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## Ideals Of The Liberal Party

(By Alan Paton)

(The following is reproduced by kind courtesy of the 'Natal Daily News':)

It seems to be accepted by most White South Africans that great political changes are coming in this country and the Continent. Some say in fifty years, some say in a hundred, some say in a thousand, but the number of these is decreasing.

These political prophesies are concerned always with one theme, namely, the political emergence of the non-White South African. It taken for granted that he will emerge; it is taken for granted that in fifty or a hundred years he will have more rights, more responsibilities, more opportunities than he has now; it is taken for granted that more and more must be considered a partner in the life and development of our common country.

Yet how hard it is for a White South African, even when he has admitted the inevitability of these events, to decide to take one step to go to meet them. How tempting it is for him to say either that the time is not ripe, or that it is useless to take steps when no one else is willing to take them.

The Liberal Party offers to all South Africans a political home; but above all it offers to enfranchised White South Africans an opportunity to break loose from the past and to step forward with like-minded men and women towards a more just and sensible goal.

The break with the United Party, however regrettable, was bound to come. Liberals embarrassed the U.P. and the U.P. embarrassed them. To break was the decent thing to do.

It should be stated forthrightly that the Liberals broke away from the United Party because they considered that the Party either did not recognise the inevitability and magnitude of impending events, or alternately, that it recognised their inevitability and magnitude but thought it expedient to do nothing about them. It thought, and still appears to think, that there is plenty of time.

The choice before White South Africa is whether there is to be one common South African society, or whether there are to be two. Those who believe that there must be two societies are themselves faced with two choices, whether there is to be a dominant White society and a subordinate Black society, or whether there are to be two completely separated societies which are to be, within limits, co-equals.

The Liberal rejects the concept of one dominant, one subordinate society. He believes that it is neither just nor practicable.

He believes that the perpetuation of such a condition will drive all Whites into one camp, and all Blacks into another, and that we shall drift into such a state of irreconcilability that fears will be deepened, hatred sharpened, and violence inevitable.

Here the Liberal understands fully the arguments of the total separationist, who maintains that life will be intolerable under such circumstances. But he can-

(Continued on page 409)

*This world is made better by every man improving his own conduct; and no reform is accomplished wholesale.*

—William Allen White.

—o—

*Search thine own heart.  
What paineth thee in others,  
in thyself may be; all dust  
is frail, all flesh is weak;  
be thou the true man thou  
dost seek.*

—Whittier.



# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 3RD JULY, 1953

## The Liberal Party

IN our last week's issue we described the recently held conference on Indian education as an unique occasion in the history of Indians in South Africa. The inaugural meeting of the newly formed Liberal Party of South Africa, held in Durban on Thursday, last week, was an unique occasion in the history of South Africa. It was an occasion when the leaders of all shades of opinion, both White and non-White, met together on a completely equal footing in the Bolton Hall to participate in a discussion as to how the vexed colour problem of South Africa could best be solved. The spirit that has animated the formation of the Liberal Party is little appreciated by the non-White people. We do not hesitate to say that the very bold and daring step taken by Mr. Patrick Duncan together with a few of his enthusiastic associates to make common cause with the non-Whites in their fight against the unjust and immoral laws affecting them is not in a small degree responsible for the birth of this new Party. The aims and objects of the Party, as stated by Mrs. Billinger, M.P., the President and Mr. Alan Paton, author of "Cry The Beloved Country," the Regional Chairman of the Party, are to seek the abolition of the Colour Bar from the Statute Book and to work for eventual full franchise for all irrespective of class, colour or

creed and for the extension in the interim period, of a qualified form of franchise on the common roll to the non-Whites. This we think, should satisfy all except the irconcilables.

To-day there are irconcilables in South Africa on both sides—the rulers and the ruled. There are among the rulers who say, we stand for nothing but a policy of complete statutory apartheid; there are among the ruled who say, we shall be contented with nothing but universal franchise here and now. There can never be peace in the country when there are such irconcilable and uncompromising elements at work. An honourable middle course had to be found and the liberal Party has happily struck that course. The Party has just come into existence and it has an uphill battle to fight in face of the reactionary forces presently holding sway over the country. What part are the non-White people going to play in it? We should show the Liberal Party that we are not a pack of irconcilable people; that we are reasonable people with a full sense of our responsibility and have the welfare of the country as a whole at heart; that we are fully aware of the fact that the change we desire cannot come about overnight and that we are fully satisfied if there is a change of heart and substantial steps are honestly and sincerely taken to apply the principle of "live and let live"

and "love thy neighbour as thyself" in dealing with the non-White people.

To-day the non-Whites are viewing this new move with suspicion. We do not deny that there are grounds for it.

We are unfortunately in the position of "once bitten twice shy." Let us, however, remember that the principles of non-violence enjoin us not to suspect even our opponent when he professes to be inclined to reason. In Mrs. Billinger and Mr. Alan Paton in the Liberal Party we have tried friends. We must not suspect the Liberal Party but render its task easier by giving it our fullest moral and whenever necessary our active support. We must remember that in the last resort, it is through our own honesty of purpose and self-sacrificing spirit and a strict adherence to the principles of Truth, Love and Non-violence in thought word and deed that we shall attain our desired goal and not through outside help.

In so far as the United Party is concerned it has proved utterly hopeless. The Natal members of that Party, have large by been responsible for all the ills the non-Whites are suffering. Even to-day after the hard knocks it has suffered at the hands of the Nationalist Party, it lacks the courage to stand for what is right and just. Its own Party interests are, as it were, above everything. For all intents and purposes, therefore, that Party is dead in so far as we are concerned. The very fact that other parties have sprung up is proof of that. The Liberal Party in the circumstances, brings a ray of hope for a brighter future in South Africa. Let us non-Whites not in any way be responsible for killing it

by any thoughtless act on our part. The emergence of the Liberal Party does not necessarily mean that our non-violent movement against the unjust laws comes to an end. That movement, as long as it can be kept pure, consists of self-imposed suffering and sacrifice without causing physical injury to our opponents. It is to awaken the conscience of the oppressors. It can only strengthen the hands of those who sincerely mean to help us. Unless we help ourselves neither the Liberal Party nor anyone else will be able to help us. To help ourselves is to resist evil by Love and Non-violence.

## Terrorism

THE happenings at last Sunday's conference on the Rand to protest against the proposed removal of non-Europeans from the Western areas, a Sapa. report of which appears elsewhere in this issue, are a typical example of how the Government is resorting to terrorist methods against the non-Europeans, which proves its bankruptcy in statesmanship. Had it not been for the presence of an influential personality like Father Trevor Huddleston there would surely have been a massacre of innocent people and all the blame would have been put on the non-Europeans who had attended the conference. We have no doubt, we are echoing the sentiments of all non-Europeans in saying how deeply grateful we are to Father Huddleston for the courageous manner in which he had averted a tragedy. For non-Europeans to be manhandled by the Police has become a common thing in South Africa. No wonder that is so since the Government

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has given the Police a licence to act in the manner they are acting.

Mr. Patrick Duncan is to be congratulated for his great courage. It should serve as an impetus to all non-Europeans to do their duty. If we wish to win the confidence and the sup-

port of people like Father Huddleston and Mr. Patrick Duncan we must be ever careful in our speech and action. Wild speech and wild action are for those who have no case. Those who have a strong case, as indeed we have, their case will speak for itself.

the Christian principles so necessary in a period of violent transition."—Sapa-United Press.

## Segregation in U.S.A.

A Pastoral letter decreeing an immediate end to racial segregation in all Roman Catholic churches in North Carolina, was read at Mass in all churches of the Diocese of Raleigh. The edict forbidding segregation was issued by the Most Reverend Vincent Walters, Bishop of Raleigh, who recently ordered the merger of White and Negro churches in the village of Newtown Group. Public protests against the edict, which were also published in the official organ of the Diocese, were few. The letter said: "There is no segregation of races to be tolerated in any Catholic church in the Diocese of Raleigh. The pastors are charged with carrying out this teaching and shall tolerate nothing to the contrary. Otherwise, all special churches for Negroes will be abolished immediately as lending weight to the false notion that the Catholic Church, which is the mythical body of Christ, is divided. Equal rights are accorded, therefore, to every race and every nationality as is proper in any Catholic church, and within the Church building itself everyone is given the privilege to sit or kneel wherever he desires, and to approach the sacraments without regard to race or nationality. I am not unmindful, as a Southerner, of the force of this virus of prejudice among some persons in the South, as well as the North. I know, however, that there is a cure for this virus, and that is our faith," said the Most Rev. Waters.—Sapa-United Press.

## NOTES AND NEWS

Dr. Eeroques's Lecture  
Receives Publicity In India

Dr. Edgar H. Brookes's lecture in the Natal University recently on India was publicised in the papers in India through the instrumentality of Mr. P. Kodanda Rao, who was in the Union in 1927 as private secretary to the late Mr. Srinivasa Sastri when the latter held the position of Agent of the Government of India in the Union of South Africa. In an introductory paragraph Mr. Kodanda Rao, whose present address is Servants of India Society, Bangalore, wrote as follows:

"Dr. Edgar H. Brookes is one of the very few far-seeing statesmen of South Africa entitled to the gratitude of India. For years he was a member of the South African Senate, representing Native interests, and consistently strove for justice for the non-European. Due to ill-health, he resigned his Senatorship recently. Since retirement he has been active lecturing on racial policies of South Africa. One of his lectures in Natal was on India and South Africa, which is reproduced below from the issue, dated the 10th April 1953, of 'Indian Opinion,' edited by Sri Manilal Gandhi at Phoenix, Natal. His speech deserves wide publication in India."

Economic Demands Of The  
African People

A statement issued last Sunday by Mr. W. M. Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress, states:

"The ever-deteriorating economic position of the non-European people in this country, caused by, among other things, the ever-mounting cost of living, calls for serious and immediate attention by the Government.

"The living conditions of the people have become intolerable today. The vast majority of the working people suffer from want, misery, degradation, disease, bad housing conditions and low wages.

Such conditions are bound to give birth to anti-social activities.

"The Reserves are so congested and non-productive that the people are compelled to seek work in the urban areas, where the problem of employment has assumed serious proportions.

"In the mining and farming industries the conditions are so appalling that they cannot attract the workers.

"We claim that the racial policies practised by the successive Governments in South Africa are not in the best interests of the country, and that such policies rob the country of its maximum industrial development.

"Congress claims that it is in the interests of both industrialists and the working people that the entire labour force of the country be mobilised on a non-discriminatory basis and be given free scope and the necessary training, technically and otherwise, in order to produce better efficiency and bring about a sound industrial development."

Important Part Played By  
Natives

An article on South Africa's racial tensions, written by Archbishop Denis E. Hurley, of Durban, is featured in the July issue of 'Jubilee,' a Catholic picture magazine published in New York. "It is indeed difficult to see how any thinking person could honestly subscribe to a policy which aims at excluding four-fifths of the population permanently from the rights and opportunities of a society of which they constitute so important a part," the prelate wrote. Archbishop Hurley said Catholics were making a three-fold contribution to a racial solution. The Church's programme, he said, consisted of "timely reminders to the White population of its Christian duties, an effort to spread Catholic influence among White South Africans, especially Afrikaners, and the steady pursuit of missionary labours among the non-Whites to provide them with

and wet, but we had a marvellous time. I was so excited that I forgot to look for my brother, Fred Paskin, in the South African police contingent.'

No Race Discrimination  
In Rhodesia University

The Inaugural Board of the Rhodesia University has decided that admission to the University will be solely dependent on education attainment issued by the University Inaugural Board after a meeting last week. The statement said: "The Board calls attention to the following extract from the Carr Saunders report: It is not contrary to University practice to reserve certain hostels or halls or residence for particular classes of students but it would be repugnant to University tradition deliberately to place hostels so reserved at a greater distance than other hostels from the centre of the University."

Capetown City Council On  
Group Areas Act

By declining to reconsider its attitude on implementing the Group Areas Act the Capetown City Council last week reaffirmed the mandate it gave to the Group Areas Occasional Committee on March 17. The motion to review the mandate was lost when it was put by Mr. B. A. Levitas. Under the resolution which has now been reaffirmed the council has agreed that the Act cannot be implemented in Cape Town without untold hardship. It knew of no recent infiltration of one racial group into the residential area of another which called for drastic remedy. After the council disposed of the matter, the chairman of the Group Areas Committee (Mr. L. Gradner) said he would call a meeting of his committee to discuss its mandate. It is known, however, that some of the members of the committee are not satisfied with the mandate. Mr. Mark Jones gave notice of a motion for the next council meeting. He will move that discussion should be adjourned and an invitation given to the chairman of the Land Tenure Advisory Board (Mr. G. F. de Vos Hugo) to address the council *in camera* at a meeting at which no resolutions would be taken. The invitation should also be extended to the Cape Western Committee of the board.

## No Segregation In Britain

Miss Mary Williams and Mrs. Margery Austin, the two Coloured members of the League of Health and Beauty team from Cape Town, which went to Britain to give displays during the Coronation festivities, returned in the mailship with 10 other women of the team. Miss Williams, who with Mrs. Austin works in a Peninsula factory, said: "It was lovely to be in a country with no colour bar. Everyone was so nice to us. We were entertained by the other teams from different parts of Britain and Canada." The team of 27 women gave displays in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh. They all had seats for the Coronation at vantage points in London. Mrs. Dulcie Kehl said: "I was near Hyde Park Corner. We had to be in our seats at 6 a.m., and did not get away until 5 p.m. 'It was cold

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## CONFERENCE ON INDIAN EDUCATION

### IMPORTANT SPEECHES

**A** REPORT of the conference on Indian education, held in Durban on Sunday, June 21, together with our comments, appeared in our last week's issue. Owing to shortage of space we were not able to give a report of the important speeches which we now give below:

Mr. P. R. Pather in his presidential address said:

"The problem of Indian education is indeed grave. The problem has reached such magnitude that it requires the combined efforts of all of us to find a solution immediately. I emphasise the point because of the thousands of our children who, year in and year out, are crying out for school accommodation. When the schools commence their first term, the sight of Indian mothers going from one school to another seeking accommodation for their dear ones beggared description. Every school has a waiting list of children requiring admission and the astounding fact is that that list never diminishes.

"The latest figures for 1952 show that there are 61,529 children in schools. About 18 months ago, the Natal Indian Teachers' Society, Natal Indian Congress, Natal Indian Organisation and the Durban Indian Child Welfare Society agreed to the introduction of Platoon Schools. These schools absorbed about 6,000 more children but that figure is only a fraction of the numbers seeking admission. The Platoon System has many deficiencies and can by no means be said to be an ideal one. It was agreed to as a temporary measure in the hope that some of our children would receive some kind of tuition rather than being without any education. In fairness to the Department of Education, the Director of Education himself was not enamoured of the system, but it was a case of Hobson's choice. It was not to be a cure but a mere palliative.

"As I have said earlier there are 61,529 children in schools and of this number 44,170 children are in 188 Government Aided Schools and 3,187 children in 16 Private Schools. The Government schools which include primary and secondary have an attendance of 13,976 children. With the exception of Missionary Schools, every Government Aided Indian School has been built by Indian initiative and enterprise. And what is more, four secondary schools have been built by Indians and handed over to the Provincial Administration. It is true that the Administration up to 1945 financed the buildings to the extent of one-third and thereafter to fifty per

cent of the cost of buildings, but the fact remains that our people have had to make tremendous sacrifices to find the money necessary to erect these schools. It is a sacrifice, that we as a community are proud of, for, the figures of the school going children reveal the fact that approximately 75 per cent of the children are in schools built by their forbears.

#### Provincial Administration's Responsibility

"It is the responsibility of the Provincial Administration to provide education facilities for all children irrespective of colour. We cannot say that the Administration has discharged its responsibility in its entirety in respect of the Indian children. It is not my purpose this morning to quarrel with the Administration in this regard but rather to state a fact in order that the Administration will more readily appreciate the justness of the case that this conference will be asked to deal with.

"At the same time it would be ungrateful of the Indian community were it not to admit the part played by the Administration in recent years in the cause of Indian education. The building grant has been increased from 33 and one-third per cent to 50 per cent resulting in the building programme being stepped up, a Teachers' Training College at Springfield and a Government Primary School at Clairwood had been erected. We learn that soon a secondary school is to be erected at Clairwood. Then again the scales of salaries of the Indian Teachers had been increased to a degree. This progress is due to the sympathetic attitude shown by the present Provincial Administration.

"Notwithstanding the enormous sacrifices of our people and the assistance we have received from the Administration there is a big leeway to make before every Indian child of school-going age is in school. This is a problem that has baffled the Indian community year in and year out. The Administration has stated that its help would be directed towards those who would help themselves. In the matter of self-help I believe the Indian community has been a striking example. But for this self-help there could not have come into existence 4 secondary schools, 188 Government Aided Primary Schools and 16 Private Schools.

"With the best will in the world, no community, much less the Indian community, could continue to find the money to erect more schools, particularly on

the present financial basis. Conference will be asked therefore to deal with this question dispassionately and to make suggestions capable of being carried out by the Administration.

"We must find accommodation with the least possible delay for the thousands of our children who are unfortunate in not having been able to be accommodated in schools.

"There are many other aspects of Indian education that we would like to deal with but I would urge upon conference to confine itself at the moment to the question of placing every Indian child in school. This is a problem which requires our immediate attention. I am not unmindful of the feelings of the parents of these children many of whom are over fourteen years old and yet have not been able to gain admission to schools. I can assure them that this conference will let no stone unturned with a view to putting forward some practical scheme which the Administration cannot but accept.

"Let me conclude by asking the delegates present to deliberate calmly, free from emotionalism, with an eye to our main objective. Our job is to find a solution to a first rate crisis and that solution must be found by this conference."

#### Mr. J. N. Singh's Speech

Mr. J. N. Singh, the General Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress, in the course of his speech said:

"Education was the responsibility of the Provincial authorities for all sections of the population. It had discharged that responsibility fully as far as the European section was concerned. Every child was at school and there was legislation to provide for compulsory education. We are proud of this fact. We do not grudge them this because it is due to every child. We only ask that the same position should exist in regard to the other sections of the people of Natal. We want to see that the Indian child was in school and that there was an extension of legislation to provide for every Indian child being in school.

"There were no exact figures on the number of children without school accommodation but it had been estimated by statisticians to be between 25,000 and 37,000. The census of 1951, though carried out at short notice gave the figures for Durban and peri Durban area alone as over 14,000. The census taken at the beginning of this year was most unsatisfactory and no figures were available. A proper census can only be taken at the opening day of schools and if the Department

wanted a reasonably correct estimate it should arrange such a census with proper and sufficient notice to parents at the beginning of next year."

#### Root Cause—Discrimination

"The root cause for the present crisis had been the discrimination in the financing of education. For 20 years since 1925 to 1945, education was subsidised at the rate of £5 5. 0. for each Indian child at school and £16 7. 6. for each European child. This discrimination was even greater when it was coupled with the fact that the European child was compulsorily in school and thousands of pounds were lost in subsidies because thousands of Indian children were not at school. The leeway lost during these 20 years has not been made up. The Administration has continued its policy of discrimination with the result that even today much more is spent on European education even though the school population has been almost equivalent. For instance in 1950-51 £713,000 was spent on Indian education and over one million 500 thousand pounds on European education with an additional £217,000 on European hostels and £24,000 on bursaries. This is not an isolated instance. In 1947-1948 £541,148 was spent on Indian education and just over two million pounds on European education although during these years the demand and needs of Indian education were more pressing than European education.

"The strength for our demands for more Government schools and greater school building grants rested on justice backed up by facts rather than on emotionalism—which too could be excused because it was human to get emotional when thousands of our children were crying out for more schools."

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## GOVERNMENT RESORTS TO TERRORISM

### AT RAND PROTEST MEETING

#### MR. PATRICK DUNCAN'S MESSAGE

FOUR Indians were arrested at a conference to protest against the proposed removal of non-Europeans from the Western areas of Johannesburg in Sophiatown, a Western Native township last Sunday.

Six plain-clothes policemen, followed by uniformed policemen, entered the Odin cinema, where the conference was held, when the meeting had been in progress for nearly two hours.

They arrested Mr. Y. M. Cachalia, joint General Secretary of the South African Indian Congress and of the Joint Action Committee of the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress, allegedly for attending a meeting in contravention of a ban by the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism Act; Mr. A. M. Kathrada, Chairman of the Indian Youth Congress; Mr. T. N. Naidoo, Vice-President of the Transvaal Indian Congress; and Mr. B. Saloojee, a member of the Indian Youth Congress, allegedly for obstructing the police in the execution of their duty.

They mounted the platform and removed Mr. Cachalia, a plain-clothes man holding him by each arm. The 2,100 delegates in the hall booed loudly and continuously while Mr. Cachalia was being led down the aisle, but there were no incidents.

Father Trevor Huddleston, who is in charge of the Anglican Mission in Sophiatown, accompanied Mr. Cachalia out of the hall.

After Mr. Cachalia was arrested, Father Huddleston came out in the street and remonstrated with the police and returned to the cinema.

He came out again and asked Colonel W. Prinsloo, head of the Special Branch of the Witwatersrand C.I.D., to move the policemen outside the cinema, and said that if this was done, the meeting would disperse peacefully.

Colonel Prinsloo agreed and shortly afterwards the police drove away.

Before the meeting started, plain-clothes policemen entered the hall and arrested Kathrada, Naidoo and Saloojee, who, they alleged, tried to prevent their entry.

They were met in the entrance by Mr. Cachalia and Father Huddleston, who told them that the conference was private and asked for their warrants. They said that they had none and were

then told that they could not enter.

They refused to leave until Father Huddleston had telephoned a lawyer. He told Major A. T. Spengler, second-in-command of the Special Branch of the C.I.D. of the Witwatersrand, who commanded the detachment, that according to the lawyer, the police could not enter the hall without a warrant.

After that the police remained outside until they entered to arrest Cachalia.

About 40 policemen, including non-European constables, arrived shortly before the meeting began.

They were armed with rifles, bayonets and Sten guns.

A few hours later, about 30 more policemen, mainly non-Europeans, arrived.

Before the European policemen entered the cinema to arrest Mr. Cachalia, about 50 non-European policemen armed with assegais lined up on the pavement outside the cinema.

A few European policemen, fully armed, stood in the road.

Mr. W. M. Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress, who said he was addressing his first meeting after being banned from attending meetings for six months, told the conference that the people of Africa stood firmly for peace throughout the world.

He said that Africans were particularly interested in peace, because war meant the oppression of subject peoples.

Today Africa was the only Continent still dominated by foreigners. As a result of this, there was now a spontaneous movement throughout Africa for the organisation of a pan-African congress.

Father the Rev. R. Huddleston, opening the conference officially, said that there was no truth in the reports that the Anglican Church had obtained a valuation of its mission site in Sophiatown to negotiate with the Government for the sale of the mission.

He said that he had a message from the Right Rev. R. A. Reeves, saying, "We shall never negotiate with this Government."

Father Huddleston read a message from Mr. Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General of the Union, who was arrested and convicted at the end of last year for entering Germiston location without a permit, while taking part in the "Defiance of Unjust Laws" campaign

He quoted Mr. Duncan as saying that, to protest against the proposal to remove the non-Europeans from the western area of Johannesburg, he would abandon his appeal against the conviction, and serve the 100 days compulsory labour to which he had been sentenced.

Father Huddleston urged the conference to appeal to all people of goodwill in all races to oppose the removal of non-Europeans from the Johannesburg western areas. He said that there were several in the Johannesburg City Council, the Transvaal Provincial Council and in Parliament, who would support them.

He said that the attitude of the City Council on this question had been deplorable:

"It has been an attitude of fear and cowardice. But I know there are men on the City Council who will support us. We must make it clear to them that we want their support."

The conference, unanimously passed a resolution calling on the Government, "in the interests of peace and harmony," immediately to withdraw the plan to remove the non-Europeans from the western areas and expressing the "determination of the people of the western areas to remain and defend their homes at all costs." —Sapa.

## IDEALS OF THE LIBERAL PARTY

(Continued from front page)

not agree with the argument that the only way to make life tolerable will be by complete separation. He maintains that the solution of complete separation demands a length of time and an amount of money and land that are not available to us; and, what is more, that it will demand from White South Africa a willingness to make sacrifices of which there is no or little sign.

He sees in neither of these two policies any solution of the real and fundamental problem of creating a harmonious multi-racial community. The first he regards as futile and dangerous, and the second he regards as an impossible means of evading the problems posed by fear and pride, pride perhaps most of all.

To him the problems of living together can only be solved by living together, and are only evaded, and made ultimately more formidable, by the total separationist.

The Liberal sees the political problem thus—if there is to be any evolutionary solution for our difficulties it will be adopted only because White voters consent to it. One cannot, however, satisfy those White people who oppose any extension of the franchise, nor can one satisfy those non-White people who clamour for the universal franchise.

Both these groups are condemning their country to an era of repression and revolution. The Liberal Party advocates the fair extension of the franchise to all those who qualify to receive it. These qualifications will be the same for all. One of the important matters before the July conference of the party will be to define them.

One of the great fears of White South Africans is that

they will be outnumbered by non-White voters who will then proceed to vote as non-Whites to repress and humiliate all White people.

That such a thing might happen, no one denies. But the Liberal Party denies that it must happen.

In their own Party men and women of all races are striving for common ideals; they trust and respect one another; they have confidence in one another's decency and humanity.

Why should not this party itself be a forerunner of the kind of country that is to come, when men and women think of themselves more and more as South Africans and less and less as White and Black, as Afrikaner and non-Afrikaner?

Surely it is only in such a country that there will be peace, and hope for our children.

Surely such a country must come. Why not then take a step towards it, courageously and intelligently?

It is such a country that the Liberal Party believes in; and until that day comes when no man need suffer because of his colour or race, the party will continue to proclaim its ideals, and to accustom unaccustomed ears to the language of justice and commonsense.

If the Liberal Party is to be a forerunner of the kind of society that inevitably must come, then the sensible thing to do is to support it, so that it may not only be the forerunner, but also the creator, of this new society.

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## ADMISSION OF INDIAN WOMEN AND CHILDREN TO THE UNION

WE have received the following communication from the Director of the State Information Office of the Department of the Interior, Pretoria:

Sir,—The attention of this office has been drawn to your leading article of February 20, last, in the course of which you quote freely from the text of "what the Minister (Dr. Donges) is reported to have said" in the Assembly on February 10, last, on the Government's new policy regarding the admission of Indian women and children to the Union.

You quote: "Since the Agreement a total of 4,929 Indian women and children had entered the Union," and in your comment you state "According to his (i.e. the Minister's) own statement 4,929 Indian women and children had entered the Union in the last thirty-nine years which is by no means a considerable number."

If you will compare this with the Hansard report, a copy of which is before me, you will find that the Minister stated that the 4,929 Indian women and children entered the Union in the past five-and-three-quarter years, the annual figures, quoted at the time by the Minister in Parliament being:

January 1, 1947	1,000
" 1948	987
" 1949	865
" 1950	957
" 1951	715
" 1952 (to Sept. 30)	405
	4,929

This office is in no way concerned with the opinions expressed by newspaper editors—indeed, one of its free services is the compilation and distribution of a daily Press Digest of editorial opinion taken from all the leading newspapers of the Union—but it is in duty bound, in the interests of all concerned, to call attention to any serious fallacy such as that in your editorial under reference. As an experienced journalist you will readily admit, I am sure, that there is a grave discrepancy between 39 years and 5½ years. You will, therefore, readily concede that this must severely qualify your deduction that the total of 4,929 "is by no means a considerable number," i.e. spread over "the last thirty-nine years" (an average of 126.2 units per annum) instead of 5½ years (an average of 857.2 units per annum.)

I have no doubt that you took the report over from another source in good faith, and, therefore, feel equally sure that in the

circumstances you will draw the attention of your readers to the position as originally stated by the Minister. Perhaps, too, you will be good enough to let me know what your original source was so that I may be able to draw its attention to the discrepancy."

[The report in question was taken by us from the 'Cape Argus.' We based our criticism on the statement reported to have been made by the Minister of the Interior, that "since the Agreement a total of 4029 Indian women and children had entered South Africa." While we are grateful to the State Information Office for having drawn our attention to the discrepancy in

## HUMAN RIGHTS

THE United Nations Association of Norway has published a children's version of the Declaration of Human Rights which paraphrases only those elements of the Universal Declaration which experts believe children would most readily understand on the basis of their own experience and observation in family, school, and social life. The resulting 10-point statement is as follows:

**Rights:** All human beings have equal rights from the time they are born.

**Equality:** These rights are ours whether we are children or adults, boys or girls, men or women, whether our abilities are great or small, whether we are strong or weak, and whether we have parents who are respected by others or whether we do not know who they may be. The peoples of other countries have the same rights as we have. There is no distinction on account of the colour of our skin or the difference in our clothes, nor because of our beliefs or teachings, how we talk or how we live, or for any other reason.

**Justice:** It is the right of each of us to behave according to our age without being plagued or punished, so long as we do not interfere with the rights of others.

No one shall be blamed for anything wrong before it is quite certain that he is to blame. Those who have done wrong shall also have the right to explain how it all came about. So far as it may be possible wrongdoers shall be treated in such a way that they

the quoted figures and are happy to make the necessary correction, we must respectfully state that what is of importance is not so much the number of women and children who have entered but the principle involved in it. The women and children who had entered had done so legally as wives and children of Indians domiciled in the Union. To disallow the entry into the Union of such wives and children, apart from being a deprivation of a long standing existing right, constitutes a harsh, unjust and an inhuman step. If the Minister of the Interior thinks that he has gained a point by referring to figures, which may or may not be correct, he is at liberty to do so. The fact however remains that his contemplated step is wrong in principle and from a practical point of view it is unjust and immoral.—Editor I. O.]

do not only stop hurting others but of their own free will wish to live together with us in peace and friendship.

**Punishment:** We shall never—whether we are children or adults—be punished in any way but that which is reasonable and worthy among free grown-up people.

When we are together. We also have the right to meet with goodwill from others. We shall also be left in peace when we so wish, so long as we do not upset others, or neglect to do something which ought to be done. Each of us has the right to own things which others shall not take from us or use against our will.

**Democracy:** All who have joined together in a group have

equal rights to take part in decisions. All shall be able freely to say what they think and what they believe in without being tormented. No one shall be threatened or tricked into joining anything against his will.

**Security:** All of us have the right to get help from each other whenever we are in need. We have the right to be free of unnecessary fear, and no one shall be brought up by means of fear.

**Leisure Time:** Both children and adults shall have reasonable time with the right to do what they want, so long as it is not against the spirit of the Declaration.

**The Community:** We shall all work together so that everyone throughout the world can get enough food, clothing, and homes and so that all who want to can benefit from research and poetry, art, and sport. Everyone shall have good working conditions so that they can use their abilities and knowledge as useful members of the community. Before we grow up we shall have the benefit of good schooling where we can be helped to develop our abilities in willing co-operation with our teachers and with each other.

**The Limits of our Rights:** Nothing in this Declaration shall be used as a pretext to refuse others anything of what is stated herein. Nothing in this Declaration gives us any right to behave differently towards others from the way we expect them to behave towards us.

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## GROUP AREAS ACT TO BE AMENDED

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

THE Government has decided in principle to introduce as soon as possible legislation to amend the Group Areas Act, says a statement issued by the Department of the Interior last week.

The statement says that the purposes of the Group Areas Act are twofold:

"To restrict further penetration, and to control the displacements of ownership and occupation which take place in the ordinary course of events,

The control, which is necessary in order not to allow the existing state of affairs to deteriorate, is being exercised to the full extent and it will continue to be so exercised.

"As a result of this control, says the statement, improved conditions have already come into existence in many places.

"The institution of group areas is the second purpose, but it obviously requires a long-term policy and this was the intention embodied in the Group Areas Act.

"The demand for the institution of group areas, however, is so extensive and pressing, particularly in urban centres where there are mixed areas, that it is advisable to speed up action under the Act.

"If, however, this is done, there will be more dislocation and fluctuation in the value of property than was originally expected.

"These and other related problems have been considered.

"The Government has decided in principle to introduce as soon as possible legislation, the object of which will be to facilitate the displacements which must necessarily follow upon the institution of group areas.

"It will also avoid wide fluctuations in the value of properties.

"Details of this legislation will probably be discussed with interested authorities.

"The basic idea is to make it easy for people who have to leave an area to dispose of their properties and to assist them to obtain accommodation elsewhere.

"It is also necessary that properties in evacuated areas should be renovated and adapted for members of the coming group.

"It will be necessary to ensure that no deterioration of the existing housing position takes place as a result of institution of group areas.

"A second idea is that an increase in the rate at which group areas are established should not result in excessive profits being made, or excessive losses being suffered, in connection with the values of properties.

"There should be a scheme in terms of which increases and decreases in value above and below a fixed level will be eliminated.

"The intended legislation is being drafted and will be published in due course. As a result of this legislation there will be further amendments to the Group Areas Act," the statement concludes—Sapa.

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## MR. NGUBANE AND THE LIBERAL PARTY

THE EDITOR INDIAN OPINION

SIR,—In your issue of June 19 Mr. Ngubane writes: "Mr. C. W. M. Gell has been writing a series of articles in 'The Forum' trying to argue the case for principles being more important than anything else for the Liberal Party."

This is a very natural misapprehension. The article referred to was, in fact, written on April 17 (i.e. before the Liberal Party existed) and published in May 'Forum' two or three days after the Liberal Party announced its birth. The article was then reprinted in 'Indian Opinion' on June 5 and 12.

Its propose was not, as Mr. Ngubane suggests, to serve as a philosophical basis for the new party; but to plead with the Opposition in general and the United Party in particular that they will reverse their retreat into reaction and their unprincipled 'opportunism, and take their stand once more, however tentatively, on the basic postulates of western civilisation. Since, however, I am enough, of a political realist to understand that for historical and other reasons the U.P. will never become a

truly liberal party, my article only urged upon it a degree of liberalism far beyond its present trend but still well short of the position I hope to see the Liberal Party adopt. For I regard it as a legitimate liberal aspiration to try and win the U.P. back from making common harrenvolk cause with the Nationalists towards some semblance of its own older and mildly progressive.

Seen in this limited context, Mr. Ngubane may find fewer grounds for disagreement with my article, though I would agree with him that the chances of success of even such a limited objective are none too bright. And in the meantime I shall continue to work, though silently for the present, for a Liberal Party genuinely founded on principles applicable to all aspects of our plural society.

Later, no doubt, my tongue will wag publicly again. Just immediately, as Mr. Ngubane noted in an earlier article, the Liberals are getting so much gratuitous printed advice that they can well do without mine as well!—Yours faithfully, C. W. M. GELL.

## WAVE LENGTH CHANGES IN A. I. R.

It is hereby notified for general information that wavelength changes have been introduced in A.I.R. broadcasts directed to East and South Africa and Mauritius. The time and the new wave-lengths are as follows:—

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Gujarati	09.30 — 09.40	6. — 6.10	16.94 & 19.83
	22.00 — 22.45	18.30 — 19.15	25.47 & 19.51
Swahili	21.15 — 21.50	17.45 — 18.20	25.47 & 19.51



Mr. Nehru and the Prime Minister of Burma (marked B), who recently toured the Indo-Burmese frontier, looking at a Burmese dance in a village on the Burmese side of the border.—P.I.B.

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## LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

## RACIAL ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA

By C. W. M. GELL

(Reproduced by Courtesy of 'Public Affairs' In which it was published in November 1952.)

## III

THE Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign began quietly on June 26. It has proceeded so far with a dignity and restraint which few thought possible, despite a certain amount of police provocation and ill-treatment in prison (usually explained away as "tripping on the stairs leading down to the cells" or "falling against the table in the charge-office"). By the middle of October, although Defiance was still theoretically confined to selected volunteers and had not yet been switched to mass resistance designed to "fill the jails," over 7,000 passive resisters had broken minor discriminatory regulations, been arrested and gone to prison joyfully rather than pay their fines. Some juveniles have been caud. Late in October mounting tension led to some dangerous excitement among crowds of Africans at Defiance demonstrations in Peddie and Kimberley, and to vicious little riots at Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg in which four Europeans were murdered and 10 Natives killed by the police. These were followed by a riot at Kimberley on November 8 in which 13 Natives were killed and another at East London next day in which 2 Europeans and 8 Natives were killed. It is possible that the number of Natives killed may have been underestimated and in the four riots at least 136 Natives are known to have been wounded. None of these riots arose out of Defiance incidents. But rising racial tension, the Government's proscription of most of the non-European leaders and its refusal to meet any of them, all play into the hands of the hooligan element among the Africans and of the extremists on both sides of the colour bar. There is obviously a grave risk of increasing violence.

If there has been some failure in the leadership of the Defiance Campaign—a failure to carry out education about non-violence among a people who (unlike the Indians) are not prepared for it temperamentally or philosophically, and some misappropriation of funds—the Government is partly to blame. For, since May, it has proscribed some 500 alleged Communists, mostly Indians and Natives connected with the campaign. A small number of these men are un-

doubtedly genuine Communists; seeking to extract the maximum profit for their cause from any strife or dissension, regardless of human suffering. Their exact number is not known—in the UNO debates the Union delegates referred to 25 alleged former members of the Communist Party whom the Government considers dangerous—but it is only a fraction of those who have been "named" and driven out of their jobs in the Congresses and Trades Unions on the basis of police evidence, untested in the Courts. This indiscriminate use of the Suppression Act against opponents of the Government's racial policy alienates support which South Africans would otherwise unanimously give to a drive against genuine and proved Communists—and seriously hampers moderate non-European leaders in their efforts to keep control over their wilder followers.

The Government's attitude to this Defiance Campaign is straightforward. As Mr. J. G. Strydom, the Minister of Lands, said on September 13: "The White man can only succeed in staying in South Africa...if we retain all power in our hands." By definition under the Suppression Act, anyone is a Communist who "advocates, advises, defends or encourages the achievement of any of the objects of Communism. These "objects," according to Nationalists, include racial equality, thus making the Act applicable to liberals. (When the present writer wrote to this effect in a Johannesburg daily, he was shortly afterwards interrogated by the C.I.D.) Therefore, Defiance demonstrators, organisers and sympathisers are dangerous revolutionaries who must be ruthlessly suppressed. In any case, the non-European must be put in his place and taught who is *baass*. Mr. Strydom has promised new legislation similar to that used against the openly terrorist Mau Mau in Kenya. Mr. C. R. Swart, the Minister of Justice, is itching to flog passive resisters and has told the police to take "drastic action—to use their batons where necessary and to shoot where necessary," an injunction they are only too likely to obey with alacrity.

There are Europeans who are deeply disturbed by the Defiance Campaign and the lack of White response to its moral and

political challenge. But those who think thus are a small minority of the White population and, with a virtually all-White election impending, no political party dare move far from "White supremacy." The Opposition leader, Mr. J. G. N. Strauss, recognised the necessity of reaching agreement with moderate non-European leaders and has promised to consult them. But his four-point colour programme—1. social segregation; 2. no miscegenation; 3. residential segregation; (4) the application of non-European labour for the benefit of the country as a whole "on our farms, in our kitchens, in our factories and in our mines"—could only appeal to Europeans. In paying lip-service to consultation with non-Europeans, he dare not offer concessions which the European electorate will reject; and without concessions, consultation is meaningless. Mr. Strauss's further promise to "lift the colour issue out of politics"

is as irrelevant to the existing situation as his hope of greatly increased White immigration, which cannot affect the issue in time.

My own view is that few marginal European voters will believe, as Mr. Strauss assures them, that there is a way back to the traditional policy of Hertzog and Smuts: that more moderate language and a less militant administration of the law plus, perhaps, a few unimportant concessions will restore racial harmony. Offered the choice between the full-blooded *baasskap* of the Nationalists and the Opposition's slightly more anaemic version of the same theme, the floating voter, on whom the election result depends, may well fear to make any concession to an organised non-European agitation, lest it be interpreted as a sign of weakness. If he takes this essentially short-term view of his own self-interest, the Nationalists may well win again by another narrow majority.

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A Cholera Certificate is necessary for passengers leaving India for Africa. It is therefore, recommended that passengers travelling from South Africa intending to return, should be inoculated before departure.

The telephone number of the Nairobi office of Air-India International, has been changed to 29870. Telegraphic address remains as "AIRINDIA."

Air-India International have pleasure in announcing that they have signed an order with De Havillands for the purchase

of three Comet Mark III Aircraft, for delivery in 1957.

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Representatives of the Governments of India and the United States are holding discussions in New Delhi on a bilateral air agreement. The Civil Aviation Department of the Government of India has invited Mr. S.K. Kopka and Mr. A. F. Dubash to attend as advisors.

In order to give better service to the travelling public, Air-India International have replaced the Skymaster aircraft operating the Tourist Services between Bombay-Karachi-Nairobi by Constellation aircraft.

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## Things In General

### Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls' School Concert

A very fine variety programme was rendered by the Dartnell Crescent Indian Girls' School on June 27, 29 and 30. During the performance one was transported away from the harsh work-a-day world to a fairy land, where toys became alive and animals were almost human, where one found only music, dancing and laughter. The stage sceneries and the make-up and dresses were very well done indeed. Some of those taking part will go far in the dramatic world if they continue to take an interest in their abilities. A school concert sounds rather a boring affair to grown-ups and especially to those who have no relatives in the concert, but this concert was far from boring, and one can safely say that it was indeed far superior to many concerts and entertainments rendered by grown-ups. The whole show was very well organised and the 2½ hours of soft, light, sweet music, young voices, dreamy rhythm and lively tunes of little girls and sweet young girls, came to an end with the beautiful "Prayer for the Nations" by Alan Paton. One went home with a feeling of pleasure, of having seen something very beautiful, though still in the budding stage, but which with care might flower out in full bloom. Congratulations go to the performers, but most of all to those of the school staff who worked so hard behind the scenes to give us such an interesting and pleasant evening.

### Cultural Relations Between India And Foreign Countries

Under the scheme of the Government of India to promote cultural relations between India and foreign countries and to extend educational facilities available in India to students of other countries the following students have been selected for the grant of scholarships for higher studies in India:—

(1) Mr. S. S. Naidoo for M.Sc. (Physiology) at the Calcutta University, (2) Mr. M. B. Somers for B.A. or B.Sc., (3) Mr. K. B. Mehta (for teachers training at P. R. Training College for Men, Ahmedabad, (4) Mr. M. L. Khutsoane of Basutoland for M.B.B.S. at Medical College, Madras. Mr. A. H. Mahate has been selected for admission to a reserved medical seat in the Seth Gordhandas Sunderdas Medical College, Bombay.

### British Indian Association Buluwayo

At the recently held annual general meeting of the British Association (Buluwayo) the following executive committee was elected for the year 1953-54: Messrs. N. V. Desai, A. S. Petker, K. N. Rana, H. M. Naik, H. M. Jogee, Prag R. Vaghmaria, P. R. Vaghmaria, J. B. Ramphal, B. Vithal, Soobiah S. Ragadoo, R. K. Vashee, D. R. Parekh, P. Vithal, E. Esat J. I. Nathoo several sub-committees were also elected.

The B. I. boat 'Karanja,' which arrived in Durban last Sunday, has brought among other passengers Mr. Nathoo-bhai Mistry of Messrs. Master

Bros. of Johannesburg and Mr. S. B. Mehd who, after spending eleven months in India, has once again returned to this country hail and hearty.



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The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, performing the opening ceremony of Aijal-Lunleh Road during his recent visit to Aijal (Lushai Hills).

This Road is 128 miles long and was constructed with the voluntary labour of the tribal people of Lushai Hills.—PIB.

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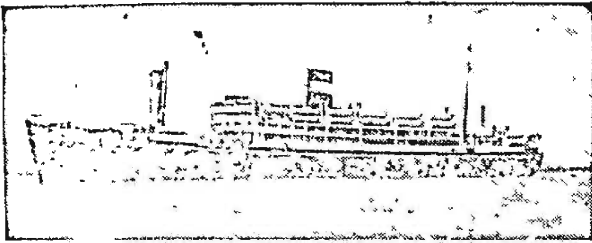
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