R. Rathebe. Mrs. U. Mac Mahon was also in attendance.

APOLOGY: An apology for non-attendance was received from Professor J. Gray.

MINUTES: The minutes of the last meeting, having been circulated, were approved.

EMPLOYMENT OF STUDENTS: Dr. Phillips, in giving a short report on the School, said that definite arrangements had already been made for the employment of the following Students, graduating at the end of December, 1942 :-

	<u>MEN:</u>	<u>WOMEN:</u>
1. Directors of Recreation with Municipalities in the Union.	8	-
2. Directors of Leisure-time Activities in Bechuanaland.	1	1
3. Directors of Leisure-time Activities in Y.M.C.A. in Military Camps.	2	-
	9	1

Arrangements were pending regarding the following:-

1. Directors of Recreation with Union Municipalities	1	2
2. Principal and Matron of Delinquent Lads' Hostel	1	1
3. Investigator with Deaf and Dumb Association	1	-
4. Social Worker with Basutoland Administration	1	-
5. Instructor in New Occupational Therapy Centre for Returned Soldiers, Premier Mine Hospital	1	-
6. Physical Training and Crafts Instructor in Native Schools	-	1
7. Organiser and Instructor with Transvaal Girls' wayfarer Association	-	1
8. Assistant Probation Officer in large Municipal area.	1	-
9. Home Visitor and Social Worker, Transkei	-	1
	15	7

Dr. Phillips also mentioned that the demand by Social Agencies and Municipalities for these workers was greater than the number of Students graduating, and the following openings could not be filled from the present Class :-

1. Ten new posts with Social Agencies recommended by Report of Interdepartmental Committee on Social, Health and Economic conditions of Urban Natives(1942). These posts are to be subsidised by the Department of Social Welfare.
2. Investigators and Supervisors attached to Divisional Offices of Departments of Social Welfare, and to Staffs of Local Native Affairs Departments urged in same report.

/3. Subsidised.....

3. Subsidised posts as Social Workers attached to urban Municipal Departments of Social Welfare, also recommended in the Report of Interdepartmental Committee.
4. Y.M.C.A. Hut Leaders in Military Camps, destined for peace time leadership in Y.M.C.A. after War. Twenty-five men could be employed today if available.
5. Directors of Leisure-time Activities, and workers with Boys' Clubs, Pathfinder Scouts, Wayfarers, Boys' Brigades, for which numerous enquiries are being received.

SECOND LANGUAGE: Mr. Ballenden asked if it would not be advisable to teach a second Native language to any of the new Students entering the Class in 1943, as at the completion of the course, and when applying for an appointment, it would be helpful to the Students. The Chairman suggested that as the Syllabus was a long one, extra time spent on languages would be inadvisable, and Mrs. Jones said that it might be arranged at a later date to send Students keen on learning an extra language to night Classes at the University or elsewhere.

DIPLOMA: The Diploma for the Students' Graduation on Friday, 18th December was shown to members of the Committee present. A suggestion was made that a small Certificate be printed, detailing all the subjects taken by that Student. This was agreed to.

A. Immink,

FINANCIAL SITUATION: Councillor/ (Hon. Treasurer) reported that, although not at the end of the financial year, he estimated the expenditure at the end of December to be around £2,100.

BURSARY LOANS: Copies of the Balance Sheet and Provisional Balance Sheet as at 30th November, 1942, were circulated to the Committee Members present, and Councillor Immink asked Dr. Phillips how certain large amounts under "Students' Loans" were to be repaid. Dr. Phillips replied by reading out the following statement which each Student had signed :-

" BURSARY LOAN

" TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

" I hereby accept from the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of "Social Work a bursary loan, the total of the amounts as "shown in the following schedule. I solemnly promise, for "value received, to return the total amount due, as shown "below, to the Treasurer of the Jan H. Hofmeyr School of "Social Work in regular instalments as agreed upon in "consultation with the Director of the said School, these "payments to begin immediately after my departure from the "School after having completed the course or any part thereof".

"2 Witnesses of Signature. Signature of Student receiving
"Date. Bursary Loan.

Dr. Phillips said that the women, who were engaged at £8. per month and the men at £10 per month (with or without accommodation) should be able to repay the loan at the rate of 10/- or £1. per month when settled in their new posts. It was suggested by Councillor Immink and agreed unanimously that the amount of not less than £1. per month per Student be repaid after leaving the School to liquidate the loan.

BUILDING FUND: Councillor Immink reminded the Committee that £1,500 had been put on one side for starting a Building Fund, and strongly recommended that an additional £1,000 be added to this fund. This was agreed to and Major Cooke favoured the policy that the £1,500 be put into long-term investment, and that the £1,000 be invested in a Building Society, or, as
/Mr. Jones.....

BUILDING FUND, (cont.) Mr. Jones suggested, invested in Post Office Saving Certificates. The Committee agreed to the principle behind this proposal, and the Chairman and Treasurer were asked to decide at a later date on the best way of investing the money.

Dr. Phillips reported that the Native Affairs Dept., which had given the School a grant of £1,000 a year for 3 years, had made its third and final payment. It was understood that the situation was to be reviewed after this third payment by the Native Affairs Dept. Mr. Ballenden said he would approach the Reef Municipalities, asking if they would favourable consider making grants to the School. If so, Mr. Ballenden would try and get the Johannesburg City Council's grant of £500 increased.

ACCOUNTS: It was decided to consider the 1941 and 1942 accounts together, and to attach a list of Donors to the accounts. In connection with the Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1941, the Auditors pointed out that amounts totalling £553.12.3, should be authorized by the Committee. This authorization was accordingly given by the members present.

DONATIONS FOR 1943 CLASS: Dr. Phillips told the meeting that a letter was sent to a number of interested individuals and organizations soliciting support for students entering the new Class in 1943. The following donations were definite at the time of meeting :-

	£
Union Department of Native Affairs, (last of three yearly instalments)	1,000.
Percy Leon, Esq.,	770.
African Explosives and Industries (one half of 2-year grant of £372.)	186.
Municipal Dept. of Social Welfare. (one half of annual grant of £500.)	250.
Anglo American Corporation.	120.
A. D. Viney, Esq.,	60.
F. A. Unger, Esq.,	60.
Mrs. M. Anstey	10.
	<u>£ 2,456.</u>

Regarding Mr. Leon's donation, Mr. Percy Leon requested that he remain "Anonymous". In addition to the above it is hoped that the following amounts will be received during the year :-

Municipal Dept. of Social Welfare	250
Johannesburg High Schools	70
National Advisory Council for Physical Education	180
	<u>£ 500</u>

making a total of £ 2,956.

The Committee authorised Dr. Phillips to send a formal letter of thanks for these contributions

NEW STUDENTS FOR 1943. The list of new Students were circulated at the meeting showing the financial position of each Student. The amounts to be paid for Mr. and Mrs. B. Masekela, (£93 each per year) were queries, but Dr. Phillips explained these were offset by the amount of £372 promised from the African Explosive and Industries Ltd., On looking through the list it was noticed that a number of the Students who had applied

/for admission.....

NEW STUDENTS FOR 1943 (continued). for admission to the School had no financial backing at all, and after discussion Mr. Ballenden advised that a policy be adopted in future setting a limit to the amount to be made available from the School for each Student.

GENERAL COMMITTEE: Dr. Phillips proposed that Miss Eudore Meyer, who had been the School Secretary but who had left to join the Staff of the Municipal Native Affairs Dept., be elected a member of the General Committee. Mr. Ballenden had no objections, and the proposal was passed unanimously.

DR. AND MRS. RAY E. PHILLIPS: Councillor Immink passed a vote of thanks for the great work done by Dr. and Mrs. Phillips during the last two years. There had been many difficulties to overcome, and everyone appreciated their untiring efforts. Thanks were expressed to the Treasurer and Staff for their kind work and co-operation.

A vote of thanks was expressed to the Chairman, and there being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2.30 p.m.

CONFIRMED AT MEETING HELD ON

.....

CHAIRMAN.

.....

ABX. 421215

A.N.C.
Tol

Native Location

P.O. Dunealokot

15th Dec 1942

Dr Tuma

President General

African N. Congress

Johannesburg

Dear Sir,

as one of the leaders in the African Congress, I was surprised to learn that the Congress election for the President of T.A.C. is to take place on the 17th January 1943.

in ~~January~~ Johannesburg, in the first place, I would like to be cleared as I see there are two Congresses in the Transvaal one of Mr Nkomo Mphahlele as General Secretary and one Mr Ramohano and Company, of which Congress is known to the chiefs in the north. I would like to know from you when was Mr Nkomo Mphahlele elected Secretary for the Congress in the Transvaal and I see he is issuing Congress tickets enrolling members, and I also read about Dr J. L. M. Ntshunzi's manifesto, which speaks of colour-bar, I think in the Congress there is no colour bar. before this matter is cleared I would ask you before the 17th election, I would like to see the

until the chiefs and people are organized and enrolled as members of the Congress. The chiefs in the north are awaiting for the Congress organizers. Show the chiefs ^{about} our moves in the circulars, and when he was a secretary of the Transvaal Congress, these people must not divide us.

I shall await on your earliest reply.

Yrs faithfully,

T.R. Masethe

P.S. The moves in the circulars committee is as follows.

- Mr. S. Malaka acting Treasurer.
- " J. H. Ntshurane organizing.
- " Moses Mphahlele Special Secretary T.C.C.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

1. Name. The name of the organisation shall be the African National Congress, herein called "Congress".
2. Objects. The aims of Congress shall be:-
 - (a) To protect and advance the interests of the African people in all matters affecting them.
 - (b) To attain the freedom of the African people from all discriminatory laws whatsoever.
 - (c) To strive and work for the unity and co-operation of the African people in every possible way.
3. Members.
 - (a) Individual members: Any person over 17 years of age who is willing to subscribe to the aims of Congress and to abide by its constitution and rules may become an individual member upon application to the nearest branch.
 - (b) Affiliated Members: Any organisation whose aims are in harmony with the aims of Congress may become an affiliated member upon application, in the case of a provincial or local organisation, to the provincial committee and in the case of a national organisation, to the working committee.
The executive reserves the right to refuse an application without giving reasons.
4. Branches.
 - (a) Branches may be formed with the approval of a provincial committee in any locality within its province.
 - (b) A Branch shall consist of not less than 20 individual members.
 - (c) Each branch shall hold an annual general meeting at which it shall elect a chairman, secretary, treasurer and not less than two committee members.
5. Provincial Conference:
 - (a) The provincial conference shall be the highest organ of Congress in each province.
 - (b) An annual provincial conference shall be held in each of the provinces of the Union of South Africa. Special provincial conferences may be convened at such other times as the provincial committee may deem fit, and shall be convened upon the requisition addressed to the provincial committee, of branches and or affiliated organisations representing at least one quarter of the total number of delegates entitled to be present at a provincial conference.
 - (c) Each branch shall be entitled to be represented at the provincial conference by one delegate for every 20 members, or in the proportion laid down by the provincial conference from time to time.
 - (d) Each affiliated member shall be entitled to be represented at the provincial conference by one delegate for every 100 members or in the proportion laid down by the provincial conference from time to time.
 - (e) No branch or affiliated member shall be represented by more than 10 delegates at a provincial conference.
 - (f) The provincial conference in each province shall be responsible for the affairs of Congress in that province subject only to the general supervision and control of the National Executive Committee and the Working Committee.
6. Provincial Committee.

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