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# INDIAN OPINION

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## The Challenge Facing White South Africa

CIVILIZATIONS come to birth and proceed to grow by successfully responding to successive challenges, and the White people of South Africa are facing such a challenge at the present time, confronted by a racial situation probably unique in human history," Prof. J. H. Wellington, of the University of the Witwatersrand, said at Founders' Day at the Witwatersrand Institute, Johannesburg, last week.

Professor Wellington said that nobody could say what course evolution would take in the Continent of Africa. If, however, civilization failed to meet a challenge with which it was confronted, it would brake down and go to pieces.

"There are some who feel that the great civilization of Western Europe must be maintained at all costs, even perhaps at the cost of trying to hold in check the progress of the African.

"One might as well try to stop the progress of a mighty railroad train by throwing one's body across the track as to try to stop the growth of the world in the direction of giving mankind more intelligence, more skill, more liberty, and in the direction of extending more sympathy and more brotherly kindness.

"When we try to stop the progress of any individual or any human group we are fighting against the sun, the moon, the stars and the whole creation but when we seek in active goodwill to further the progress, even of those we perhaps have some reason to fear, we work with the Creator Himself."

As a member of the European racial group, he realized that a great responsibility rested upon the White people of South Africa.

"At the moment in a dominant position, we are all too liable to be filled with pride in our achievements, forgetting that in the course of evolution the great, massive creatures of by-gone times who seemed to tower above their more lowly fellow reptiles were passed by in the scheme of creation."

One of the great obstacles to racial understanding and harmony in South Africa was the lack of knowledge of each other as human beings.

"To know one another as human beings with feelings, aspirations, hopes, fears, sins and all the other concomitants of human nature, requires something more than casual contact," he said.

*He who has truth at his heart need never fear the want of persuasion on his tongue*

—John Ruskin.



*Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men the defence of peace must be constructed.*

—Constitution Of United Nations.



# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 29TH MAY, 1953

## Long Live The Queen

JUNE 2 will be a great day for Great Britain and the Commonwealth. There will be unprecedented jubilation in honour of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth. As Indians we feel proud of fact that India for the first time in her two hundred years' history will participate in the celebrations not as British Empire's hand-maid but as a free and independent nation. As part of India Indians throughout South Africa and the world will pay homage to the Queen and pray that the merciful God may shower His blessing upon her that she may live long and that her reign may bring real peace and happiness to Britain and to the world for which humanity has been yearning for nearly half a century. The prayer of every Indian man, woman and child will go out to her gracious Majesty.

As we have already stated in a previous issue we Indians in South Africa stand in a peculiarly unhappy position of not being able to express our joy outwardly as we would have liked to as we are denied the right and privilege to do so consistently with our national honour and self-respect. Many will participate in the celebrations not with an inner feeling of joy and happiness as they would have liked to. For in this country all non-Europeans are treated under the State laws as semi-human beings. They may not enjoy the rights and privileges

that the Europeans can enjoy. They may do just what the privileged Europeans bid them do. Those whom they look upon as their respected leaders and guides are treated as prisoners. A ban has been placed on their freedom of speech and movement for the only crime of not being Europeans. They are therefore rather in mourning than anything else. Their soul is deeply wounded owing to this wanton assault on it. They cannot in the circumstances be expected to be jubilant much as they should like to be. It does not therefore however mean that they are lacking in their loyalty and affection for the Queen. If they cannot express it outwardly Her majesty can be assured of it existing in their innermost hearts.

## Courtesy Week

THIS is supposed to be Courtesy Week. Courtesy has become such a rare commodity that we can think of it and practice it only once in a while. There were times when courtesy was taught when the child was yet in its mother's womb. The mother may not do evil nor even think evil lest the child may get its impress on it. Perhaps that is going a bit too far, though among us Indians it is a common belief and it has a great deal of truth in it. But this much is undeniable that the parents at one time used to take particular care about

the up-bringing of their children. To be courteous to all was among the very first lessons the child used to be taught. In the present generation unfortunately there is a hopeless lack of it. That is why a thing that should be natural—inborn in all human beings—is now thought of once in a while. Recently it has become a practise to think of it and to take particular care about practicing it just for a week and then to forget it the rest of the 51 weeks. What utter sham and hypocrisy? And in Apartheid-ridden South Africa one finds apartheid even in the practice of Courtesy. These advocates of Courtesy Week should know that this superficial observance of Courtesy for a week will take us nowhere. We are living in an age in which discourtesy is abounding. It carries with it the seed of war. It is a deadly germ which requires drastic means to root out of society. It requires to be treated from the top downwards. Let the legislators examine the laws they have enacted. Apartheid laws are the height of discourtesy to a whole nation. If we were all really courteous to one another, as indeed we should always be, the present discontent in the country would not be there and all would be living in peace and happiness. This Courtesy Week is a positive proof of how uncivilised, uncultured and degenerated we have become. To our utter shame it will only serve as a record in history for our future generation to see how discourteous their forefathers were.

## Ban Of Leaders

With the Appellate Court's decision in the case of Dr. Moroka, Dr. Dadoo and others and with the banning

orders served by the Minister of Justice on Dr. Naicker and other leaders in the Transvaal both of the Indian community and the African community, practically all the leaders have been deprived of their freedom of speech and movement. There is also a ban on public meetings whenever such meetings are proposed to be held. So physically the Government feels contented in having incapacitated us. One thing the Government has not succeeded in doing and will never succeed in doing is to ban the people's soul. This physical ban will give people an opportunity to acquire a knowledge of the soul which mankind is sorely in need of. Mankind has succeeded in gaining victory over all material things. It has discovered the Atom bomb and the Hydrogen bomb and now almost succeeded in reaching the untill-now unsurmountable heights of Mount Everest. How very wonderful! But what shall be gained when these heights have been reached? Just empty space; not the Kingdom of Heaven. And that which is within ourselves no scientists have succeeded in discovering nor aided humanity to do so. "What shall it profit a man who gains the whole world but loseth his own soul?"

We non-Europeans in South Africa who have placed our faith in Truth and Non-violence and have accepted those as our weapons have no reason to be disheartened. If our faith remains unshaken those divine weapons will work in inscrutable ways and baffle their deadliest opponent. One thing they need to remember is that to discover the soul and allow it to work they will have to undergo a cleansing pro-

cess. Their hearts must be cleansed of all evils. They must become pure in thought word and deed. These are not empty words. The worldly weapons will not avail them. It is only the spiritual weapon which will help them and that

requires absolute purity of mind and heart which can be achieved by renouncing all material things and by complete dedication to God. One who fears God fears no man. Unless we cultivate that fearlessness we shall never succeed.

## MORAL RE-ARMAMENT

By WILFRED H. HARRISON

THERE has recently arrived in South Africa an International School calling themselves the "Moral Re-Armament Task Force." Their chief purpose is: "To convert the Communists"—Communism means according to the Marxian thesis—"The Common or Social ownership and control of all the necessities of life, to be used in the interest and for the service of the whole community." What virtues then have they for Communists to acquire, or what evils must they eradicate to make possible that noble purpose?

There are, we know many schools of people who call themselves Communists, who adopt tactics of a militant character, quite contrary to the moral and ethical standards that purpose means. Therefore corrupting its real meaning.

Likewise the Christians whose motto is the Golden Rule: "Do unto others, as you would they should do unto you." Yet most of the Europeans of South Africa call themselves Christians. Even our Prime Minister is a Doctor of Divinity a supposed most reverend person.

Recently the good Doctor attended the opening ceremony, with other mining magnates, of the plant for the production of uranium in Johannesburg, at which he spoke in glowing terms of our new found industry. Yet he must have known that uranium is used for no other purpose than creating atomic bombs for modern warfare of inhuman destruction of innocent people.

Also our Government, of which he is the head, has granted a loan of £40,000,000 for armament in a possible third world war. These are the cruel and murderous tactics of the professed Christians who claim as their motto the Golden Rule. In fact it is more wicked than anything we have yet heard from any type of Communists. These same Christians have adopted a policy of segregation. Yet their Christ says He will succour all men.

This all seems to indicate and also to deliberately show, that there is much more scope and real necessity for conversion of the man—of the people—who call themselves Christians, who are in greater need of social and moral principles the Moral Re-Armament people claim. It is their purpose, they say, to tap our social conscience and make us good, kind people to our fellow beings. The world now abounds with such people, most of our politicians who help in all the murderous war, and grant funds for that purpose, are often the most pious people who attend their church and kneel in pious prayer. They are also often ideal husbands and kindly fathers. Our lives and our actions are dominated by our material surrounding.

War has become more brutal and murderous because it is accepted as the traditional way of settling international disputes or national rivalry—who allow their professional military forces, any inhuman tactics, to obtain conquest, while the suffering inhabitants of the various countries look complacently and stupidly on. During the conflicts people become more pious, churches multiply, as also do the common people in their prayers. Many of whom often pray that their own forces will conquer their Christian brothers, now their enemies, and their parsons aid them as advisers or combatants to do so.

Good kind people line the battle fronts on both sides. The great heroes are they who can gain an advance even at the cost of many lives for which this are often decorated "For Valour" in doing so. We are all victims of a vicious system which has been allowed to drift into such inhuman devices for national supremacy or material gain. Empires who have risen and fallen in various parts of the globe are now a spent force. The world is now aware of its gruesome history. Therefore its dictators are now being fast overthrown. We are at the moment still suffering the re-

maining forces of Empire domination, but those who keep in close touch with world affairs can see their approaching end.

One of the greatest founders of the new world was Mahatma Gandhi, who, like his former teacher Tolstoi of Russia, was not allowed to see the great world transformation that is to come based on the policy of non-violence and the resources of the world enjoyed by all its people.

If that is what Moral Re-Arma-

ment means surely they are well come in South Africa where such a policy at the moment is in great need. Coming from the Western World the popular enemy No. 1 is of course Communism which is non-existent as an active force in South Africa. But, as we have indicated, there still exists a much more formidable force in this country which should receive their attention—to be taught moral principles rather than such wicked deeds.

## APPEAL BY MOROKA, DADOO AND 18 OTHERS DISMISSED

BLOEMFONTEIN, Friday, May 22.

THE appeal of Dr. James S. S. Moroka, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo and 18 others, who were convicted in the Supreme Court, Johannesburg, on a charge of contravening the Suppression of Communism Act, was dismissed by the Appeal Court today.

It was alleged that the accused advocated a scheme which aimed at bringing about political, industrial, social or economic changes within the Union by means which included unlawful acts or omissions.

The unlawful acts, omissions and threats relied on by the prosecution were contraventions by Natives, Asiatics and Coloured people of Union laws or regulations or municipal by-laws relating to the carrying of passes and permits by Natives, the entering of Native locations under the control of municipalities without permits, the limitation of stock in Native areas, the entry of Asiatics into certain provinces without permission, the separate facilities provided for the exclusive use of Europeans and non-Europeans on trains, railway stations and in post offices, the establishment of Group Areas, the registration of the population of the Union, and the suppression of Communism.

It had been contended for the accused on appeal that the object of the legislature in the Suppression of Communism Act was to suppress the Communist Party of South Africa and to prohibit Communist activities carried on by adherents of the doctrine of Marxian socialism or related forms of that doctrine.

The legislature could never have intended, it was maintained, to apply the drastic penalties prescribed by the Act to persons engaged in a wide variety of activities which had nothing whatever in common with the doctrine of Marxian socialism or with any related form of that doctrine.

On the facts of the present case, it was argued, the scheme in which the appellants took part aimed only at the repeal of certain selected laws by lawful process and was not, therefore an object of Communism as defined by the Act.

Rejecting these contentions, the Appeal Court confirmed the appellants' conviction and the suspended sentence of nine months' imprisonment with compulsory labour imposed on each of them.

The names of the other appellants are:

Walter Max Sisulu, secretary-general of the African National Congress; David Wilcox Bopape, secretary of the Transvaal branch of the African National Congress.

Rissik H. Desai, editor of 'Spark' and joint secretary of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress.

James George Phillips, Chairman of the non-European section of the Garment Workers' Union.

N. S. Thandray, joint secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress.

Stephen Ephraim Sello, secretary of the African National Congress and Isiah MacDonald Maseko, chairman of the Orlando branch of the African National Congress Youth League.—S.A. Press Association.



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## THE WIDER WORLD

By JOHN GILD

## THE FRANCHISE

THE problem of a suitable and equitable franchise law for South Africa is now under discussion in some circles. Yet it seems to me an academic issue more likely to divide friends than to strengthen their friendship. In the first place, it would require a two-thirds majority in parliament to make any change in the present franchise law affecting Africans. This is true whether the change was towards a common roll or simply to increase from three to, say, six or ten the number of members specially elected by Africans to the House of Assembly. Now the only purpose for which a two-thirds majority is likely to be obtainable in the foreseeable future is to diminish, not to enlarge, African political rights. Neither of the major political parties has the slightest intention of even discussing with Congress leaders the problem of the franchise. That is why Congress need not now declare whether it would be willing to accept a franchise loaded against non-Europeans by means of an education test (I hope that no one on our side will ever consider a property test, which is wholly unreasonable and un-democratic). What Congress must assert is that new franchise laws should not be based on race; that is, they should apply equally to all regardless of race or sex. If that great principle is kept firmly in mind, it can become a great unifying force. It is the vital principle on which the Charter of the United Nations was established, and which is accepted, at least in theory, by the sixty nations that belong to the organisation.

## Whose Republic?

There is a good deal of wooliness when the question of a republic is argued. Natalians are, of course, notorious for their sentimental attachment to the magic of monarchy. No doubt this sentiment also affects other English-speaking people in our country. But nowadays I find many people ready to oppose the idea of a republic simply because the Nationalists are known to want it. Such people have got confused in their own minds about the relation of a republic to a dictatorship. The fact is that the establishment of a republic would not necessarily and of itself bring us nearer to dictatorship. Conversely, a nonarchical form of government is no guarantee of democracy. What is important is

the actual constitution and how it works. South Africa could become a republic and yet remain in the Commonwealth, as India did in 1949. Indeed, that might well be a sensible solution of the question in a country with republican as well as royal traditions to consider. No doubt when the time is ripe, Mr. Strydom will be shrewd enough to take this step of declaring a republic but remaining within the Commonwealth, thus taking the wind out of his opponent's sails. Whether Mr. Strydom will also let the Union remain as much of a democracy as it still is—that is quite another matter. Those who want to defend democratic forms of government ought not to get involved in issues that are purely sentimental.

## The Dirty War

France's "dirty war" in Indo-China may yet replace Korea as the limited local war kept going in the interests of the armaments and other heavy industries. This war is seven years old and everyone knows that sooner or later France, like Britain, will be driven out of Asia. The war has already cost France more than three and a half billion dollars and the lives of 30,000 French soldiers. The United States is, of course, paying half the cost of the war. Without American aid, France would have long ago been defeated and peace restored to these unhappy parts. Among other Asian countries, such as India, the cause of the Viet Minh is popular and that of the French detested as an attempt to revive a discredited colonialism. The reluctant steps taken by the French to transfer some authority to regimes of their own creation in Cambodia and Laos were sharply criticised in Asia and India has refused to recognize these puppet governments.

China and Russia, on the other hand, have both recognized the Government of Ho Chi-minh as the legitimate regime in Indo-China and they have exchanged diplomatic representation with that Government. There is thus an open breach between the West and the East over the question of Indo-China.

During his election campaign last year, President Eisenhower declared that part of his policy would be to "let Asians fight Asians." This cynical remark has done the United States endless harm. Now that Britain has

at last begun to assert a foreign policy of her own, America may find itself isolated and without real allies if its present course is maintained.

## A Great Book

Indians migrated from India to a dozen different countries in the course of the last century. A comprehensive survey of how these emigrants fared has recently been published in a large and notable work, "Indians Overseas, 1838-1949" by C. Kondapi (Oxford University Press, 35s.) The author, who is assistant secretary of the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi, has taken immense pains to make his study complete and accurate, and he deserves to be complimented on the result.

A South African reader naturally turns to those pages that record what happened to Indians in Natal and the Transvaal. He will find that all the blue books and other records have been drawn

upon in order to provide the full story. And he will be able to compare the fate of South African Indians with that which befell others in various British colonies in Africa and in Asia. Whether he is discussing legal disabilities or political status or economic opportunities, Mr. Kondapi always keeps an alert eye on the realities of the matter. He writes in a sober style all the more telling because he does not aim to produce emotional effects. The last chapter, devoted to "suggestions for the future," is rather disappointing. Having shown how the insatiable demand for cheap labour encouraged Indian immigration, the author might have considered more fully what changes in the prevailing system of economic production are required before Indians can enjoy social justice in their adopted countries. None the less, this is a great book worthy of its tremendous subject. It must find a place in every public library.

## CAUSE OF HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE

HIGH blood pressure is the price which rich industrialists often pay for their directorships and the penalty which worried salesmen pay for their high commission, says Doctor Corneille Heymans, professor of pharmacology at the University of Ghent, and Doctor P. Ratnaswami, professor of social medicine, Madras Medical College, in a joint article in the current issue of the World Health Organisation Newsletter states the 'Natal Daily News' London Correspondent.

Blood pressure, say the writers, is also an added burden to the clerk who feels that he cannot hold down his job, or the farmer who is worried about the failure of his crops and his rising tide of debt.

"It is true everywhere in Europe and America," observe the writers, "that high blood pressure has become one of the major killing diseases, and that this disease is generally associated with the emotional stresses and anxieties of modern living."

Doctor Heymans and Doctor Ratnaswami point out, how-

ever, that it must not be forgotten that other factors may favour development of high blood pressure. Among them are an unbalanced diet and over indulgence in certain foods. Then certain diseases of the heart and kidneys may bring on high blood pressure as an effect rather than a cause.

"The best remedy for high blood pressure," observe the writers, "is an adjustment of the patient's outlook on life so that he or she may escape persistent emotional stresses and anxieties which are its main causes. A reasonable amount of relaxation is essential, taking real holidays from the worries of business or profession or other occupation. It is also necessary to observe moderation in diet. Summed up we must try to attain a certain degree of calm and equanimity of outlook."

"If suitable remedies are applied in time," conclude the doctors, "there is no need for undue worry about this dreaded disease of high blood pressure."

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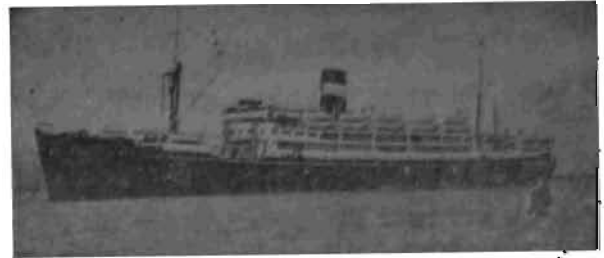
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## DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION ON COURTESY WEEK

**SPEAKING** at the Durban Rotary Club luncheon, Mr. C. Murray Booysen, Natal's Director of Education, who organised Courtesy Week this year, stated that ignorance was at the root of a lot of discourtesy. "South Africa has received scant courtesy at UN, where most of the criticism levelled against us, and the bitter attacks launched against us, have been due to a wilful distortion and misrepresentation of the true facts, or to gross ignorance of the true position.

"Such action, no matter what the motives may be, is extremely discourteous and on an international plane, cannot make for peace and goodwill.

"Although we all resent what has taken place at the meetings of UN, we ourselves are not entirely blameless of similar conduct in our own country."

Mr. Booysen said: "Never before has materialism played a greater role in the lives of men than today. In all post-war periods it will be found that materialism plays an important part in the behaviour of individuals and of nations.

"As materialism flourishes, so does idealism fade and die."

Defining courtesy to the City Parliament Debating Society when he moved that the deterioration in South African race relations was due to a deterioration in courtesy, Mr. L. T. J. Biebuyck, Chief Inspector of Indian Education in Natal, stressed the importance of understanding the other person's feelings and aspirations, outlook and ideals.

Where this courtesy and understanding had been lacking the greatest misunderstandings had occurred, resulting in wars, riots, violent enmity, hatred and intolerance.

"From the highest to the lowest in the land we should realise our obligations, more particularly to those who have not risen to a full appreciation of those advantages," he said.

"If the African appears ungrateful for the privileges he enjoys, if he takes such things as free hospitalisation and sub-economic houses for granted and ungraciously asks for more, let us bear in mind that he is not aware that it is only a few short years since

the White man received those benefits.

Mr. Biebuyck said the Zulu was puzzled and did not know how to fit into European society. He attempted to be polite and well-mannered after the ways of his race and was accused of being insolvent. He began to feel that courtesy was a one-sided affair. He found European ideas of courtesy completely contradictory to those practised by his own people at home. If he fell between the two standards of behaviour he became a "tsoosi," a rough creature who lived animal-like, preying on his fellows and disliked by all, both White and Black:

The cry of "Let us get back to the good old days and cast out all non-Zulu customs," was spreading among the Africans, Mr. Biebuyck continued. There was much to commend in those cus-

## EQUAL TREATMENT TO BLACKS AND WHITES IN NEW ZEALAND

**WRITING** in the Natal Daily News' about race relations in New Zealand Mr. Maurice Webb states: State schools are attended by Maori and Pakeha (White) children, although in some areas where Maoris predominate there are schools that have only Maori pupils.

Maoris are employed as teachers in the State schools on the same terms and under the same conditions as Pakeha. A Pakeha professor in one of New Zealand's university Colleges told me that his children, attending the local State school, had both Maori and Pakeha teachers but they liked the Maori teachers better.

New Zealand has wage and employment regulations that ensure all workers a minimum wage for a 40-hour week. All such regulations apply equally to Maori and Pakeha.

I visit a clothing factory employing about equal numbers of Maori and Pakeha; also a telephone exchange where there were about equal numbers of switchboard operators.

In each case I was told by the persons in charge that tension between Maori and Pakeha is unknown. Such divisions or jealousies that do occur do not follow racial lines.

All employees receive the same wage when they start as learners. Promotion is strictly according to ability; in this no

toms although no one desired a return or continuance of the barbaric practices, pagan beliefs and superstitious fears of the primitive Zulu.

The discipline inculcated in the young, however, was particularly adapted to their needs and fitted them much better into the social structure than the thin veneer of Westernisation they had been able to acquire.

Courtesy was hammered into the child by all and sundry until he became one of those admired and respected by White and Black, a Zulu gentleman of the old school. Not many of these were found today because the law of the European convicted a man of assault if he beat another's child.

Courtesy was far more than refraining from discourtesy, as it was as important to acknowledge it as to practise it. If we bore this in mind in dealing with non-Europeans they would show a corresponding increase in the sense of responsibility towards the White man.—Natal Mercury.

difference is observable as between Maori and Pakeha; difference in skill and diligence is between individual and individual. The only general statement I heard was that Maoris write better English.

New Zealand controls the distribution of its national income partly by wage regulations, partly by its far-reaching social security measures. In all of these Maori and Pakeha participate without differentiation.

I visited a pleasant cottage, newly built, in which lived a Maori widow, one of the old Maoris with tattooed chin. She was able to live in her pleasant cottage and to purchase it by instalments out of her old-age pension.

The Maori is subject to no colour bar as we know it in South Africa. He can and does enter all the skilled trades and professions, he can enter and rise in the public service on the same terms as the Pakeha.

This principle of equality of opportunity appears to be firmly entrenched in New Zealand life and thought. Knowing that in some places there had been expressions of anti-Maori feeling, however slight and unrepresentative, I asked if there were not a danger of this feeling being stimulated and exploited for political ends.

Adherents of both political parties assured me that any political party that attempted

to make differentiation against the Maori a platform would be swept from public life by the electorate.

In the political field there is a measure of separation that is subject to criticism and may presently disappear. Full Maoris are registered on a separate roll and elect four members to the House of Representatives.

This was no doubt designed to ensure that at least four Maoris would sit in Parliament.

Half Maoris can choose whether to go on the Maori or the Pakeha roll. The choice is entirely theirs and is subject to no electoral officer.

In addition, any Maori can stand for election in Pakeha constituencies. Maoris have been elected in predominantly Pakeha constituencies against opponents. Maoris have played a full part in the political life of New Zealand, have been Cabinet Ministers, and, in the case of Sir James Carroll, held the office of Acting Prime Minister.

The position of the Maori being what it is, a South African, having in mind his own Native Affairs Department, asks, "Why should there be a Department of Maori Affairs?" The answer centres on land.

By selling land to Pakeha colonists or speculators or because of Maori tribal custom of land inheritance under which, in time, a Maori became part owner of a piece of land too small to be of economic use, the Maori was threatened with landlessness. He had to be protected from the unscrupulous Pakeha.

Also it became necessary that land should be held in trust and used for the benefit of Maori owners too numerous for the land to be divided and used individually.

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## AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

## HEAVY WEATHER FOR LIBERAL PARTY

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

TO the outside world it seems ironic that the heaviest fire against the Liberal Party so far has come, not from the Malanites but from the non-Europeans.

Three factors seem to lie behind this. The South Africans, as a rule, are conservative people, no matter to which side of the colour line they belong. We have accustomed ourselves as a nation to think of problems and evaluate ideas against the overall background of race. When a new situation arises, which threatens to take us out of this rut, we react violently. This is not peculiar to any one race. All the peoples of South Africa have it.

A close study of the violent denunciations of the Liberal Party from non-white leaders so far has revealed them in the role of men who have reacted with their hearts more than with their minds to the emergence of the Liberal Party. For years they have clamoured for racial equality and when at last a section of the white people come forward with a basis on which to establish racial equality, they run away from it and hide behind violent and irrational denunciations. A humorous cartoonist would depict them in flight from their own goal!

Fortunately, this is a temporary phase. When both the leaders of the Liberal Party and the non-whites sit down to find bases on which to co-operate, the violent reactions will be seen to have been no more than a characteristic South African attitude on these matters. This, however, does not mean that the non-white peoples have no genuine criticisms to make against the Liberal Party. We shall come to these soon.

In the meantime the African watches with keen interest the reactions of the Malanites to the formation of the new Party. The most significant thing in these is that the Malanites have been regularly restrained in their hostility to the formation of the Party. They are shrewd politicians; as shrewd as any on the non-white side. On balance the emergence of the Liberal Party is a blessing to them.

Firstly, the Liberal Party will draw some of its supporters largely from those who would have voted United Party. To the extent that this will mean a numerical weakening of the United Party, it is a gain for the Malanites.

Secondly, the new Party has received a very favourable Press reaction practically from all over the world. The Malanites know the dangers of an adverse world opinion from experience. The emergence of the Liberal Party will be held before the world as proof that South Africa does not, in fact, oppress the man of colour to the extent that outsiders might believe it does. The Liberal Party, which has opened its doors to everybody, will be held up as being in the direct line of succession to power like every other Party. If it can convince the electorate that its policies are sound, the Malanites will say, it can have its own Government and abolish the colour bar any time it wants. Theoretically, this appears to be the situation and these the prospects before the Liberal Party.

The Malanites will tell the world that it is up to the Liberal Party to work hard enough, like every democratic party and win enough votes to get to power and carry out its policies. This line will definitely confuse very many people overseas on the real dangers of Malanism. The Malanites, in turn, will exploit this confusion to adopt more tyrannous policies towards the man of colour. They get a better name abroad and remain in the position to be worse tyrants at home.

Thirdly, now that the liberal wing of the United Party has hired off, the chances are much brighter of a tenuousness between the United and National Parties on the basis of a white racial front. By shaking off the Liberals, the United Party has shown that it does not mind coming to terms with Malan—following the example of Havenga. If this tenuousness ever comes about, it will strictly be on terms dictated by the stronger group—the National Party.

On the debit side, the only headache worth considering is that the United Party is now "purified" enough to be in the position to convert a few more National Party "moderates" to its side. But the possibility of this happening is very remote, if the results of the last two general elections are any guide for the immediate future. On both occasions the white voter showed unmistakably that on the clear-cut issue of races, he prefers the uncompromising racial tyranny of the Malanites and not the half-baked equivocations of the United Party.

Against this background, the Malanites stand to gain by the formation of the Liberal Party, both on the homefront and abroad. They would be fools to create difficulties for a Party which might—whether it likes it or not—do so much for them and their name here and overseas. And the Malanites are certainly not fools.

It must be realised that the African has had to consider this side of his relations with the Liberal Party as well. Nobody will do him the injustice to deny his right to make certain that he will not place himself in the position to subservise Malanite interests. We hate Malanism; we believe it is an un-South African evil and will not come to terms with it. The African attitude to the Liberal Party might, if seen in this light, be better appreciated.

On the other hand there is a genuine uneasiness on the non-white side about the vagueness of the Party's real intentions. At the Durban meeting held in memory of the late Rhoallit Jones, Mr. Alan Paton, one of the guiding spirits of the Liberal Party, in effect confessed that the Party still has a somewhat hazy idea of its programme. Now, I think the non-white people have every right to say that the Party had no business to gatecrash into the political scene before its own mind was quite clear on the society it is out to build. But against this the Liberals can argue that such a programme can only be worked out by Black and White in the Party sitting together in equals.

The African, in particular, is extremely suspicious of leadership on the political front. He has made up his mind to see a new South African society in which colour will be no criterion by which to assess human values. He does not want anybody to come to him with offers which might perpetuate the status quo—even if that is done with new symbols of mixed colour. He will not co-operate with the Liberal Party if it turns out to be nothing more than a political leader-goat. The African who makes all these reservations does that in all sincerity and he should be taken for what he is.

There is another force at work in the non-white community, however, which dreads a settlement of the race problem on a liberal basis. That is underground communism. In so far as it lies within its power to influence events, it will do everything possible to confuse the real issues at stake and make racial co-operation difficult. I trust the Liberal Party will not

jump to the conclusion that every African who has doubts about the Party has come under the influence of underground communism—for, as I have shown, this is not the case.

The African wants to be assured that the Liberal Party is not out to perpetuate the status quo in a new guise. But at the same time I think it would be unreasonable for the African National Congress to reject co-operation on anything less than a 100 per cent acceptance of its own terms as it would be unrealistic for the Liberal Party to expect that its formation is something which the African must automatically accept as nothing but a blessing.

At the moment, of course, the African has the whip-hand. If he refuses to co-operate with the Liberal Party, he will destroy its main justification—namely, that it is a bridge between Black and White. But against this the African must remember that unreasonable rejection of the extended white hand of co-operation might be interpreted as proof of African insincerity in taking of real co-operation or proof of African intentions to dominate the other minority groups. Somehow, we must strike the middle course.

Personalities sometimes count for much, sometimes for little in political movements. But I think a reasonable attitude for the African to take up is that the men and women who have formed the Liberal Party are honest people with enough vision to grapple with the Colour problem in the only realistic manner possible in the circumstances; men and women who look forward to their own sincerity of purpose to make up for their obvious lack of political experience.

I believe this is a mature attitude to take up towards the Liberal Party. The violent denunciations which have come from the non-white side so far are all so much smoke and fury. I think we should come down from these clouds and grapple realistically with a situation in which we and the white liberals are called upon to evolve a basis for racial peace in South Africa. Let us reject co-operation with them after giving them a fair hearing—for we shall never accept anything which perpetuates the status quo, one way or the other. But it is quite possible that when we sit down with them and talk things over we might educate them into seeing the truth partly in our light.

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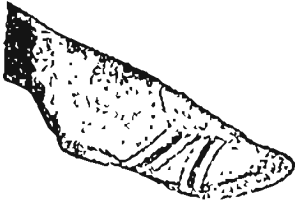
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## OVERSEAS INDIANS CONFERENCE IN LONDON

FOR the first time in the history of emigration and settlement of Indians overseas, a Conference is being held in London to discuss and consider matters of mutual interest to our people everywhere.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru gave the following figures in the Indian Parliament about the number of Indians in the British colonies:

Aden, 9,456; Brunei, 436; British North Borneo, 1,298; British Somaliland, 550; British Guiana, 190,888; Cyprus 40; Fiji, 149,802; Gibraltar, 41; Gold Coast, 250; Hong Kong, 1,500; Jamaica, 25,000; Kenya, 90,528; Malaya, 577,000; Malta, 37; Mauritius, 271,636; Nigeria, 50; Northern Rhodesia, 2,300; Sierra Leone, 50; Singapore, 72,000; Southern Rhodesia, 4,150; Tanganyika, 56,499; Uganda, 33,767; Zanzibar and Pemba, 15,812; British West Indies, 227,390.

The Council of Indians Abroad, a newly formed organisation in London, has been actively preparing plans and details of the Conference for a number of months.

In this the Council has received enthusiastic support from practically all the Indian organisations, and a large number of prominent Indians overseas.

The main agenda for the Conference is as follows:

Other subjects for discussion will be included, at the request of the delegates.

1. Discussions on reports received from Indian Organisations in Overseas territories.

2. Discussions with a view to adoption of the following two objectives for Overseas Indians: (a) All Indian settlers in Overseas countries who look upon the country of their adoption as their homeland and sole object of their loyalty, should be prepared to accept the duties and responsibilities of full citizenship and in return be guaranteed equal rights and privileges with all other citizens of that country, and also seek for and obtain reasonable terms and conditions of naturalisation wherever such Laws are necessary for attaining that country's citizenship. (b) Indian settlers in Overseas countries who desire to retain the nationality of the country of their origin, should be prepared to accept the status of friendly aliens, which means to say that they shall not claim civic rights but shall be assured of equality before the Law and enjoy safety of person and property and should be treated in

a generous and humane spirit by the country of their sojourn.

3. To consider ways and means of sitting up single social organisations in respective Overseas countries in order to improve the social life and status of the community as a whole and for fostering its contacts with the other racial groups residing in the respective Overseas territories, with a view to cementing the spirit of friendship and brotherhood with them.

4. To devise ways and means to put an end to the spirit of communalism which is more or less rampant among Overseas Indians, because of religious, class, caste and provincial differences.

5. To consider the advisability of exchanging half-yearly progress reports between the conferring Overseas countries

channelised through a central body, on subjects to be decided upon at this Conference.

The Conference and the Dinner are being organised and arranged by the Council of Indians Abroad. But as a sincere gesture of goodwill and their regard for all the Indians from overseas, a number of prominent Indians resident in England have readily associated themselves with the Conference and the welcome to friends from abroad.

Member of the Executive Committee are: G. J. Chhangur and S. Misir (B. Guiana), J. A. Kirpal (Fiji), Dev. Kumar and Narendra Kumar (India), Miss Ahilya Varma (Jamaica), S. Buckory and R. Sawgobind (Mauritius), Inder Prasad (Trinidad), Dr. Ganesh Sawh (B. Guiana and London), Hon. Treasurer: Mr. L. Shivprasad; Hon. General Secretary: Dr. K. D. Kumria.

The Conference will be held on Saturday and Sunday, 13th and 14th June, 1953 at 87, West Cromwell Road, London, S.W.5 (Earls Court Station). The Conference will last two whole days.

## NON-EUROPEAN BUS RANK

THE Natal Indian Congress has written to Councillor Forsdick, Chairman of the General Purposes Committee to reconsider the plans to decentralise the bus rank. Congress urges that the Testing Ground site be utilised to extend the present bus rank and to avoid using the school area for bus terminals. The letter states:

"We wish to reiterate that our objections still stand in regard to the siting of the terminals for north and west bound buses in the school area. Your Committee has agreed to change the route from Carlisle Street to Lorne Street and has agreed not to alter the siting in Winterton Walk. You will recall that the objection of Congress was to the choice of the school area for bus terminals, and the altered scheme does not meet this objection. The danger to children traversing this area on their way to and from the schools concerned still remains. The children will still have to pass through Winterton Walk, Mansfield Road, Centenary Road, Carlisle Street and Lorne Street and with the alteration now suggested buses will pass alongside yet another school—the Kathiawad Government Aided Indian School, in Lorne Street which was unaffected by the previously suggested route of north bound buses.

"We reiterate that whilst we are not opposed to decentralisation on principle, and that Lorne Street is the lesser of the two

evils, nevertheless the siting of the terminus in this thickly used school area is most unsatisfactory and we must lodge our protest against the decision.

"We are sure the Committee can find other alternative sites just as suitable but far less dangerous. We feel that the proper solution to this problem is the extension of the Victoria Street bus terminus by the use of the present Municipal testing grounds. We must admit that we have not been convinced that this should not be used for this purpose, despite proposals to house the City Police and licensing offices there. The bus rank is certainly the most urgent and concerns the largest number of citizens in regard to user.

"In our submission decentralisation is not necessary if a large enough terminus with proper conveniences can be found. We strongly feel that the testing grounds together with the present bus rank in Victoria Street will meet this need.

"Even at this latest stage we appeal to the City Council through you and your Committee to reconsider this matter and call off the scheme to use the school area for bus terminals and routes."

## Things In General

Ban On Mr. Yusuf Cachalia

Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, the joint honorary secretary of the South African Indian Congress, received two banning orders from the Minister of Justice Mr. C. R. Swart, prohibiting him under the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Act from attending any public gathering and from being in certain magisterial districts of the country. Mr. Cachalia is prohibited for a period of twelve months from being in the magisterial districts of Durban, Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Dundee, Port Elizabeth, East London, The Cape, Pretoria, Benoni, Krugersdorp, Germiston and Boksburg.

Ban On A.N.C. Leader

Two notices from the Minister of Justice, Mr. C. R. Swart, under the Riotous Assemblies and Criminal Law Amendment Acts, have been served on Mr. M. B. Yengwa, Secretary of the Natal Division of the African National Congress. The first notice prohibits him, for a period of 12 months from next Tuesday, from being in any of the Magisterial districts of Maritzburg, Newcastle, Dundee, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Port Elizabeth and the Cape. The second prohibits him from attending any public gathering, in any place in the Union, to which the public have access for a period of 12 months from the date the notice was served.

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# INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, May 15.

PAKISTAN seems to have started a vigorous "peace offensive" against India. As the Western nations are baffled by a similar "peace offensive" by Russia and could not make out whether the change on the part of the Communist countries is genuine or a make-believe, similarly India feels baffled by the recent declarations of the Pakistan Premier and other leaders, suggesting a change of heart on their part and wanting to have friendliest relations with India and solve all outstanding problems in a give-and-take spirit. Pakistan radio and Pakistani Press have changed their tone and stopped malicious propaganda against India and the Indian leaders.

The Pakistan Government have banned a drama that was staged in Pakistan since the last two or three years, ridiculing Mr. Nehru and inciting the people of Pakistan against India. The Government of India had vainly protested several times against staging this drama. Now Pakistan has banned this drama of her own accord.

The Pakistani Government had refused to hand over Bhupat, the notorious dacoit of Saurashtra, and the Pakistani Press had gone to the extent of glorifying this dacoit as a hero who had committed over 80 murders and 20 dacoities in India. Now, according to New Delhi reports, the Pakistan Government will hand over Bhupat to India. These gestures of Pakistan are regarded as auspicious for the coming talks between the two Prime Ministers.

Now the Pakistani delegation consisting of Mr. Akhtar Husain and Mr. Aza Hilaly, secretary and joint secretary respectively of Pakistan Foreign Ministry, has arrived in New Delhi and have started talks with their counterparts in India to pave the way for further talks on a secretariat level and then between the two Prime Ministers to solve all the outstanding problems between the two countries. Their mission has proved successful and an agreement was reached in regard to items of discussion at the next phase of negotiations at secretariat level and tentative procedure to be followed. The talks were throughout conducted in a most friendly atmosphere.

Though this preliminary talk on agenda was hardly expected

to present any serious obstacles, its satisfactory conclusion has nevertheless led to optimism that a new chapter in the relations between the two countries is about to begin.

Later, Mr. Nehru, while making a statement on foreign relations in the House of the People, said that during recent weeks there has been a marked improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations and many friendly gestures have been made to us from Pakistan which we welcome and reciprocate. We shall make every endeavour to dispel the clouds that have darkened our respective horizons and caused unhappiness to so many people.

Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Museum which is now temporarily lodged in Kotah House, New Delhi, will be shifted to a new large building that will be built near Rajghat, where the Father of the Nation was cremated. Plans are afoot to erect the building. According to available reports, the building would be befitting the unique position which Mahatma Gandhi occupied in the political and cultural spheres of the country for over half a century and the part he played in the emancipation of the people of this country.

The collections now kept in the Kotah House are obviously but a nucleus for the enormous quantity of exhibits intended to be housed in their permanent abode.

A curious and lively portion of the museum would be the one earmarked for Mahatma Gandhi's letters. A large number of those letters were addressed to friends abroad. Mahatmaji often wrote with his left hand when his right hand was tired of writing. It is curious that his handwriting was far more legible when written with the left hand. These letters mostly in Gujarati, Hindi and English throw light on the working of Mahatmaji's mind, faced as he was with the stupendous task of liberation on the national front.

Photostat copies of about 78,000 sheets of Sabarmati have already been made. Another like number has been micro-filmed. It will take some years to complete this gigantic task.

The museum would house the books that Mahatma Gandhi

used as a lawyer in South Africa. Apart from his own collection, more than 4,000 books have been added to the library, written about him or concerning some aspects of the political movement led by him.

The pathetic portion of the Museum would be the one where his few personal belongings would be preserved. His pocket watch and the Burmese sun hat catch the eye first. Among the personal belongings are three bullets that took his life, now handed over by the police to the Museum. His personal diaries and the bamboo quill-holder, and casket presented to him by his admirers in Capetown are also included in this portion.

The plan for the big building includes a public hall to accommodate 1,000 people, a hall for statues and another hall for Mahatmaji's photographs.

The Government of India has approved a plan for rural development, known as National Extension Service, which will improve agriculture and breeding of livestock and will utilise the spare time energy of the rural population in extending and implementing the programme of health, housing and education.

The National Extension Service programme is scheduled to go into operation on October 3, almost exactly a year after the community development programme was launched in 55 project areas all over the country. The service will cost Rs. 100 millions and when completed in the next three years, will reach a quarter of the country's rural population.

This programme is considered to be the boldest step yet undertaken towards the creation of the Welfare State. It constitutes thus the first major change in the approach of the Government towards the people in that a broader and a more active responsibility is now being envisaged in providing the initiative for a mass movement of self-help.

Under the programme, a permanent machinery will be created in the rural areas through which the development work will be finalised. As at present planned the programme will cover the entire country within the next ten years. Through this machinery the spare time energies of the rural population will be harnessed towards development work such as road-building, clearing of fields, training of waterways and digging wells. The pro-

gramme also lays considerable emphasis on the formation of co-operative and village committees.

The programme will also open out considerable potentialities of employment for skilled workers. For the next three years it will need over 85,000 technical personnel.

The Extension Services programme will concern itself primarily with improvement in agriculture and the breeding of livestock. It is hoped to carry the programme to 120,000 villages comprising a population of 80 millions during the next three years.

Side by side, more intensive community development will be attempted in select areas to cover housing, health and education. The location of these selected areas will depend primarily on the voluntary effort that is forthcoming, though considerations such as the availability of resources, internal and external, must also prevail.

This is how the programme will work. During the next three years the Extension Service will reach out to 1200 areas each consisting of 100 villages with an approximate population of 66,000. Of these 300 areas will be selected for intensive development under the community projects already in operation. Of the remaining 900, 180 will be taken up in the first year, 270 in the second year and 450 in the third. Four hundred more will ultimately come under intensive development.

Of the total cost of Rs. 101 Crores on the programme, the Central Government will bear 75 per cent of the non-recurring expenditure. The rest will have to come from the States.

The last fortnight witnessed a keen tussle for power between the House of the People and the Council of State, reminiscent of the early days of British Democracy when similar tussles for power were going on between the House of Commons and the House of Lords. But ultimately good sense prevailed on both sides and what appeared to be a major constitutional crisis proved to be a storm in a teacup.

According to the present Constitution of India, the House of the People is directly elected by the voters, while the election for the Council is indirect, through the State Legislatures. Cabinet of Ministers is responsible to the House of the People and all Money Bills must be initiated in and passed by the

House of the People only. No Bill need be sent to the Council provided the Speaker certifies same as Money Bill.

Income Tax Amendment Bill, which was passed by the House of the People, was certified as Money Bill by the Speaker, consequently it was not sent to the Upper House.

Some members of the Council of State took strong objections to the certification of this Bill as Money Bill by the Speaker. During the discussion on this question Mr. C. C. Biswas, the Law Minister and the leader of the Council of State doubted whether the Speaker had applied his mind fully before certifying the Bill and made certain remarks which were regarded as derogatory and showing "distinct disrespect" to the Speaker by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava who raised this question as a matter of privilege in the House of the People. Mr. Bhargava declared in the House of the People that he was going to introduce privilege motion on this question in the House and requested the Deputy Speaker, Mr. Anantsayanam Ayyangar, to direct Mr. Biswas to be present in the House to answer the charges when the motion was taken up. The Deputy Speaker thought there was 'prima facie' a case involving the dignity of the Speaker and directed Mr. Biswas to be present next day to answer the charges.

But on the next day the Council of State rose as one man, giving a go-by to party affiliations, to defend its privileges and directed Mr. Biswas not to appear before the House of the People when that matter was taken up. The constitutional pundits dug up the fact that the Council of State and the House of the People both were sovereign bodies having the same powers in regard to privileges as the House of Commons.

Heated attacks were made on the members of the House of the People who were trying to lower the dignity of the Council.

When the House of the People took up this matter next day, Mr. Biswas, who was present in the House, staged a walkout saying that he would obey the orders of the Council. Maulana Azad's efforts to prevent him from leaving the House proved futile. Members of the House were angry at the attitude of the Council. But thanks to the good offices of the Deputy Speaker, the motion which Pandit Bhargava sought to raise in the House was dropped and Mr. Biswas returned to the House.

After returning to Delhi from the tour of famine stricken areas of Maharashtra, Mr. Nehru expressed his regret at this incident and declared that both the Houses had the same privileges and one should not look to the House of Commons of Britain for precedence and rules as unlike Britain India was bound by the Constitution. He asked the members to regard this incident as closed. Mr. Biswas also expressed his regret at the incident in the House.

As Mr. Nehru did not clarify exactly what the relations between the Houses ought to be and there being no specific clarification in the Indian Constitution, the tussle between the two Houses might go on.

Dr. Bhyamprasad Mookerji was arrested while entering Jammu without permit. He was taken to Sree Nagar for detention. Dr. Mookerji refused to take a permit on the ground that Jammu and Kashmir State was part and parcel of India and Indian citizens should not require permits to enter that State. He was going there to investigate the conditions in Jammu where Praja Parishad has launched Satyagraha, demanding application of Indian Constitution to that State. In the meanwhile Jan Sangh agitation continues in North India in support of the demands of Praja Parishad.

Boundary disputes between Bengal and Bihar has again flared up after passage of a resolution demanding certain areas of Bihar to be incorporated in Bengal, by the West Bengal State Assembly. Bihar Assembly has reacted strongly and, it seems, this verbal duel between the two States will continue till the formation of States on linguistic bases.

Allahabad High Court has dismissed the application filed by Mr. Rajaarainsingh, leader of the Opposition in Uttar Pradesh State Assembly, against the order of the Speaker suspending him from the Assembly for the rest of the current sittings. The Court declared that it had no right to interfere in the proceedings of the Assembly, where the authority of the Speaker is supreme.

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## INDIAN DELEGATE BLASTS COMMUNIST YOUTH CONFERENCE

Vienna, Austria.

AN Indian delegate to the communist-sponsored youth conference held here in March said the international meeting was strictly "a propaganda device" for the Cominform.

Shatrugan Prasad Singh, General Secretary for the Bihar Institute for Cultural Relations, told how the communists used the following devices to control the meeting:

1. Delegates had to present their speeches in writing in advance and wait for two days for permission to deliver them.
2. There was no discussion during the conference.
3. Frequently the names of speakers were not announced to the delegates.

4. Newspaper reporters were kept away from the delegates and could only move around the conference room accompanied by communist guards.

5. The managers of the conference held in Vienna—the so-called International Conference for the Defence of Rights of Youth—got their orders directly from the Cominform and did not allow any opinions other than their own.

Singh said his invitation to the conference had come to him in India and he had been assured that every delegate would have the opportunity to express himself.

Singh said he was not allowed to speak at the meeting.—U.S.I.S.

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