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INDIAN OPINION

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If We Choose

"There was enough moral wisdom to organise great nations such as England or France on the basis of internal peace, but it was a difficult task which took centuries of effort. Is there enough moral wisdom to organise a world society to enable the European, the Hindu, the Chinese, the Negro to live together on tolerable terms to overcome their vast diversities of tradition, language, and race, to curb the rapacity of unscrupulous men, to control exploitation and close the door on war? We cannot with any certainty affirm that there is moral wisdom enough, but we can with assurance say that it is wholly a question of the enough. Given an adequate moral development, there is here no hard stone of obstruction on which it must break its teeth. We have to educate ourselves, and that is all there is to be said. We can succeed in it if we choose, but enough of us must so choose."

—Leonard Trelawney
Hobhouse.



African Racial Conflict Danger To Peace

AT a public meeting in New Delhi recently Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, referred to India's foreign policy of friendliness towards all nations. He said India was pulling her weight on the side of peace, though she was not a great Power in the military sense of the word. Her might was not of the atom bomb. But her sincere and truthful attempts in the cause of peace and international good-will compelled respect and hearing in the counsels of nations.

Mr. Nehru said he foresaw great danger to world peace emerging from Africa and said that, as time passed, the African question would loom larger and larger. The struggle in Africa was bound to assume a most dangerous character, for it would then become a question of white *versus* coloured all over the world.

Mr. Nehru advised Indians in Africa to conduct themselves in a dignified manner and never even harbour a thought of gaining any advantage at the cost of the African people. They should regard themselves there as guests of the African people. Mr. Nehru declared that unmistakably India's sympathies were entirely with the African people in their great struggle against exploitation and repression colonialism.

Pakistan

Referring to Pakistan, Mr. Nehru said that, for the first time since partition, the common people of Pakistan were beginning to look upon the people of India with genuine feelings of friendliness. Welcoming this change, Mr. Nehru said they wished that the terrible state Pakistan was passing through would end. Their sufferings would do no good to us. If disaster were to overtake Pakistan, it would not be good for them, Mr. Nehru said. He said that today voices could be heard in Pakistan against the *mullahs* (Muslim divines), and the feeling was growing that Pakistan should develop on India's secular lines. Sometimes, he said, they looked with envy upon the progress of India and regret was expressed why Pakistan did not develop a state on secular lines and why it did not frame a constitution like India's. There was also a feeling that the influence of the *mullahs* had to be destroyed and the people freed from their clutches. All this was very significant, the Prime Minister pointed out, and was a great portent for the future relations of India and Pakistan.

Kashmir


Referring to the agitation in Jammu and Kashmir, the Prime Minister said that communal organisations like Praja Parishad in the State were only helping Pakistan and were weakening India's strong case before the United Nations. He said Kashmir was a national question and must be regarded so by all political parties. Mr. Nehru said he never had any doubt about the Kashmir issue during the past five years. They had gone to Kashmir when the people of Kashmir themselves wanted India to come to their help in the event of Pakistan's aggression. But the Parishad activities were affecting the minds of the people of Kashmir. Mr. Nehru said these communal organisations were pursuing a shortsighted and senseless course. To separate Jammu from Kashmir would be giving Kashmir on a platter.

Mr. Nehru said the recent happenings in Pakistan must be a lesson and warning to all. No country could progress by mixing politics and religion. India's secular stand was praised by Iran, by Turkey, and by Egypt, where General Neguib wanted his countrymen to emulate India's ways and policy.

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 15TH MAY, 1953.

Coronation

 OUR readers would naturally desire to know what our attitude in regard to participating in the Coronation celebrations would be. Let our views not be misconstrued. We are second to none in our loyalty to and our deep affection for Her Majesty the Queen. But the significance attached to the Coronation in the past does not exist today. There is no such thing as a King or Queen today. They are just figureheads who have no authority of any kind. They have no individuality of their own. They may not speak or act as they would desire. They can only speak or act as they are made to by a set of persons who have assumed power for the time being. It is sham and hypocrisy to use the term "In the name of His Majesty the King" or "In the name of Her Majesty the Queen." It would be more true to say, for instance, in the present case, "In the name of Mr. (now, Sir) Winston Churchill and Company." All this pomp attached to the Coronation therefore seems to us to be a farce and it seems real, sinful to squander so much money especially when Britain herself, leave alone the world, is passing through troublous times she has never experienced before.

We are therefore inclined to agree with the views expressed on the Coronation by Mr. Emrys Hughes, M.P., reported elsewhere in this issue. We were very much impressed also by a

recent article by Dr. J. H. Holmes of New York, we reproduced in our issue of May 1, wherein he compared the simplicity of the inauguration of the American President with the Coronation of the British Queen.

And now to come to the participation of the non-Europeans in the Coronation celebrations in South Africa. We find ourselves as non-Europeans in a very peculiar position. Our woes hardly reach the ears of Her Majesty the Queen and if they do Her Majesty is utterly helpless to do anything to bring relief to us. The very fact that a question should arise as to whether we should participate in the Coronation celebrations or not shows that there is something wrong somewhere,

The Queen is and should be the possession of all alike. If in times of trouble we forget all distinctions between caste, creed, colour or sex and hug each other as helpless creatures seeking the help and mercy of the King of Kings, we utterly fail to see why in the world those distinctions cannot be put aside for once at least on a great auspicious and historic occasion like this and why all the people irrespective of their colour cannot join together in hailing the Queen and participate equally in the jubilations. Why must the non-Europeans just because of the colour of their skin be treated as pariahs and why only crumbs should be thrown to them while

those blessed with white skins should eat the cake. This is how the celebrations seem to be arranged by the local authorities and the non-Europeans are expected to participate in them without a murmur as a matter of course. This is what dampens the enthusiasm of people who value their self-respect above everything else as indeed all should do, and they feel it would be better to remain at home and send their silent prayer to Her

Majesty that Her Majesty may be blessed with health and long life and that her reign may bring peace and happiness to Britain and to the world. Whilst these are our views the choice to participate in the celebrations on any conditions should at least be left entirely to individual judgment. It should be expected of course that those who do choose to participate would do so whole-heartedly with an inner joy, not out of fear of being black listed.

NOTES AND NEWS

Formation Of A Liberal Party

THE South African Liberal Association, after a meeting of its federal council in Capetown, has issued a statement announcing that it was to form a Liberal Party based on the following principles: (1) Essential dignity of every human being, irrespective of race, colour or creed, and the maintenance of his fundamental rights; (2) Right of every human being to develop to the fullest extent of which he is capable consistent with the rights of others; (3) Maintenance of the rule of law; and (4) that no person be debarred from participating in the government and other democratic processes of the country by reason only of race, colour or creed, and that political rights based on a common franchise roll be extended to all suitably qualified persons. The Party, the statement said, will employ only democratic and constitutional means to implement its principles, and will oppose all forms of totalitarianism, such as Communism and Fascism. Membership of the Party will be open to all who subscribe to its principles. The Association has members in all four Provinces. The statement says a programme is being formulated by the federal council, and this will be submitted for ratification to a conference to be called by the new Party as soon as possible. The office bearers of the Party are: President, Mrs. V.M.L. Ballinger, M.P.; vice-presidents: Mr. Leo Marquard and Mr. Alan Paton; national chairman: Dr. O. D. Wollheim; national vice-chairman: Mr. Leslie Rubin.—Sapa.

Mr. Louw Attacks Anglican Bishops

Referring to "the attacks made by certain Anglican Bishops on the Government Apartheid policy," Mr. Eric Louw, addressing a Nasionale Party meeting at Beaufort West said: "Perhaps one of the Bishops will explain why, in most of their churches, a special section is set aside for non-European worshippers. He asked whether the Bishops would be prepared to practice what they preached and admit the children of Coloureds and Natives who were communicants of the Church, and who were able to pay the fees, to Anglican Church schools. "If you are not prepared to answer this question you can hardly blame me and others if we doubt the sincerity of your protestations about the iniquity of discrimination on the grounds of colour, and if we are reminded of the gentlemen in the scriptures who stood at the corner of the street and thanked God that he was not like unto other men. Did not the Anglican Synod resolve that it was unchristian and even blasphemous to assert that discrimination was justified because of a different pigmentation of the skin? These questions are being put not only by myself but also by communicants of the Anglican Church, some of whom want to know why colour discrimination is reserved for the schools of those who are able to pay the fees."—Sapa.

Objectionable Literature: "People's China" Confiscated

We have been informed by the Collector of Customs and Excise that "People's China" addressed to us has been detained at the Post Office and has been declared to be objectionable.

All issues of this publication are therefore prohibited from importation into the Union and a copy at present under detention are seized in terms of Sections 21 (1) F. 122 and 143 (1) of Act 35 of 1944. The Section in question reads as follows:—(1) All ships, vehicles or goods, which have been seized under any law relating to Customs, shall be deemed to be condemned and may be disposed of in terms of Section one hundred and forty-seven, unless the person from whom the same have been seized, or the owner or his authorised agent, gives notice in writing, within one month after the date of the seizure, to the person seizing, or to the Commissioner, or to the proper Officer at the place where the seizure was made that he claims, or intends to claim, the said ship, vehicle or goods.

(2) If no such notice be given, no legal proceeding whatever shall thereafter be instituted against the State, the Minister, the Commissioner or any Officer, based merely upon the seizure of the ships, vehicles or goods.

(3) When a notice in writing has been given in terms of subsection (1), the person giving such notice shall, within ninety days of the date of such notice, but, except with the consent of the Commissioner, not earlier than one month from the date thereof, institute proceedings in the Court of competent jurisdiction, for obtaining release of the said ship, vehicle or goods.

The Federal Party's Non-European Policy

The following is stated to be the non-European policy of the Union Federal Party sponsored last week-end in Johannesburg by Mr. G. Heaton Nicholls and others: The abandonment of fear as the guiding principle, and the adoption in its place of courageous policies, offers the only hope in the field of non-European affairs. The policies that have so far been pursued hold out no genuine prospect of permanently peaceful relationships among the peoples of South Africa.

We believe that the immediate aim in the field of non-European affairs should be rapid improvement of living conditions, welfare services, education, and economic opportunities; thus striking at the roots of crime, disease and political discontent.

We adhere to the principle that the franchise already extended to the non-European should in no

way be curtailed or by any means rendered less effectual. The South African-born non-European should be accorded a right of expression in the organs of Government, commensurate with his degree of civilisation, as follows:—

(a) The present system of limited group representation of Natives to be maintained and an interim period of group representation of Indians on a system similar to that accorded to Natives to be initiated;

(b) Subject always to due safeguards against disproportion representation of any one section of the non-European population, the long-term policy to be taken in steps over a considerable period of years, is the ultimate placing of those non-Europeans who have passed suitable tests of a high standard, upon the common roll of voters.

We recognise the fact of increasing economic integration of the non-European peoples in the economy of South Africa.

We accept the desirability of residential and social segregation between Europeans and non-Europeans, to be obtained on a fair and equitable basis and wherever possible by the encouragement of voluntary population movements through housing and town planning schemes designed to that end and to the establishment of the foundations of a sound family life.

We believe that those Natives who have attained a high degree of civilisation should be entitled to exemption from those laws designed for the protection of backward peoples.

We stand for the recognition of all South African-born people, Coloureds, Bantu and Indians, as members of the greater South African community.

The Saneer Of The Two

Needless to say that the saneer of the two Parties mentioned above seems to be the Liberal Party which not only meets with the desires and aspirations of the non-Europeans but is in keeping with democratic principles.

Labour M.P.'s Views On Coronation

Mr. Emorys Hughes, a Labour member of Parliament, has washed his hands off the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth next month. He means to have no part in it, he says, and he has written a pamphlet "The Crown and the Cash," assailing Sir Winston Churchill's Government for "spending £2,000,000" on the Coronation. Mr. Hughes is 59 years old, a Welshman who re-

presents a Scottish constituency. He is a son-in-law of the late Mr. Keir Hardie, famous Socialist pioneer. He said: I have never attended a Coronation, and I do not intend to start now." He said he hoped the young Queen would reign even longer than her great-great-grandmother Victoria, who ruled from 1837 to 1901. He considered that the country would not need another Coronation for 80 years. Mr. Hughes opened his pamphlet—by saying nobody who had read the autobiography of the Duke of Windsor could have anything but sympathy for the Royal Family. Nobody bore any personal ill-will to the young Queen, the mother of two children, whose reign it was fervently hoped would bring an era of peace and prosperity to Britain and the world. "But with a Tory Government in power, and

with Sir Winston Churchill Premier, it soon became clear that the Coronation of the new Queen was to be made the occasion for an enormously expensive spectacle. "All the nation's emotions were to be worked up to a wireless and television, to be followed so it was suggested, by a general elections at which an electorate stupefied and dazed by flag waving and national anthems, singing and mass suggestions—would go to the polls to vote again for a Tory Government." Mr. Hughes claimed that altogether the Monarchy cost Britain about £1,000,000 a year. He also criticised the expense entailed in building a new Royal yacht. He said on the day the Queen launched the ship there was an announcement that President Eisenhower was giving up his official yacht because "it was a symbol of needless luxury.

REPATRIATION OF FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTED IN INDIA

RELAXATION OF RESTRICTIONS

THE Government of India had announced on June 22, 1950, certain relaxations in the exchange restrictions on the repatriation of capital invested from non-sterling area countries in projects approved by the Government of India after January 1, 1950. The announcement, however, expressly excluded appreciation in the value of the investment from the scope of the repatriation facilities, except to the extent of the profits of the investment ploughed back into the business with the approval of the Government of India. The Government of India have reviewed this policy and in order to stimulate investment of foreign capital in desirable channels have now decided to withdraw this reservation. Accordingly the repatriation of capital from the sale proceeds of the investments made by residents of countries other than the countries of the sterling area, Norway, Sweden and Denmark, will from now on be governed by the following principles:—

(1) Capital invested after the 1st January 1950 in projects approved by the Government of India may be repatriated at any time thereafter together with any capital appreciation in the value investment.

(11) These facilities, however, will not apply to purchase of shares on the stock exchange unless it is an integral part of an investment project approved by the Government of India after the 1st January 1950.

*To suffer woes, which hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death;
To love, to bear, to hope; till hope creates from its own wreck the thing it desires;
Neither to change, to falter or repent;
This is to be great, good; beautiful and free;
This alone is life, joy and victory.*
—Shelly.

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SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS—(2)

MALAN-SASTRI AGREEMENT

By C. W. M. GELL

From 'The Forum' (Johannesburg)

THE second phase of South Africa's relations with Indians overlaps the first to some extent. It began with the advent of a few "free" Indian immigrants after 1874 to supply Indian food and clothes required by the coolies and the "freed" Indians.

As the latter increased in number, some set up as small shopkeepers, market-gardeners, pedlars, as well as entering domestic and public service. Thus free and freed Indians combined to form a resident Indian population composed of a minority of traders, small-holders and salaried persons and a large majority of wage labourers.

The slump of the late '80s saw the beginning of large-scale European hostility towards the Indians.

Law 3 of 1885 segregated Indians in the Transvaal because of "their neglect of sanitary measures and loathsome mode of living." But the law was hardly enforced at all, and many Indians living in the Transvaal today (or their fathers) received grants of land from President Kruger and other prominent Boer leaders.

Most of the Transvaal Indians today descend from the free immigrants whose commercial enterprise and financial loans were much appreciated by Europeans in the expanding areas of the Reef and Pretoria.

From now on, though indentured immigration continued for 20 more years, the story is one of increasing restrictions against Indians.

After obtaining self-government in 1892, Natal levied a poll-tax on free Indians in an effort to induce them to go home. Originally fixed at £25 a year—a punitive figure for those days—it was reduced to £3 as a result of the Indian Government's threat to curtail indentured emigration.

In 1896 Natal abolished the Indian parliamentary franchise when there were 9,309 Europeans and 251 Indians on the roll. In 1827 an Act restricted free Indian immigration into Natal and another introduced trading licences which were sparingly granted to new Indian applicants.

In 1903 Milner said of the Transvaal with some justice:

"The Asiatics are strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them."

But it must be recalled that a number were already legally resident there and the large illegal entry into the Transvaal during the next few years was as much due to the corruption and inefficiency of the immigration staff as to the persistence and ingenuity of the Indians.

A government that does not effectively enforce its laws cannot dissociate itself from the consequences. In 1906 the Cape applied a literacy test to Asiatic immigrants and, when the Transvaal next year demanded fingerprints from all its Indians in an effort to sort out the legal from the illegal resident, it sparked off Gandhi's first passive resistance campaign.

This continued off and on for six years and culminated in the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement which was embodied in Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 and the Indians Relief Act of 1914.

The only concession to Gandhi was the omission of explicit reference to "Asiatics" in the wording of the Act. The Indians Relief Act abolished the Natal poll-tax, recognised the validity of Indian marriages and offered free passages back to India for permanent repatriates.

Smuts hoped that, once Europeans were relieved of their fear of being swamped by continued Indian immigration they would treat the resident Indian population more reasonably. But this hope was never fulfilled.

Restrictions on Indian rights to reside and trade in various localities were steadily increased and Dr. Malan's "Class Areas Bill" of 1925 provoked a Round-Table Conference between the Indian and Union Governments, which led to the first Cape Town (Malan-Sastri) Agreement of February, 1927.

By this pact the two Governments undertook to co-operate in a scheme to repatriate our Indians voluntarily—the Union providing free passages and a small cash bonus, India accepting responsibility for rehabilitating the repatriates in India.

Other clauses of the Agreement recognised the Union's right to

maintain Western standards of civilisation and its responsibility for the education, housing and welfare of whatever Indians remained in the Union and conformed to Western standards; the Class Areas Bill was dropped and the Union agreed to allow the entry of one wife per resident from India and minor children born to her outside the Union.

In view of these conditions it was strange, though perhaps not uncharacteristic, to find the chief Nationalist negotiator, Dr. Malan, repudiating several of the clauses within three months.

On April 12, 1927, he told the Potchefstroom Chamber of Commerce: "The whole object of the agreement is to get as many Indians repatriated as possible. All other points were subordinate to this. The agreement is not an agreement in the usual sense of the word. The Union Government does not bind itself in any way with regard to future legislation and can impose any legislation it likes in the event of the repatriation proposals not working satisfactorily."

Nothing whatever in the Agreement justifies this convenient theory that the "subordinate" clauses and the Union's responsibilities lapsed, if sufficient Indians did not accept repatriation. It is, in fact, our failure to honour the obligations towards our resident Indians, here freely accepted by a Nationalist-Labour coalition Government in a pact between two virtually sovereign states that has given India a pretext to intervene in our domestic affairs;

She has the undoubted right to press us to fulfil the responsibilities we acknowledged in 1927, though it may be both illegal and unwise to raise this issue at U.N.O.

The second Cape Town Agreement of 1932 recognised that, since over 80 per cent. of our Indians were by then Union-born, few wished to return to the land of their origin. Possibilities for emigration elsewhere—Brazil, British Guiana, New Guinea—were explored without finding any hopeful prospects. Voluntary repatriation had failed.

Two lessons still relevant today emerge from this phase of trying to reverse the flow of Indians into this country.

First, that, for various reasons to be discussed in the next article, our Indians do not wish to leave the country in which well over 90 per cent today have been born. Possibly some could be induced to go by offering a larger cash bonus, but the cost to us would be prohibitive.

Otherwise, we are left with some form of compulsory deportation. Since we invited the Indians here, enforced expatriation of Union-born citizens must be ruled out as morally unthinkable and practically impossible, as no country would agree to accept them. There is really no honest way of evading the truth that our Indians are here to stay.

Secondly, Nationalist spokesmen are making almost as much of the "Brown menace" as of the "Black." There are almost daily references to "India's national aspirations in Africa" and to "India's policy of making Africa a dumping ground for her surplus population."

I am myself quite clear that the 200,000 Indians in the East and Central African territories constitute no sort of significant outlet for a population problem that runs into millions.

But the allegations are even more obviously unfounded in regard to the Union. For, since 1913, the only legal immigration into this country has been that of wives and children under the Malan-Sastri Agreement—a mere matter of 7,940 women and 9,138 children in 25 years.

As for illegal immigrants, Dr. Donges said that 14,000 had been detected (and presumably deported) in the 40 years since 1913. In fact, Indian immigration into the Union has been virtually closed these last 40 years and its reopening has never been made an issue either by the Indian Government or the Indian community in this country.

(To be Continued)

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MR. LUTHULI ON AFRICAN'S PROGRESS

SPEAKING at a meeting of the Durban and District Joint Council of Europeans and Africans at the Bantu Social Centre, last week, Mr. A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, said:

"Some people claim that the African will submerge and destroy Western civilisation. I don't think so, for he has set out to acquire it. The problem is to discern between the mere veneer and the substance of this civilisation.

"It is unfair to call the African a savage for he possesses quite a high degree of civilisation and a certain amount of refinement in outlook and basic knowledge. It is largely for political reasons that certain White people have vilified the African in the eyes of the world.

"In all scenes of modern life the African, notwithstanding his shortcomings, is advancing. In spite of the formidable obstacles in his way the African has made great progress. Religion has



Mr. A. J. Luthuli

"We must not assume that before the White man came to South Africa the African was stagnant. Records show that the White man came into touch with an active, virile people who were progressing towards civilisation, however slowly.

"The popular belief that the African is an ignorant and uncivilised savage is untrue. Judged by the 'outward forms' and knowledge that goes with modern civilisation the African is on a lower strata, but it is the inner aspect of civilisation that counts, and here the African stands far higher than is thought. He has the civilisation of the heart.

"Before the advent of the White man the Zulu had a code of ethics and conduct similar to the Jewish one, which is the basis of Christianity. He had courts, which shows he lived in an ordered society. He could mine and work iron and had developed music and art,

destroyed and neutralised heathenism and Christian civilisation and influences have had a considerable beneficial effect.

"Not all Africans are practising Christians, but neither are all Europeans, but consciously or unconsciously, the African is gradually acquiring the forms of a Christian way of life.

"Culturally and industrially as the African makes his contributions in this field so his status rises.

"In the sphere of education, in spite of difficulties such as poverty, we are turning out men who have distinguished themselves in the field of music, art and literature. Although their efforts may seem feeble to some, they are making a distinct contribution to civilisation, and against their background you must applaud them for it."—'Natal Daily News.'



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THE WIDER WORLD

By JOHN GILD

A SHAM FIGHT

NATAL is supposed to be in revolt against the Malan Government. I do not myself attach any lasting importance to the movement gathering around Heaton Nicholls. In the first place Mr. Nicholls' record in public life is well known. He is more conservative and less liberal than most of the United Party leaders. He can claim to be the father of much of the Native policy embodied in the legislation of 1936. He has never in his life been visited by anything resembling a moderately generous impulse towards Indians or Africans. If you study his wordy pronouncements, you will find him conveniently woolly about non-European rights and wrongs, but I suspect that he believes the United Party was not hostile enough to the claims and aspirations of non-white people.

At heart this so called "spiritual secession" of Natal is nothing much more than dislike of Afrikaners. It is not, fundamentally, opposition to the colour policies pursued by Afrikaners. It is a quarrel over words and forms, over methods and techniques for retaining white supremacy, not over the question whether it is wise to try and maintain such supremacy. This movement will therefore only deserve support if and when it proves itself more, not less, liberal than the United Party. I doubt if it will do so because its main activity will be to detach votes from the U.P. and it can hardly do so by being more liberal.

Only Angry Words

Natal has no legal or constitutional right to secede from the Union. Mr. Strydom is perfectly right in saying that secession can only be made with the consent of Parliament. That consent can hardly be gained by a process of argument and persuasion. What is the alternative? That is the vital question that these brave Natalians decline to face. History shows that men achieve their political aims only if they are, in the last resort, prepared to struggle for those aims by all effective means. In recent times this has meant passive resistance, strikes, refusal to pay taxes, meetings and demonstrations of protest, all undertaken in a spirit of sacrifice and regardless of the legal consequences to those who participate. I do not believe that Natalians for a moment contemplate any activities more militant

than angry speeches at exciting meetings. And if they ever do, I hope that someone will warn them of the new law making it a serious crime to break any laws as a form of protest. Natal is fatally handicapped in advance by the laws against passive resistance which it helped to pass through Parliament.

The opposition to the Malan Government is tending to divide into various grounds, of which a new party in Natal is only one. A liberal party may well be another, but we must wait and see how liberal it will really be. What matters most, to my mind, in these days is that liberal ideas and political education should be kept alive and that friendship across colour lines should be maintained and cultivated.

Influence Of The Press

In their forlorn search for the reason for defeat, the United Party's supporters have recognised the only factor, namely, their lack of an Afrikaans daily paper to champion their case. This is childish. The influence of the Press is considerable, but it is often exaggerated. In 1924 and again in 1929 Herrzog won a general election although the Nationalists were supported by only one daily paper in the Cape. In Britain, to this day, the Labour Party is supported only by the 'Daily Herald,' while the Tories have scores of other papers behind them, both in London and in the provinces. In the United States Roosevelt was elected President four times in succession although four out of every five dailies are Republican, not Democratic. In any case, I don't suppose that the United Party will start a new Afrikaans daily. Journalists reckon that it would cost anything up to a million pounds to finance such a project. The Party's previous papers, 'Die Volkstem' and 'Die Suiderstem' both failed in spite of generous subsidies. One reason for their failure was mismanagement. The U.P. finds it very hard to attract able men to its paid staff. No Afrikaner journalist, even if his sympathies lay with the U.P., would leave a secure post with the flourishing Nationalist papers for an insecure one with a new paper unlikely to survive. A weekly paper would be an ambitious enough venture to undertake in the light of earlier failures.

Economic Realities

The English dailies, moreover, are not keen to see a new Afrikaans daily set up because it would compete with them for advertisements as well as readers' Papers like 'The Star' and 'The Cape Argus' and the 'Cape Times' pride themselves on having many Afrikaner readers. These readers are, in some proportion, Nationalists who enjoy sporting news and other non-political features of the English dailies. That is one reason why the English papers, except in Natal, have now begun to modify their opposition to the Nationalists.

Another reason lies in the desire of the Chamber of Mines (which, of course, controls most of the papers) to come to terms with the Malan Government. The mines have much preferred Mr. Havenga to Mr. Hofmeyr at the Treasury. As long as the Nationalist Party refrains from imposing heavy taxation on the mines and from interfering with cheap migrant Native labour, the mine-owners will never strain their resources or exert themselves greatly to oppose this Government. The Chamber of Mines and its allies are also hoping that the crisis of the Constitution over the Coloured franchise will somehow be settled in a friendly fashion. They believe that if it were settled and the rule of law appeared to be respected, capital from overseas would again be encouraged to come here. And the mines really need capital to develop the gold-fields in the Orange Free State.

These are some of the economic realities behind all the sound and fury of the white politicians.

'New York Times' On Dr. Malan

"All civilised people must feel a sense of shame at Dr. Malan's victory," says an editorial article in America's leading daily, 'The New York Times.'

"No man is an island, and Daniel F. Malan is not an exception; no country is a world apart in these days of one world; no continent like Africa can suffer such a shock without its repercussions spreading across the seas and oceans.

In this first consideration of the election results one cannot do more than to repeat the reason why Malanism has met the hostility and condemnation of the free world. It is a simple matter of moral principles. To Dr. Malan the white race is permanently superior to that of any other and the white man in South Africa has the right, the duty and the privilege of ruling the other races, keeping them apart and on a lower level. This is a false and wicked doctrine which has been rejected by modern civilisations and by religion at all times.

That the vastly outnumbered white man has a practical problem of enormous difficulty and complexity in South Africa is not denied, but that it should be rationalised into the monstrous doctrine of racism is wicked. Therefore there will be a day of reckoning for these men, since human beings will not endure injustice and the loss of freedom interminably."

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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

DIFFICULTIES BEFORE A LIBERAL PARTY

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

ABOUT a fortnight ago a top-level conference of representatives of the African National and the South African Indian Congresses on the one hand and a number of European political groups on the other met in Johannesburg to explore the possibilities of introducing a liberal party in this country. In itself the move is a very sound one—showing as it does, that there are men and women in the white community who are prepared to be guided by reason in their dealings with their darker-skinned countrymen.

But at quite an early stage difficulties arose over the crucial franchise issue. On the one hand white people—with, I believe very good intentions—proposed a slightly "loaded" franchise for the African. The African National Congress representatives felt they could co-operate in anything which relegated to the African an inferior status.

The question is a delicate one and requires to be approached with open mind as is humanly possible.

The white case for "loading" the franchise for the African should not be dismissed off-hand if the intention is to get to a workable solution of a problem that is somewhat tangled. But this, at the same time, should not mean that the African should be expected to rush headlong into any scheme designed to protect the interests of the white minority group. Statesmanship on either side will seek for the happy means which will assure the whiteman that it is not his destruction that is being plotted while convincing the African that no new plot is being cooked to delay his march to an existence.

On the White side, we must acknowledge frankly that there exists a very genuine fear of being swamped by our numbers. And, on the facts before us: our numerical superiority, for example; it is not a case without foundations. The majority of the white people feel that they can save themselves from being swamped if they retain power in their hands for the longest time possible. In other words they say to us that of their own free will they will never share it with us. They will do this or surrender it to us only when we exert on them irresistible pressures.

But if the whiteman is afraid of being drowned under in a tide of colour to us the danger of extermination as a result of his colour policies is very real. His racial policies have done more to ruin us within the last fifty years than to make us a healthier and happier people. If they are persisted in, in the future, our race shall be wiped off the face of South Africa one day. This, we are determined to prevent happening even if we have to give our lives.

The white liberals would appear to have a good case when they ask for a "loaded" franchise for our people. If we accept this they might approach their own people and hold our acceptance of the "loading" as proof of our sincerity when we say we do not intend dominating the whiteman. If that happens, liberalism might build a new and stronger bridge of peace between Black and White in this country.

But then there are snags in this; snags of so serious a nature that the Congress standpoint requires to be equally appreciated and respected. At the moment it has been tentatively suggested that Standard VI, at least, should be the educational standard entitling an African to the vote. This, in fact, means that only a small percentage of the African people will have the vote. For the bulk of African pupils do not reach Standard VI because of economic and other conditions altogether beyond their control. This is not the position in the other racial groups.

The smallness of the African electorate would mean, in practice, that our voice in Parliament would not be strong enough to enable us to see laws passed which would materially improve our own living and educational standards. We would be in Parliament alright, but we would not have the power to influence events in a way to bringing us to the position of complete equality with the other races within a reasonable period.

There is a second good reason against loading the vote. In the French colonies in Africa, for example, the Westernised or educated Africans are being absorbed into the strata of the ruling whitemen. This creates a situation where these men, because their interests are those of the foreign rulers, often work in a way which not always bene-

fits the masses of their own people. They tend to become the black scion of the ruling aristocracy and work generally for the preservation of their own class interests and not for the masses of suffering humanity. The leaders of the African National Congress rightly refuse to betray the masses of suffering Africa in the way their counterparts have tended to do in French Africa.

What we are fighting for in the African National Congress is the emancipation of Mankind. We regard as sacred the human personality as such and not so much what a man has achieved. Because of this, we work for a social order in which every human being created by God will be free to rise to any position to which his talents entitle him in this country. We are against creating a ruling class of so-called "civilised" men who will in turn dominate the masses of our backward people.

We do not intend setting up a tyranny of the "civilised" of all races in the place of the present tyranny of colour. We have suffered too long and too much from tyranny to believe that one form of it might be very much better than the other. I see the world "civilised" here, in the sense in which most white people use it to justify their oppression of us.

Supposing that we did accept partnership on the "loaded" basis; supposing the leaders of the African National Congress felt it was better to have a few seats in Parliament as representatives of the privileged few—than to wallow in the uncertainty of the status quo—what would be the position of the "civilised" few within the ruling class?

Economically the African still has to cover too much ground to catch up with the European or to a lesser extent, the Indian. They would not be human if they (the white people) did not use their own collective economic power to perpetuate the position of dominance which their own economic position would entitle them to. So that even within the circle of the "civilised" the Africans would find themselves an impotent minority—their numbers notwithstanding.

Thirdly, of course, the fact the new political alignments are being seriously discussed is something which has come about largely as a result of the exertions of the African National Congress. Congress enters these negotiations from strength. It has shown its organising ability and demonstrated that it can marshal up behind it forces which can bring apartheid

toppling to the ground. At this stage, and after so many sacrifices, Congress cannot be expected to be satisfied with a junior partnership where its own sacrifices and strength entitle it to something better. People must take into consideration the fact that national self-respect is a living reality in African life today.

But when all this has been said, the African National Congress, because of its strength and because its own attitude might wreck or reinforce the foundations of the new and broader nationhood now being laid, needs to temper its own determination with statesmanlike realism and avoid placing itself in the position where its political sincerity might be seriously doubted.

We have to face the position very frankly that not a single group which is not African will feel comfortable in an arrangement where every African will have the vote. The Indians might accept this arrangement; they might not. But the Coloureds and the Whites will certainly reject it. If Congress insists on this condition, it will wreck the prospects of a united anti-Apartheid front which would be supported by all the other races. It would, on the other hand, give Malan all the ammunition he would need to prove to the white people that what we want is to dominate in a vindictive way all the other racial minorities—which we sincerely do not want to do.

We can demonstrate our own sincerity only in one way: by showing that when we are strong we are reasonable; by showing that when we have the power to force developments our own way, we are prepared to treat with respect the other man's wishes, by showing that when we can ensure respect for our own wishes, we shall not do to racial minorities the things that are being done to us by our present oppressors; by showing, in short, that we are not paying lip-service to the ideal of tolerance. And I believe we can do that in no better way than by accepting the principle of a "loaded" franchise for the African people for a certain period. The alternative, I am afraid, is the communal franchise—a poor starting point for liberalism.

I myself do not like the proposals advanced to date for the "loaded" franchise. They will enable us to win the political war and lose the peace. If we win let us win both. This is what we are fighting for.

I know there are Congressmen who would rather go into the wilderness than accept the

"loading" principle in any shape or form. Anybody who knows what we have been through, can't help appreciating their attitude. But we are evolving into an historic phase which is new in our experience. Where before we were weak and powerless, now we are slowly becoming and being recognised as masters of our own fate—because of our strength, proved in action. If then the advocates of an unfettered franchise can go into the wilderness and wait for the day when they will have everything their own way, why can't they wait in altogether different circumstances? Wait for the day when every African shall enjoy the franchise. In the meantime co-operate in accelerating the evolutionary processes

now being released to solve a problem not without its difficulties.

It will be a grave mistake on both the African and the white sides in the present discussion if either hurries to break off the negotiations. We cannot expect peoples who have been brought up on racial hatred for centuries suddenly to discover that they agree on every point. Either side will have to give a lot and take little if we are to get anywhere near solving the problems of our country. And, in doing that, we should avoid bargaining for the immediate purpose of capturing parliamentary seats; that will lead us down a number of tragically blind alleys.

Our watchword should be tolerance and realism.

now India or Indian-controlled Kashmir) were used in the most obvious and easy way to irrigate desert areas (now in Pakistan) along their own watercourses, i.e. in S. W. Punjab. Partition cut the sources of all five rivers off from the main irrigated areas and left the headworks of two major canal systems in Indian hands. It is natural now that India should wish to divert these waters to desert areas in East Punjab and Bikaner. Equally naturally, Pakistanis fear that such measures will jeopardise the fertility of large areas in Pakistan, for whose development Hindus and Sikhs were no more responsible than Muslims. This is not a matter where "international usage" or "obvious justice" lies clearly with either party. Both are struggling with one of the serious economic consequences of the tragedy of partition, for which both must share with the British the blame and responsibility. Time, the good offices of genuinely impartial friends and much more forbearance than your correspondent has shown are required to see that the just aspiration of both republics to regard to the Indus-basin waters are as fairly and fully met as science can devise.

May I finally suggest, Sir, that you bring to your correspondent's notice the very troubled and uncertain future which lies before the Indians of this country? This surely demands that we should emphasise what unites rather than what divides and refrain from importing here (as your correspondent has done almost verbatim) the partisan politics of certain sections of the Indian and Pakistani press. We need not avoid contentious issues; but we must discuss them with understanding of opposing opinions sincerely held and with charity for the strong emotions generated on either side. In this respect the report from your Karachi correspondent in the same issue sets a standard which I hope your Bombay correspondent will in future strive to emulate.

Yours faithfully,

C. W. M. GELL

ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE.

CONTENTIONS OF KASHMIR

THE EDITOR INDIAN OPINION

SIR,—As one who has strong ties of interest and affection with both India and Pakistan, as well as personal experience of the Punjab, I must protest against the very partisan manner in which your Bombay correspondent discussed Indian-Pakistani disputes in 'Indian Opinion' for May 1st.

He mentioned the three most contentious issues of Kashmir, the canal waters and evacuee property, the last two at some length. Any fair-minded and informed person knows that much can be said on these issues from both sides. But the consensus of impartial world-opinion is against India on Kashmir and against Pakistan on evacuee property. I will, therefore draw attention to the misleading argument used by your correspondent about the Punjab canal water dispute which is still under investigation by neutral experts.

Your correspondent wrote: "In September 1951 India formally proposed...that the... agreement be referred to arbitration. Pakistan did not accept the proposal." This is a deliberate half-truth. India proposed an arbitration tribunal of two judges from each side. Since unhappily no such tribunal has reached a conclusion on any matter since partition, Pakistan refused this proposal

as likely only to perpetuate the stalemate. Pakistan offered to accept neutral or UNO mediation, as also in Kashmir. In both cases India refuses this, unless Pakistan first accepts most unreasonable preliminary conditions. In each case India's geographical advantage (the possession of three-quarters of the area of Kashmir and of the upper reaches of the Ravi and Sutlej rivers whose waters are in dispute) ensures that procrastination is to her benefit, for it will enable her to confront Pakistan with a Kashmir whose economy and constitution have been integrated with India's and with rivers whose water have been successfully diverted. Pakistani suspicions about the sincerity of India's offers to negotiate cannot, therefore, be dismissed as purely fanciful.

Secondly, your correspondent quotes certain facts as showing that at partition Pakistan received most of the water and irrigated land of the Indus basin, "highly developed by Hindus and Sikhs." From these facts he infers that "it is obvious where justice lies."

But the facts do not prove what he insinuates. They merely show that many years ago in undivided Punjab the waters of the five rivers (all of which rise in what is

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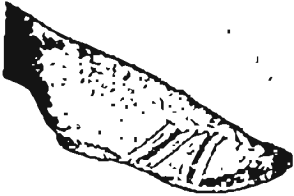
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INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, May 1.

WITH the dismissal of Mr. Nazimuddin and the institution of a new Cabinet under the leadership of Mr. Mohamad Ali in Pakistan, the prospects of an amicable settlement of the outstanding issues between India and Pakistan have brightened to a considerable degree. In the new Pakistan Cabinet there are persons like Abdul Khan Kayum Khan, the former Premier of N.W.F.P., who are avowed anti-Indians, but many of them are liberals, who will sacrifice personal feelings and political propaganda for the interest of their country, which will best be served by friendly relations with India.

Mr. Mohamed Ali, the Premier of Pakistan, lost no time in declaring his intention to start talks with Mr. Nehru. Pakistan Government has called a conference of Premiers of Muslim countries, but not a single country responded to that call. Now Mr. Mohamed Ali has declared that he would like to call a conference of Premiers of all Asiatic countries, thus obviously renouncing the intention, at least for the present, of joining MEDO, to which India had taken strong objection. His advocacy of joint defence of India and Pakistan which would save millions of Rupees to both the countries that can be gainfully employed for promoting the welfare of the people of both the countries, has created a very favourable impression in New Delhi.

His first message to Mr. Nehru expressing his desire to have friendly relations with India and to solve all the problems through peaceful negotiations, has evoked favourable response.

Pakistan officials' delegation which was expected to arrive in New Delhi last week, but postponed its departure from Karachi due to a change of Government, is now expected to arrive in India in about a week's time to counterparts in Delhi and prepare grounds for a meeting between the two Premiers. Mr. Mohamed Ali has written a second personal letter to Mr. Nehru, the contents of which are not yet revealed. Pandit Nehru is expected to reply to the same after finishing the tour of famine-stricken areas of Maharashtra.

Mr. Nehru and Mr. Mohamed Ali will discuss the outstanding issues, on the basis of the groundwork prepared by

the officials at New Delhi, in London where both the Premiers will proceed to attend the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth.

The agitation by the people of Karnataka has again brought the question of linguistic States, which was given a decent burial for at least five years at the Hyderabad session of the Indian National Congress. Mr. Nehru announced at Belgaum that a Commission on linguistic States would be appointed after the formation of Andhra State and watching its progress for "some time, say, a year."

The proposed Commission's terms of reference would include consideration of the feasibility of redistributing States on linguistic bases and also whether such States would prove economic and viable units. The Commission would examine all aspects of redistribution on linguistic bases and recommend measures for the creation of these States. Then the Government would draft a Bill on the basis of the Commission's report and call for public views on the Bill.

As a result of the recommendations of this Commission most of the Part "B" and Part "C" States and bifurcate too unwieldy States such as Uttar Pradesh.

India is slowly but steadily progressing towards its aim of creating a welfare State. The Government of India took a big step in this direction by implementing Employees' State Insurance Scheme in Kanpur and Delhi. Under this scheme workers get medical relief in the event of sickness or disablement and cash benefits during these contingencies.

For the dependents of employees who die as a result of industrial injury, there is a provision for pension and for the female workers there is a provision for ante-natal care and cash benefit for the period of disablement due to maternity.

The Employees' State Insurance Scheme is expected to start working in all industrial towns of India with more than 5000 industrial workers by the beginning of 1954 and to extend to smaller areas by the end of that year.

Preparations are being made by the Employees' State Insur-

ance Corporation for the early implementation of the scheme in Greater Bombay, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Jubulpur, Calcutta, Bangalore and Madras.

The scheme covers all perennial factories run with power and employing 20 or more workers and includes all manual and clerical employees getting a remuneration of not more than Rs. 400 per month.

Employers all over the country are paying, from the date of implementation of this scheme, special contribution by way of subsidy for the fund required for the benefits in Kanpur and Delhi. In addition, the employees in "benefit areas" are paying their share of the contribution.

When the scheme is implemented in Greater Bombay it will provide benefits to over 4,00,000 employees working in about 1600 industrial undertakings. In Ahmedabad it will cover nearly 1,50,000 employees working in about 300 industrial concerns.

The Government of India is seeking to nationalize air transport in India and the Air Corporations Bill has been introduced in the Indian Parliament.

During the debate on the Bill, Mr. Jagjivanram, the Communications Minister, expressed his confidence that as a result of nationalisation, commercial air transport in India can look forward to a very bright future.

During the last few years the position of the air transport industry as a whole had worsened due to uneconomic running of various routes. Apart from economic considerations, other considerations which weighed with the Government in sponsoring the present measure were defence requirements during an emergency, transport of food and other essentials during any natural calamity.

The Government would take over all the assets and liabilities of the present air companies and pay compensation on the basis of the valuation of the assets in negotiable bonds bearing an interest of 3½ per cent. per annum.

The Bill provides for setting up of two Corporations, one for operation of long distance international air services and the other for domestic air services and for services to neighbouring countries.

The confabulations of the new Indian High Commissioner for Ceylon, Mr. C. C. Desai, with the Prime Minister of Ceylon and his colleagues seem to be bearing fruit. The question of citizenship of Indian settlers in

Ceylon has defied solution due to the intransigent attitude of the Ceylon Government. Mr. Dudley Senanayake, Premier of Ceylon, had asked Mr. Nehru to have personal discussion on this question. Pandit Nehru had refused to have such talks before a preliminary agreement was reached on broad principles, otherwise the talks may end in failure and may result in only emphasising the failure.

Mr. C. C. Desai has come to New Delhi to seek personal instruction from the Prime Minister to evolve a specific basis with a view to facilitate fruitful discussion between the two Prime Ministers when they meet in London.

The Government of India has prepared a scheme for participation of students in community projects. The community projects, for rural areas development, are undertaken with the assistance of America and are progressing well. Many offers from students for work during the summer vacation had been received by the Planning Commission and it had been discussed with the Development Commission of the State Governments at a meeting held in New Delhi recently.

The Development Commissioners had welcomed the idea and said that they were already in contact with the authorities of the institutions concerned in regard to the students' participation in the work. The main features of the scheme are that the students' participation must be for a minimum period of fifteen days and the nature of the work that is to be undertaken by the students will be decided by the project authorities in consultation with the institutions sending the students.

The scrapping of the policy of giving lands to political sufferers has created a rift between the Rajgopalachari Ministry in Madras and the Tamilnad Congress Committee.

The Tamilnad Congress Committee strongly opposing the policy of the Chief Minister, Mr. Rajgopalachari, has openly attacked him and Mr. Kamraj Nadar, president of the Committee, is gathering support from disgruntled Congressmen for an open revolt against Mr. Rajgopalachari.

At the Tranquebar conference of the Tamilnad Congress Committee Mr. Kamraj Nadar, raising the banner of revolt, told his colleagues that there was nothing disgraceful in receiving land grants from the Government which were measures of

reward for the untold sufferings endured by the patriots in the fight for the country's freedom.

But it is felt that Rajaji will not bow down to his erstwhile rival in the political arena and change his decided policy.

The Government of Madras has ordered the prosecution of the British owned Madras Electric Tramway Co. before the Chief Presidency Magistrate, under the Industrial Tribunal Act, for stopping the tramways without any notice. The result of the prosecution will be either to make the Company run the tramways again or after paying all the legitimate dues to the workers throw out without notice, wind up the concern.

People of Uttar Pradesh are waiting with interest for the result of two cases in which the Chief Minister, Mr. Pant, the leader of the Opposition in the State Assembly, Mr. Rajnarain Singh and the Speaker of the Assembly Mr. A. G. Kher are involved.

The Election Tribunal has been hearing the election petition of Mr. Abdul Rauf who was defeated by Mr. Pant at the last general election at Bareilly. On an application by Mr. Rauf, the Tribunal has decided to record the evidence of Mr. Nehru by a Commission.

The second case of Mr. Rajnarain Singh raised a constitutional issue. Mr. Singh was removed by the police on the order of the Speaker from the Assembly Chamber last month on the alleged charge of disobedience of the orders of the Speaker. His case was referred to the Committee of Privilege of the House, which recommended that he should not be allowed to attend the present session of the Assembly.

The leader of the Opposition has questioned in the High Court this punishment imposed on him by the Committee and subsequently confirmed by the House. His Counsel argued before the Court that his client had been punished twice for the same offence; first when he was ordered to be removed from the House, and again when the House passed the resolution suspending him from the House.

This, he pleaded, was in violation of Article 20 (2) of the Constitution which laid

down that no person shall be prosecuted and punished for the same offence more than once. The hearing is going on from day to day.

Moral Re-Armament

LONDON'S Royal Festival Hall for the first time on May 10 heard the African Anthem 'Nkosi Sikelela I-Africa' sung by a chorus of 100 voices from twelve nations. The audience of 6000 overflowed the hall into two large marquees nearby.

It was at a national Assembly for Moral Re-Armament to mark the fifteenth anniversary of the movement. The platform party included representatives from South Africa, the Rhodesia, Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, the Sudan and Abyssinia. Mr. John Serony, an African student from Kenya said, "The question facing Africa is one of leadership. Will it be white or black leadership? Moral Re-Armament shows the right way whereby black and white both fight together for what's right."

Other speakers included Herr Heinrich Hellwege, German Federal Minister for Upper House Affairs, who is the first German Cabinet Minister to speak in London since 1933 and M. Claudius Petit, French Minister for Reconstruction 1948-52. Both paid tribute to the work of Moral Re-Armament in bringing a new understanding between their respective nations. Mr. Hamilton Kerr, Conservative Member of Parliament for Cambridge and a member of the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, said, "Moral Re-Armament has been effective in cutting the bitter hangover of history between France and Germany. It is not enough to oppose bad answers. We have got to say what we believe in ourselves."

News In Brief

Mr J. G. Vandeyar, a prominent member of the Indian community of Transvaal and a member of the firm of Messrs. J. G. Vandeyar and Co., Real Estates Agents of Johannesburg left by Air on a three months Overseas tour to Europe, and will be in London for the Coronation celebration of Queen Elizabeth. After visiting some of the important countries in Europe, Mr.

Vandeyar will spend some of his time visiting the Eastern countries on his return journey. While he is in London he hopes to contact some of his leading business men.

There was a very pleasant function last Saturday, at the Inanda Seminary, where African girls are being educated, when the foundation stone of the Seminary Chapel was laid by Dr. E. H. Brookes. A large crowd of people had come from Durban and elsewhere and were served with tea and cakes.

On Sunday Professor Douglas and Mrs. Steere visited Mahatma Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement where they had lunch with Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Gandhi and met friends in the district and later paid a hurried visit to the Oblange Institute and the Inanda Seminary.

Whatever games are played with us, we must play no games with ourselves, but deal in our privacy with complete honesty and truth.
—Emerson.

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