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Founded by Mahalma Gandhi in 1903



Im quite sure that I have no prejudices and I think I have no colour prejudices, nor creed prejudices. All I care to know is that a man is a human being—that is enough for me; he can't be any worse.

-Mark Twain.

--0-

You have to stand against the whole world although you may have to stand alone. You have to stare the world in the face although the world may look at you with bloodshot eyes. Do not fear. Trust that little thing in you, which resides in your heart and says: "Forsake friends, wife, all; but testify to that for which you have lived and for which you will die."

-Mahatma Gandhi.

# Equality For Non-Europeans

R. O. D. WOLLHEIM, Warden of Cafda, told a Toc II lunch meeting in Cape Town recently that the Union would not go ahead until its White population accepted the non-Europeans as equals on an economic and political level.

There would be no enforced social mixing, but social intercourse between the Black and White people of South Africa should be allowed to take place freely.

People in South Africa talked about preserving White civilization. What they meant was preserving their White skins. They thought the only way to do this was not to allow a dark-skinned person from reaching the same standards of living.'

As a result the non-Europeans had been suppressed. They were unable to learn the Europeans' civilization because of lack of contacts on a higher plane.

It was time the "stupid convention" that the Black-skinned man was inferior to the White was dropped, he said.

The Government was trying to take the vote away from the non-Europeans on the grounds that they were not qualified to vote because of the colour of their skins. Yet an uneducated railway ganger was entitled to a vote only because his skin was White.

To judge a man's values by looking at the colour of his skin was wrong. Values should be judged on individual capabilities, Dr. Wollheim said.

Non-Europeans should have a far greater representation in Parliament than they were at present allowed. They wanted to be accepted into Western Civilization and should be given the opportunities in legislation as well as in the economic sphere.

He had learnt that they wanted to attain the standards of living of the Europeans. Africans and Coloured people were willing to drop their customs and traditions if there was a complete transition of the non-European way of life to that of Western Civilization.



### INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 3RD APRIL, 1953

### Honesty Alone Is The Best Policy

NF were not far wrong in our surmise last week about the reaction of the Nationalists to the Appellate Court's judgment on The Railway Apartheia. Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, said that it had come as a shock to him and that it would be felt as a shock throughout the whole country. The position created by the judgment cannot be accepted, he said. "South Africa does not intend to depart from this traditional form of apartheid, which, in fact, has always been accepted by the non-Europeans except for an extremist minority." The Prime Minister further said, "The United Party has always been, at best indifferent towards this matter. Its Press has even been hostile, as appeared from the comment on the lower Court's rejection of Railway apartheid as 'a blow for Sauer.' If the Nationalist Party wins the election,' he said, "we shall rectify the matter without delay, and in a way that will leave no Court in doubt about the wish and intention of Parliament and the people."

The Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr. E. H. Louw has gone a step further, and has by implication charged the majority of the Judges with political insincerity. He said they appeared to be "liberals" in the "generally accepted sense of that well-known term." Thus imply-

ing, of course, that the Judges were "communistically inclined." The Nationalist leaders have often dubbed the liberals as communists. Other Nationalists leaders too have attacked the Appellate Court.

The Prime Minister is of course entirely wrong in stating that the non-Europeans, except for an extremist minority, have always accepted this form of apartheid. On the contrary they always protested Had it not against it. been so there would not have been this violation of it leading to a Court case. The non-Europeans have had to reconcile themselves to many things unwillingly owing to circumstances but not without resentment.

The non-Europeans have sufficient common sense, indeed more than Mr. Eric Louw credits them with, to understand that this judgment does not solve the colour problem and open the door for them to move about as freely as they would like to. They know that they have to contend with the public prejudice engendered by the type of men like Mr. Louw and it is not their purpose to come into clash with the White public. Their fight is not against the public but against the Government. What they want is the removal of the stigma of inferiority based on race and colour that is imposed on them by law, If in the eye of the law all were treated alike the nonEuropeans would be the last to abuse their rights. History has proved that beyond doubt.

But we are not at all shocked at the reaction of the Nationalists. It was just as we had expected. What has shocked us immensely, however, is the reaction of those who claim to bewhom the Nationalists believe to be-the friends of the non-Europeans. This is what the most powerful organ of the United Party 'The Natal Mercury' has to say in its leading article dated March 26, on the Appeal "The Court's judgment. situation can and should be remedied as soon as Parliament reassembles after the election. Segregation of the races on the Railways is a traditional policy and it is perfectly clear that the people are in no mood to tolerate any intermingling of persons of different colour in railway compartments, buses or station waiting rooms." There seems to be no difference here between the policy of the Nationalists and the United Party. As long as the White rulers of the Union are going to pursue the policy of judging a man by his race and colour and not by his merit and this is sanctioned by law there is going to be no peace.

The function of the Courts of Justice is to give justice, not merely to interpret the laws. The function of Parliament is to make laws based on justice and morality. It is the height of dishonesty to seek merely to remove the flaw in a law when it has been detected to suit one's evil political purpose. This is what is being suggested.

If there is to be apartheid it should be applied equally and impartially. The highest Court of the land has found that that has not been done. It has never been possible to do so ever since apartheid was introduced nor is it ever going to be possible to do so Apartheid is therefore impracticable and must therefore be done away with. Can men, for instance like Chief Luthuli, Mr. Mtimkulu, Dr. Xuma, Professor Jabavu, Professor Z. K. Matthews, Dr. Molema to mention just a few of the many scores of distinguished Africans, and the many distinguished Indians including University graduates, whose names we need not mention, be judged by their colour and condemned as being lower than the lowest type of White man? If this is the traditional policy of White South Africa the time has indeed come to bring about an end to that pernicious policy before it is too late. Signs that it is becoming too late are not wanting. What the United Party needs to learn is that not hypocrisy but honesty alone is the best policy.

MANILAL GANDHI.

#### Fools' Paradise

N an electioneering speech at Worcester (Cape) recently the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, is reported to have said: "For the first time a defiance movement in the Union had failed and collapsed. In the past such movements had led to concessions and further demands because of the Weakness of the Government."

Dr. Donges said "that supporters of the defiance movement were incited by the Liberals, the greatest enemies of the Europeans' future in South Africa. The danger was not past and, therefore, South Africa must retain a strong Government.

"If European supremacy was to be maintained in the Union, European control of legislation must be retained. If non-Europeans once gained control of the legislative authority, all forms of apartheid would disappear," he said.

If Dr. Donges really believes what he says about the defiance movement we must say that he is living in a fools' paradise. The

defiance movement has come to stay in this country. The tempotary luli does not mean that it has collapsed. The Government is unaware of the undercurrents that are working. They are more dangerous than what appear on the surface. It will be well for the Nationalists to know that the days of White domination are over. The darker races are becoming more and more conscious of their power and they will not rest until their goal of freedom from oppression and humiliation is attained. It is our fervent prayer that whatever they may do they will not give way to hatred and resort under any circumstances to violence. For if they do that, it will assuredly be the day of victory for our opponents. Our victory lies only in following the path of non-violence with faith in God and fear of God and not of any

MANILAL GANDHI.

#### Prospect Before Africa

HREE very significant events are awaited with concern by very large sections of the non-white peoples in Africa. The first is the verdict to be passed on Jomo Kenyatta, leader of the Kenya Africans. The second is the referendum to be held in Southern Rhodesia on April 9, on Federation. The third is the general election in the Union of South Africa on April 15.

Although occurring over widely different areas, these events have one thing in common-all are manifestations, one way or the other, of the clash of colour in Africa. And although in all three events the peoples involved, that is, the whites and the nonwhites, have not as yet coordinated their plans, it is clear that a substantial section of them. on both sides of the colour line. realise now that they have to deal with continental problems and not just with matters of narrow, domestic jurisdiction.

On the white side, one of the first things the Malanites did when they got to power was to send Mr. Charles te Water to very many countries in various parts of Africa to open their eyes to what Dr. Malan called the Black Danger. At the time the mission was not much of a success. But subsequent events,

particularly in British-held territories, have shown that there is a growing number of whitemen who are thinking seriously along the lines of devising means by which to crush African nationalism and get Africa to revert to the old days when the African people yielded to oppression.

In Kenya these people have robbed the Africans of large tracts of their lands and driven them to reserves which are in danger of being overcrowded. An unreasonable colour bar limits the African's economic opportunities, gives him an inferior education and all in all marks him apart as an inferior human being. It is deaf to reasonable appeals to reform. It was in protest against make life not worth living for its victims of all races.

Quite clearly, in Kenya, Britain has to deal with a situation which requires a fundamental change in British policy to produce positive results. Efforts to counter Mau Mau terror with military terror will not frighten the Africans of Kenya into abandoning the Mau Mau as long as the causes which brought it into being remain. The people who are murdered by the British today are being hailed as martyrs in the cause of Kenya's African people's freedom

The first thing to do is to release Iomo Kenvatta from prison. Secondly, the Btitish

But the Mau Mad continues to whether or not it should join the federation.

> It will be largely the white people who will vote in that referendum. And if the pronouncements of men like Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Roy Welensky mean anything, the future of the African is not very promising.

> Farther south, the white-people will go to the polls on April 15, to say whether or not they like the tyranny that the Malanites have imposed on the African people.

> If Jomo Kenyatta is thrown into prison or hanged; if Southern Rhodesia votes for federation and if Dr. Malan is returned to power, an altogether new situation will arise in Africa. Inasmuch as the whiteman has shown signs of treating the colour problem on a continental scale, the peoples of Africa will have cause seriously to consider a joint continental solution to it as well. This is the prospect opened up before the world by the three events discussed here.

#### BEWARE OF SELF PRAISE

WHEN any one praises himself or speaks much of himself, or lets in any way be seen that he stands high in his own esteem, he is sure to be laughed at. We ought both to feel and to appear to feel, humbly about ourselves; and even when others praise us, we should receive their approbation with humility. All good qualities are justly held to be set off and improved by modesty, while even the best qualities are in danger of being despised if they be shown in a boastful spirit. We should be still more ridiculous if we pretend to knowledge, work or rank, which we do not possess. Such pretentions are easily detected, and then every one despises the pretender more than if he had been supposed to want those qualities altogeeher. We ought also to check the disposition to think too highly of our own opinions, and too humbly of those of other persons. Our neighbours may think rightly, though their opinions appear to us absurd; and our opinions may be wrong though to us they appear right. It is a great point for any one to attain-to know and act as if he knew, that he may possibly be in the wrong.

-Chambers.

thist that the Kenya African Union arose. The KAU was a moderate body. But Africans all over Africa are discovering that moderation does not pay at all when faced with the evils of the white man's colour bar. The Mati Mati came on the scene and took almost complete charge of the situation.

People who read their papers intelligently realise by now that the British Government is powerless to deal with the Mau Mau. A situation exists in Kenya which is not unlike what has been happening in Malaya for years now. British spokesmen daily inform the world that the Mau Mau terror-for which we have no brief whatsoever-is under control and that its leaders and organisers have been arrested.

will have to realise that whether or not they like it, the solid unity of the Kenya Africans is a living reality. The thing to do will be to re-open their schools and allow them to return to their normal life. The third will be to give the Africans an effective say in making the laws which shape their future. This approach alone holds out hope of peace in Kenya.

The situation is different in methods employed in Central Africa, where the white people plan to present a white front against the African, in efforts to keep the latter a perpetual junior in the land of his birth. On April 9, Southern Rhodesia, which comes second only to South Africa in its hatred for the man of colour, will decide

#### Fountain Of Wisdom

"All reputable anthropologists condemn the malignant nonsense about racial psychology which is preached and practised by those who try to justify the oppression of ethnic minorities. Political theories about race are nothing more than instruments of propaganda, devised for the child minds of totalitarian populations."

> -Professor E. A. Hootan In 'The Twilight of Man.

#### TROUBLED WATERS

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#### NOTES AND NEWS

Bishop Of Pretoria's Easter Message

T was very necessary that Christians should ensure that the election would be fought on Christian principles, and that the party returned to power should govern in accordance with the principles of justice and integrity, says the Bishop of Pretoria in the latest issue of "Kingdom," the Diocesan magazine. An election was essentially a Christian way of discovering the will of the people. Because of the errors which creep into the human mind, all kinds of stupidities, injustices and deceits enter into an election. "It is unfortunate that during Passiontide and Easter the minds of so many people will have to be absorbed with political controversy. But as members of the State, we have our responsibilities towards the State, just as we bave, as members of the Church, responsibilities to the Church. Although our political duties come upon us at a time when we should have preferred to have been free from them, that is no reason for shirking them." Referring to the anti-Defiance · legislation the Bishop said: "The principles of the Bills appear to be a complete negation of justice, and if our country is to be governed on these principles there can be no freedom of thought, no freedom of s, eech, and no freedom of action for anyone."

### Students Will Conduct Own Welfare Work

The students of the University of Cape Town are out to prove this year that their annual "rag" is not simply a convenient excuse to give vent to their high spirits. They are going to devote most of the proceeds of this year's "rag" -each year they raise at least £10,000-to starting their own organised welfare work in the heart of Cape Town's blackest spot-Windermere-where 30,000 non-Europeans live on the edge of the "poverty line." They will establish and run a health and community centre to incorporate a medical centre, social services. youth clubs, adult education, food and milk schemes and a creche. Members of the university staff will co-operate in running the scheme, and leading member of the public will serve on the board of management to advise on policy.

We very heartily congratulate the students of the University of Capetown on this fine gesture worthy of emulation by ali.

### Government Loses Yet Another Case

A full bench of the Supreme Court last week dismissed the Attorney-General's appeal against the acquittal in the Capetown Magistrate's Gourt of Mr. Percy Brian Bunting on a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act. The judges were Mr. Justice Herbstein, Mr. Justice van Winsen and Mr. Acting Justice Watermeyer. Mr. P. B. Blanckenberg, Q.C. (the Attorney-General) said, "I may mention that I am taking this further to the Appellate Division." The charge in the Magistrate's Court arose from Mr. Bunting's election as a Member of Parliament after the Minister of Justice (Mr. C. R. Swart) had ordered him, in terms of the Supression of Communism Act, not to become one.

### Mr. Cowley's Offer To Africans

Major Cecil Cowley, who is seeking election to the Senate as Africans' representative in the place of Dr. Edgar Brookes, who has retired, set out an 18-point programme when he addressed Africans in the basement of the City Hall last week. He said he would work for an end to rule by proclamation, no taxation without representation, the removal of pass laws, the introduction of trade unions, and freedom to purchase and occupy land. "I am fighting," he said, so that you may be given that measure of justice due to other men." .The present system of government whereby one lone voice represented 2,000,000 people was a "travesty of de-mocracy." Major Cowley urged the African to develop his national pride. He said that he would work to see that Emakosini. the traditional home of the Zulu kings of old, was expropriated for the Africans. "I can .picture the erection of a headquarters' of the Zulu nation here, where the spirit of a nation will speak." It will build up the strength of the nation, lending weighty authority to the Zulu spokesman.

#### No Colour Bar In Angola And Mozambique

No racial discrimination existed in Angola and Mozambique, Dr. A. J. Alfaro Cardoso, the Angola Government's economic delegate to the Union and Rhodesia, told the University of Cape Town Summer School. "What we want to see is that the individual, be he White, Yellow or Black should possess a moral and civic education and culture—that he should be, in a word, a civilized man,": said Dr. Cardoso.

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#### PROFESSOR MATTHEWS DEFENDED

Mr. Selby Ngcobo (Fort Hare, Cape) writes in the 'Cape Times':

THE speech made by Mr. C. R.

Swart, Minister of Justice,
when he moved the second readin of the Public Safety Bill, as
reported in the 'Cape Times' of
February 12, quotes Professor
Z. K. Matthews as having once
said, when speaking of the policy
of "Africa for the Africans":

"The ultimate aim of such a movement would be the eventual capture of the whole country for the 8,000,000 Africans, and the removal from it of all those Europeans who are not prepared to live here on terms of equality with the Africans. The 2,500,000 Europeans who talk so glibly about the repatriation of 250,000 Indians must reaalise that to the African national the repatriation of 2,500,000 Europeans does not appear any more preposterous."

The above statement is part of a closely reasoned article under the title "An African Policy for South Africa," published in the Race Relations News (volume XVI, flumber 3, 1949). Taken out of its proper context and set against the circumstances of the Public Safety Bill the quotation gives a totally wong impression of the main standpoint of the entire article or of Professor Matthews's general political outlook.

The general context of the article makes it very clear that in the above statement Professor Matthews was countering a trend of thinking among his fellow Africans which was certainly not his own. He rejected the idea contained in the earlier part of the Minister's quotation as Black apartheid.

Secondly, the latter part of the statement quoted above contains an implied warning that the idea and talk of repatriating the 250,000 Indians can have a boomerang effect on the African masses as regards the presence of Europeans in South Africa.

The quotation, standing by itself as it does, is objectionable and unfair to the Professor as it gives the impression that he is in favour of, or associated with, a scheme or programme for the expulsion of the Europeans in South Africa by the Africans.

Wor would the South African Institute of Race Relations, under its auspices, publish views of a such dangerous scheme.

Professor Matthews, who is known to be very careful with his thoughts and words, is not given to saying things like that. Professor Matthews warned the country against ideas of non-co-operation. He said: "It has been pointed out that here is a growing feeling among Africans that the policy to which they should lend their support in the future is that of non co-operation. Certain sections among them look upon this as the most suitable answer to the European policy of apartheid, which is itself tantamount to a policy of non-collaboration."

Then he warns: "Once the policy of non-co operation becomes endemic on both sides of the colour line, the resultant friction and antagonism will prove disastrous to the country as a whole."

Professor Matthews also stated that, like all other peoples, the Bantu "claim the right of selfdetermination." In the South African situation self-determination for the Bantu means that he must be accorded a full share in the determination and the execution of policy.

Inconsistent with the African right to self determination and "full co-operation with the African" are policies based on White leadership, Christian trusteeship or apartheid.

The burden of the entire article was a reasoned plea for "closely scrutinizing the principles by which our policies are inspired," racial accommodation and racial co operation.

Professor Mattews defines cooperation (p. 80) as "working together." ("The African has hitherto taken his stand on a policy of co-operation between Black and White at all levels of our national life.") Then he concludes by saying: "Co operation alone can rightly constitute a sutiable watchword for a strong, prosperous and united South Africa."

Since Professor Matthews is away on a lecture mission in the United States, I felt, obliged as his teaching colleague and friend, to defend his good name and reputation.

filled to capacity. Mr. Sultan attended and presented Honours Awards. He also made this the occasion for the announcement of the increase of his donation to £33,000. Dr. B. M. Narbeth presented certificates to successful students."

Referring to the services of Dr. B. M. Narbeth the report states: "It is fitting that we should remember most thankfully the long years of steadfast endeavour and service rendered to technical education by Dr. B. M. Narbeth. To have been the first Principal of the first Technical College in the Union and to have, without remuneration or reward, worked for the establishment of the first Indian technical college and guided it into its present virile state is a record of which any man might be proud. To have such a pioneer connected with our foundation is causa' for much thankfulness. The College Council join in congratulating him in connection with our site and look forward with pleasurable anticipation to seeing him, in fact, lay the foundation stone of our new building."

The Coliege has the following branches with the following gross enrolments for 1952: Sastri College 1,752 (which includes 572 dressmaking enrolments at Darthall Crescent and Kathiawad Hindu Seva Samaj) Hindu Tamil Institute 327, Clairwood continuation 164, Depot Road 56, Mount Edgecombe 428, Umkomaas 115, Torgaat 396

#### M. L. SULTAN TECHNICAL COLLEGE

T is wonderful how a night school for adults commenced years ago by Advocate A. Christopher with the aid of a band of enthusiastic workers has grown into the M. L. Sultan Technical College, a unique institution of the Indian community open to all non Europeans. It stands also as a monument to the biggest charity made by a single Indian for the benefit of his own brethren in particular and the non-Europeans in general. Mr. H. Nattrass the Principal of the College who is the live wire of the institution has just submitted his annual report for the year 1952 in which he gives a vivid description of how the institution has grown in recent years by leaps and bounds. In his report Mr. Nattrass referring to Mr. Sultan states:

"Mr. M. L. Sultan, who is eighty years of age, started work in Durban in a lowly capacity on Berea Road Station many years ago. Through steady application to work and by reason of his outstanding business acumen he, in spite of set-backs and difficulties, has been able to establish the M. L. Sultan Charitable and Educational Trust, endowing it with no less a sum than £100,000. Mr. Sultan and his Trust have donated to the Technical College the magnificent sum of £33,000."

"The year 1953" states the report, "is to see the erection of the first of the College buildings on Curries Fountain, some six acres in extent and lying within a stone's throw of the Greyville race-course. The completion of this

building and the workshop block will make possible the establishment of full-time day classes so altering considerably the outlook of the College."

Referring to statistics the report states: "In 1932 the enrolment in our classes was 169. Ten years later the number of students enrolled tose to 518. In 1952 the College dealt with 3,605 students.

"It is pleasing to note the increase in enrolment of women students. During the year we had 1,493 Indian, 80 African and 15 Coloured women students as against 1,606 Indian, 410 African and 5 Coloured men."

#### Students' Society

"The newly constituted M. L. Sultan Technical College Stu-Society held its first election during the early part of the year. Students at all branches of the College took part in the ballot. As this is the first occasion on which a full election was held I have pleasure in recording the names of the students elected. President: Mr. V. S. Naidu; 1st and 2nd Vice-Presidents: C. Makatini and Mrs. N. R. Pillay; Members of the Administrative Council: S. R. Chetty, Mrs. S. Naidoo, R. Royeppen, Miss J. Velu, K. A. Appalsamy, N. Bowen, J. Daniel, C. Naguran; D. Nobin, K. D. Pillay, R. Singh, and S. R. Singh.

"Rapid strides were made by this Council of Students and additional sporting activities initiated. A successful social was held in June, the Sastri Hall being

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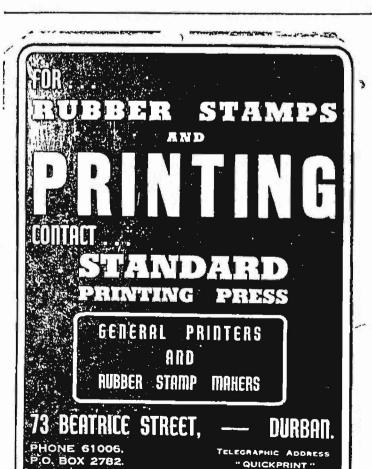
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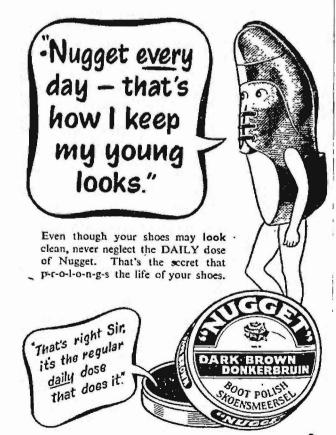
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#### THE WIDER WORLD

By JOHN GILD

#### SEPARATE BUT EQUAL

HE true meaning of the Appeal Court's decision on apartheid on the railways does not emerge from the bleatings of the political parties. A lawyer tells me what it all amounts to. Under the common law of this country, which follows the English law, racial discrimination is not valid, and will not be upheld by the higher courts, unless it has been expressly authorised by an Act of Parlia. ment. In plainer words, if colour bars are to be strong enough to resist challenge, they must have been erected by statute, not merely in the form of regulations made to carry out a statute which is itself silent on colour. Officials in various government departments are in the habit of basing a colour bar on a regulation framed by themselves. It is this practice that the court now holds to be unreasonable and a regulation which is unressonable can be upset.

In earlier years the tradition in our parliamentary law making was to avoid putting explicit colour bars into statutes. There was no need to put them in because non-Europeans very seldom or never tried to assert their legal rights under the common law of the land. But non-whites have been rising in the economic and social soile. An increasing middle class of educated people has emerged, conscious of their rights and ready to claim them.

. In the United States a similar position arose a long time ago. The courts met it by inventing the doctrine that "separate but equal facilities" are legally justiable. Cases then turned, as they toal do, on the question of fact whether certain separate facilities are really equal in practice. Where they are proved to be unequal, the Supreme Court will not recognize the discrimination. It is now clear that in South Africa there will be no pretence of providing equal facilities when the races are kept apart. Promptly, 'The Star' in Johannesburg has found the right phrase-"separate but adequate." You can guess, without

a moment's hesitation, who will decide the question of what is "adequate." The white authoritie will exercise their own discretion: Before they can do so, however, Parliament must pass a new Act saying that racial separation need not be based on any semblance of equality. As time and non-Europeans march on, the utter hypocrisy of the whole theory of spartheid is made plain in the harsh light of reality.

#### A Terrible Example

The Colonial Office is resorting to open warfare against the Kikuyn in their violent efforts to combat Mau-mau. The latest step, the arrest of Mr. Fanuel Walter Odede, has shocked liberal opinion in Britain. Mr. Odede. who is not a Kikuyu, but a Luo. is a very moderate African leader. The fact that he was pominated by the Governor to a seat on the Legislative Council is evidence enough of that. When Mr. Jomo Kenyatta was arrested months ago, Mr. Odede agreed to become president of the Kenya African Union. But he maintained his opposition to methods of violence and cherished his bope of interracial cooperation. It seems to me that Mr. Odede's real crime is bis successful resistance to official efforts to destroy his Union in the Nyanza province which he represents. By their destruction of civil liberties and their surrender to the small minority of White settlers, the British are setting a terribly bad example to every government in this continent. And by these methods they will never bring peace and racial harmony to East Africa.

Incidentally, the best books about Kenya are by Norman Leys, especially "The Colour Bar In East Africa" (Hogarth Press; 1940). Dr. Leys was a saintly character who wrote with a beautiful lucidity. He was unjustly dismissed from the colonial service because he was suspected of allowing his sympathy with Africans to undermine his loyally to the service. He lived for many years after

his dismissal to use his pen as a formidable weapon in the service of the truth.

#### Life of Laski

Harold Laskl was a great man. I am happy to find that a memorial to his life and work has come in the form of a biography written by Kingeley Martin, the editor of the socialist weekly, 'The New Statesman And Nation," and published by Gollanez at 21e. Among other things, Laski was a very good friend to Indians, many of whom were his students at the London School of Economics. One of the most brilliant of them was Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon, who has lately retired from the post of High

Commissioner in London. It was he who got Laski to speak in Britain on innumerable platforms of the India Lazgne. A wonderful speaker, Laski used to attack the British Raj in burning phrases, explaining the absurdity of teaching Indian Students the doctrines of Mill and Milton on freedom and then expecting them to allow the British to run India indefinitely. Those speech. es belped to pave the way for the Labour Government's decision to concede independence after the world war. Laski acquired great influence in India itself where his books on politics are widely read and where his former students occupy bigh

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By HOMER A. JACK

(With The Kind Permission Of 'The Christian Century')

#### SIGNS OF HOPE

WHILE it is difficult to overestimate the evils of racism and oppression in South Africa, it is also true that there are grounds for hope. The most important factor for progress and a greater degree of racial equality is the economic trends which are bringing the African tourban creas and thus bringing non-Whites together with Whites faster than Dr. Malan and his government, or any government, can possibly keep them apart. This trend is not wholly positive, for with more inter-racial contact and less urban planning there result social dislocations which create the shantytowns and a kind of social contact which may, for a time in South Africa as in North America, actually beighten tension.

It has been said that South Africa's economy in the past quarter century has good through almost as great an industrial revolution as occurred at the time of the industrial revolution from the 1780's to the 1840's. The gross value of the output of secondary industry in South Africa rose more than fivefold to £583 million Letween 1928. and 1948 Yet most of the non-Europeans, and especially the Africans, are treated by law and custom in a feudalistic manner. Alrican males are not "employees" under the Industrial Conciliation acts, but servants under the archaic Masters' and Servant's laws similar to those in fendal Elizabethan times. African males must make contracts with their employers, and penal sanctions are imposed for breach of contract. On the other hand. White workers in South Africa come under the Industrial Conciliation acts which contain some of the most protective legislation in the world. In addition, through other legislation they are "protected" from competition by non-European Workers.

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A second ground for hope is the existence, although much too infrequently, of little islands of genuine interracial activity in this sea of apartheid. Not too many can be found, but three —in the fields of higher education, religion and cultural relations—are illustrative.

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Industrial feudalism has lasted longest in agriculture and in mining. These economic blocs have largely been able to maintain low wages and inhuman working conditions through their great influence in Parliament. In recent years, however, the relative importance of mining and even of agriculture has declined as manufacturing has risen. Despite foreign conceptions of South Africa as a land of

gold and diamonds, happily for the economy of the country, not to mention the welfare of the Africans, there has been an increasing economic diversification, with gold mining accounting for only 3 per cent.

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#### AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

#### RHODESIAN FEDERATION AND AFTER

By JORDAN K, NGUBANE

Southern Rhodesia will vote in a referendum on April 9, 1953 on whether or not to join the proposed Central African Federation. The result will be awaited with interest by Africans in all the continent south of the equator-for very good reasons,

Firstly, the Rhodesian decision will have a direct bearing on federation itsell: An affirmative result will give new strength to the federationists and encourage them to go fullsteam ahead with their plans for the Malanisation of Africa. An adverse result—which is most unlikely-will force them to go about federation a little more carefully.

Secondly, if the referendum result favours federation African opinion will perforce develop a new approach to Black-White relations on the continent, This might be a good develop. ment; it might not be-because so much depends on the basis and objectives of that unity.

One aspect of federation which arouses very close African interest is the attitude of the British Government towards the clearly expressed wishes of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Up to now, Britain has seemed determined to impose federation on these Africans in spite of their unanimous opposition. Il Britain does this, she will have given Dr. Malan a valuable precedent for subsequent use when he presses his demand for the protectorates.

Up to now, Britain has taken the line that she cannot agree to incorporation within South Africa of the three Protectorates within our borders. Her reason is that she is legally obliged, in terms of the Schedule to the South Africa Act, to consult these people before she agrees to incorporation. Such agreement will presumably depend on African acquiescence to incorporation. At least this is what Britain's attitude so far has implied.

In short, Eritain has taken the stand which implies that the protection extended to Basutoland, Bechuanaland and - Swaziland would have been of no value if it did not mean that on a fundamental issue like incorporation, the pro-protecting power would be guided by African wishes.

But this attitude, whether clearly expressed or implied, is

almost the exact opposite of the line against the Africans in the protectorates of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

In [these; two territories Britain seems in mood to listen more to the wishes of the White settlers than to those of the African people. If she does this until federation comes through in the teeth of African opposition, Dr. Malan will have reason to ask why, in Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland, the attitude of the Africans should be treated with respect when it has been virtually ignored in Central Africa. He will have reason to insist that the Central African precedent justifies the incorporation of the protectorates within our borders against the wishes of their African

A second result of au affirmative decision is that the process which the African calls the Malanistion of Africa will be firmly entrenched in the whole of Southern Africa and directly threaten Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika-and even Ethiopia. For, in African eyes, federation consolidates a White racial front at the expense of the African and condemns the latter to a junior partnership from which the African cannot escape. In fact, if the history of South Africa is any guide, federation holds out the prospect for the African of seeing himself reduced to the position of virtual seridom one day. This is what Malanism stands for in African eyes.

The protective clauses in the proposed federal constitution will not stop a determined Herizog and Malan of the federation successively reducing the African to the position of a serf. The framers of the constitution, who were Whitemen, ensured that political power should remain vested now and in the future, in White hands. At the very best, the African was given token representation in parliament. Where is partnership in that arrangement? And, if the African becomes a little more truculent in agitating for complete equality, what will stop the White federal Government presenting a united front with Union Malanites of the future against the African?

But there is a silver lining in this otherwise dark picture. If Britain forces through her plans for the creation of a White-dominated state in Cen-

tral Africa, that will be the signal to most men of colour on the continent that it was time the African cultivated a pan-African approach to the question of Colour and devised ways and means to solve the problems created by this jointly. For a long time the White oppressors in all parts of Africa have acted more or less in unison when it came to handling African problems, Federation will give the African the reason to take a leaf out of his oppressor's book.

This attitude will not be racial. It will be protective; inspired by African determination to throw off their shoulders the yoke of oppression. The Whiteman who opposes the evil tyranny of race will, as he has been in the past, be on the side of the African. The oppressor will join the advo-cates of a White front as he thas done all along the line. The issue will be straight and clear cut—the African will be opposing social and political values he considers wrong and which he can no longer stand,

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### INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, March 18,

INDIAN Parliament began the second stage of the debate on the General Budget by taking up the demands for grants in respect of the Ministry of External Affairs totalling Rs. 8,88,01,000. The Opposition members vigorously attacked the foreign policy of the Government of India: Dr. Shyam-prasad Mookerji, leader of the National Democratic Group, applying the test of the results achieved in areas that mattered most to India Pakistan, South Africa, Ceylon and the foreign pochets in India, adjudged India's foreign policy "a dismal and dynamic failure,"

Mr. Nehru, winding up the debate on foreign affairs, stoutly defended his foreign policy. The Prime Minister defined his ap. proach to foreign policy as a subordinate of "hasty courage" to "quiet wisdom and tole ance" in action, looking shead at the future rather than acting on the anger and passion of the moment. Mr. Nehru declaced: "I am convinced that whoever might have been in charge of the foreign policy of India during these years could not have but followed more or less the broad policies that we have pursued, because it did not come out of my head or anyone eise's head, but came out of the circumstances under which we live, the background of our history and the present context of events. It is an inevitable policy, barring variations here or there, barring, may be, a certain emphasis here or there."

In regard to South Africa Mr. Nehru said that the "halfhearted attitude of some of the important countries did not do any credit to them. The time might come when other countries of the world would have to choose definitely as to what policy they were to adopt in regard to a country like South Africa, where this policy of social inequality, discrimination and suppression is applied in the way it is done. It was perfectly true that we have been unable to do anything in regard to South Africa except to express ourselves in the United Nations or otherwise. I confess I do not see any solution of the problem in the near future. Certainly I cannot bring it about except as a gradual development of situations in the world which bring enormous pressure. I confess at the present moment to a feeling of some

disillusionment at the way a number of important and great countries quibble about these matters. They could not openly support this kind of policy, of course, because practically no reasonable person in the world can support it."

The Congress. Praja Socialist talks for co-operation at Governmental and other levels which had generated high hopes of Coalition Governments at the Centre and in some of the States, have failed. Negotiations between the Prime Minister and Congress President, Mr. Nehru and Shri Jayprakash Narain, the Praja Socialist leader, bave come to an end. While the Congress found no objection to a more radical economic and social programme outlined by the spokesman of the Praja Socialist Party in his talks with Mr. Nebru, it was felt that difficulties were bound to arise at Governmental level in the timing, method and manner of implementing it. The programme outlined by Shri Jayprakash included amendment of the Constitution to remove the compensation clause in abolishing zamindari and thus facilitate expeditious agrarian reform, a more pronounced labour policy, nationalisation of key industries, abolition of Upper Chambers of the legislature at the centre and in the States, stoppage of payment of privy purses to rulers, abolition of the system of Rajpramukhs and concrete measures to tackle unemployment.

Informed Congress circles, however, suggest that there is still scope for co-operation between the Socialist and the Congress parties in matters in which they are agreed, like fighting Communism and communalism and implementation of a programme of rural rehabilitation.

The communal organisations like Jan Sangh, Hindu Maha Sabha and Ram Rajye Parishad have launched an agitation in support of Praja Parishad of Jammu, which is continuing its satyagraha, demanding complete accession of Kashmir to India. These organisations started satyagraha under the leadership of Dr. Shyamprasad Mookerji in Delhi delying the ban imposed by the District Magistrate on processions and meetings. Dr. Mookerji was arrested last week along with two other members

of Parliament while leading a procession. After Dr. Mookerji's arrest police had to resort to teargas and lathi charge to disperse the unruly crowd. About thirty persons were arrested in this connection. Dr. Mooker-ji was subsequently released by the Supreme Court on the grounds that he was not brought before any Magistrate within the next 24 hours of his arrest and that was against the provisions of the Indian Constitution. Mr. Nehru characterised this agitation as "helping the enemies of India."

The eight-man Pakistan delegation, headed by Mr. G. Faruque, Chairman of the Pakistan Cotton Board has started negotiations with the Government of India at Delhi for a long-term trade agreement. This is the first attempt to have a long-term agreement between the two countries. Looking at the preliminary speeches of the spokesmen of the parties concerned, prospects of such an agreement seem to be bright.

Akali leaders, including Master Tarssingh, who were arrested recently have been released by the Punjab Government.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has resumed his walking tour for Bhudan Yagna (land gift) after three months rest at Chandil.

Sri Mahavir Tyagi bas been appointed as a Minister of State for Defence.

At least 50 people perished and over 700 others were injured in north-western gales which swept parts of East and West Bengal and Assam. The gales, which ripped treetops, blew away roofs and flattened telegraph poles and banana plantations, rendered over 15,000 homeless. Lashing the countryside at 60 miles per hour at places, the storm has reopened. the question of rehabilitation Government of for the East and West Bengal and Assam as most of those rendered homeless are displaced persons who had made a humble beginning with loans from the respective Governments. Total damage in property and crops is estimated at over a crore of Rupees.

The Government of India has bowed down before the strong and united opposition of Tamilnad and has virtually decided that the Andhra capital will have to be located outside Madras City. Andhras are still adamant over the temporary capital issue and a controversy is still raging between the parties concerned, preventing the publication of Justice Wauchu's report for fear of its adverse repercussions. Waltair or Vizagapatam may be chosen as a temporary capital of Andhra.

The Government of Pakistan has released Bhupat, the notorious dacoit of Saurashtra, from jail on the expiry of his term of imprisonment for entering Pakistan without a permit and carrying arms without a licence. The Government of India requested the Pak Government for his extradition, but the Pakistan Government has refused to accede to this request,

The resignation of Sri Dhebar, the Chief Minister of Saurashtra, on the grounds of continued ill-health, has not yet been accepted by the Congress Legislative Party and there are chances that he may be prevailed upon to continue as Chief Minister.

The Government of India have lodged a strong protest with the Government of South Africa against the introduction of a Bill in the South African Parliament to prevent the entry into the Union of wives and children of persons of Indian origin, domiciled in the Union of South Africa.

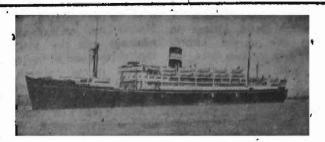
According to latest information from New Delhi, the Government of India have sent a special report to the Secretary General of the United Nations pointing out the gravity of the situation created by the South African Government's attempt to implement the Group Areas Act in the different parts of the Union. The action recently taken by the Union Government in connection with the proclamation of Group Areas is in flagrant and complete disregard of the resolutions passed by the United Nations in 1950, 1951 and 1952.

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