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-- William De Witte Hyde



## South Africa's Only Real Hope

O many South Africans belief in the colour bar was more important than belief in God, said Dr. Edgar H. Brooke, when he spoke at the University of Natal last week in the series of his lectures on "South Africa in a Changing World." He added: "This may be a harsh thing to say, but it is the simple truth."

Underneath all the arguments in South Africa there was in the minds of most White South Africans a deep fear. It was so deep that it gave reason and nobler emotions no chance. It paralysed justice.

It was a fear of an appalling future in which our race might disappear and all the things we value most might be lost.

"Fear begets injustice, injustice begets resentment, and the knowledge of resentment begets more fear, and so this cycle of destruction goes on," said Dr. Brookes.

"In South Africa we have a lively hope of preserving Western civilisation if we can overcome our fears and work towards a partnership of civilised men.

"We have no hope of preserving White racial dominance. It is not a question of whether it will fall, but of when. We may put off the day of change, but the longer we put it off, the more likely it is that the values we cherish will fall with our racial dominance, whereas if we act now we may save them.

"A genuine willingness to give would be met by a true understanding of our position and our difficulties by that large section of non-European leadership, which is as anxious to preserve the value of Christian civilisation as we are.

"An honourable accommodation is still possible between White and non-White, and the truest friends of White South Africa are those who seek such an accommodation. If we can persuade our fellow-countrymen of it while there is still time we can yet save the essential values in our history and tradition, and build on that past a good future.

"This, at any rate, is the only real hope we have at the ordinary political level.

"We have to go deeper than this. We do not know for certain that what is right is always wise. It is conceivable, however unlikely, that the policy which we advocate may not work out as we hope.

"All kinds of unforseen circumstances, some wholly out of our control in the outside world, may militate against us. We may leave our concessions too late and dole them out with too niggardly a hand.

"Again and again one heard South Africans who held conservative views on the colour question say that they would rather stand fast, and, if necessary go down fighting, than make concessions which would imperil White supremacy.

"We, many of us, believe that the maintenance of the indefensible status quo in South Africa is not a cause for which men should shed blood. We may not be able to convince our fellow-countrymen who think otherwise. If we can not it seems difficult to see any end except catastrophe.

(Continued on page 265)

## INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 1ST MAY, 1953

## Dr. Brookes Inspiring Lectures

TE bow our head to Dr. Edgar H. Brookes, and we are sure not only the non-Europeans but all the thinkof South people so for Africa will do unique service he has rendered to this country by his most instructive lectures at the University of Natal on "South Africa in a Changing World," An interesting extract from one of his last lectures we have chosen this week for our front page. We have no doubt it will be read with the deepest interest and appreciation by non-Europeans and Europeans alike.

We, cannot but criticise our daily Press which fills its columns in season and out of season with all sorts of sensational news can spare so little space to give due publicity to such lectures as these. They are certainly much more useful than anything clse to save South Africa from the path of ruination it is being fast dragged into by the roliticians. It is such food for thought as has been given by Dr. Brookes, it is this kind of propaganda that is so badly needed today in South Africa and elsewhere to cnable to regain her equilibrium. The present political Parties will never be able to establish peace in South Africa. for their main concern is, not the welfare of the country, but its own petty interests. It must be admitted. however painful it may be that there is complete

bankruptcy of statesmanship in South Africa, which has been the cause of the present turmoil and is ever growing in its seriousness. Dr. Brookes has come to us like an oasis in the desert. No pains should be spared to give the widest possible publicity to his lectures. We are happy to note a report in the 'Natal Witness' that the lectures may be published in pamphlet form and be available for sale to the public. In the present critical condition of South Africa it is highly essential that this must be done in a way that they world, be available to the commonest man.

"The purpose of my lectures," Dr. Brookes is reported to have said, "was not to arouse a great political movement among students but rather to interest them in vital human problems." Students, we are told, have taken notice of these words and have formed a Political Thinkers Society at the University, with Dr. Brookes as president. The purpose of the Society is to provide a forum for the discussion of politics as a science.

All this is very interesting indeed and it is, in our humble opinion, the only way in which the burning racial problem of South Africa can be solved. Politics as such is a dirty game when practised by politicians for party interests. But when a people suffer-

ing under harsh and unjust laws, in the making of which they have not had any say, resort, after all other avenues have utterly failed, to civilised methods of imposing sufferings upon themselves for getting their grievances redressed it cannot be called "politics." It is indeed a crusade in which all right thinking people should deem it their duty to take an active The student world should not therefore treat this as merely an academic subject but should make it their business to put into practice what they think is right and just irrespective of the consequences.

## S. A. Type Of Democracy

DINHE British India ship 'Karanja' which arrived in Durban on Tuesday, brought from India among other passengers. 81 wives children of Indians domiciled in the Union, who were allowed by the Immigration authorities to land with a warning that they would do so on their own risk in view of the announcement made in Parliament by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, on February 10. that if the Nationalists were returned to power they would introduce legislation taking away the right of entry of auch wives and children acquired under the Indian Relief Act of 1914 and the Capetown Agreement of 1927, and that such legislation would be made retrospective to the date the announcement was made.

On March 21, the Durban Immigration authorities stated they would accept no new applications by South African Indians for the entry of wives and minor children until the position was clarified.

There have been instances of highhandedness on the part of the Immigration authorities where they have put newly arrived women absolutely strangers to this country into the lock up at least for one night thus separating legally married husbands and wives. We do not blame the local authorities who are after all acting on instruction their superiors. But it seems preposterous women and children Indians domiciled in this country should thus be subjected to such hardships without any legal authority whatsoever and put to unnecessary trouble and expense of seeking the aid of the law and that too in a country which claims to be democratic.

## Modern Society

"To me, at least, it would be enough to condemn modern society as hardly an advance on seridom or slavery, if the permanent condition of industry were to be that which we behold—that 90 per cent. of the actual producers of wealth have no home that they can call their own; have no bit of land, or so much as a room, that belongs to them; have nothing of value of any kind, except as much old furniture as will go into @ cart; have the precarious chance of weekly wages, which barely suffice to keep them in health; are housed, for the most part in places that no man thinks fit for his horse; are separated by so narrow a margin from destitution that a month of bad trade, sickness, or unexpected loss brings them face to face with hunger and poverty."

-Frederic Harrison

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## SOUTH AFRICA'S ONLY REAL HOPE

(Continued from front page)

The value of a system must be tested, be said, by its effect on the human personalities which it touches.

"It is for this reason that the deepest feelings of many of South Africa's truest sons rise up against the colour bar as it exists today.

"What does out present system do to the human personalities it touches? What does it do to the African? Too often it builds in him a deep feeling of inferiority, cruel when it is not true, even more cruel when it is true.

"Anyone deliberately setting out to create such a feeling in a child would be worse that a murderer, yet our system does deliberately act out to create such a feeling in a whole race—men.

women and children.

"In this race are men who are graduates in medicine, arts and science, law and economies. But for most purposes they are all 'Natives,' and there is a type of White man who takes a sadistic pleasure in rubbing this in whenever he can.

"There are among my personal acquaintance Africans who are true lovers of music, who cherish beauty as she should be oberished, but under our present system they are all before all things 'Natives.'

It is not African personality alone which is, injured by our existing system: it is the personality of the White man himself."—'Natal Witness."

# cation of great peoples to noble causes. We are glad that they came at just this time of dreadful crisis, to restore our faltering faith, to quicken our waning hope, and to inspire again the courage that will sustain us to the end. It is fitting that, in such an atmosphere, such personages should begin their work

so deeply moving mark the dedi-

## Strengthening The United Nations

We take the following from the 'Community News':

For those who are giving heart and soul to the constructive effort to create in America and the world a public opinion which will support the strengthening of the United Nations until it becomes an effective aubstitute for com-Detitive armaments, a real, international security system with power to maintain peace, the present attacks upon the United Nations and the whole international idea are particularly distressing. Many who ought to know better join in these attacks; more remain silent before them; Senators like McCarran give them power and prestige.!

McCarran charged the other day that the world federalists were serving communist purposes. This is simply not true. As a matter of fact, the Communists today are standing for absolute national independence and for weakening the U.N., for their only chance of getting a World Union of Soviet Republics lies in keeping the nations divided and the United Nations weak and powerless. It is Separor Mc-Carran and bis friends that are serving communist purposes, for they, like the communists, are trying to keep the nations divided and the United Nations weak. Some day, I prophesy, they will be seen as the real helpers of the communists during this period, and thus the enemies of our country's welfare.

The interesting thing about these opponents of the U.N. and of its strengthening is that they have no alternative to propose that has any hope in it at all. They would simply arm us into World War III, with its hydrogen bombs which will wipe out whole cities. They have no constructive proposals. General Douglas MacArthur had something to say on this a few years ago which is worth remembering:

"The great moral and spiritual purpose which animated the formation of the United Nationsthe abolition of war from the face of the earth-will always live. and a way must be found to achieve that purpose. You cannot control war; you can only abolish it. Those who shrug this off as idealistic are the real enemies of peace. Those who lack the enterprise, vision and courage to try a new approach when none others have succeeded fail completely the most simple test of leadership."

Just last November General Eisenhower, our President, wrote: "Peace is our objective. The United Nations is an instrument of peace. Our aim must be to make it continually more vital and effective—there must be no wavering in our support for the United Nations."

Eighty years ago, General Ulysses S. Grant, in his Second Inaugural Address in 1873 said: "I believe that our own great Maker is preparing the world in his own good time to become one nation, speaking one language, and when armies and navies will no longer be required." No federalist believes we are ready quite for that, but Grant was looking in the right direction.

When even the great Generals speak this way, why do we hesitate? Let the people of this land speak out loud and clear, support the United Nations heart and soul, answer the detractors even if they are in the U.S. Senate and get ready for strengthening the Charter by amendment in 1955—D. H.

## THE VOICE OF AMERICA

## INAUGURATION, OF AMERICAN PRESIDENT AND CORONATION OF BRITISH QUEEN— A CONTRAST

The 'Community News' is published by the Community Church in New York. It contains news about the activities of the Church together with some of the most beautiful bymus and utterances of great men. Dr. J. H. Holmes is a regular writer of the 'Minister's Corner' from which we have much pleasure in presenting to our readers the following:

WE were talking about the inauguration of President Eisenhower, and contrasting it with the forthcoming coronation of the English Queen: these two not dissimilar events offer an extraordinary study in contrasts.

For example, note the splendor of the English pageant! The Queen will ride from Buckingham to the Abbey in a golden coach drawn by eight gray horses. She will be bedecked with all the silk, ratio, and ermine that body can bear, and will glitter with jewels outshining the noon-day sun. In the ceremonies at Westminster, Elizabeth's lovely brow will bear the historic and resplendent crown of her royal ancestors. The vast concourse of peers and peeresses will fill the great cathedral, all clad in gorgeous raiment, with medals, orders, and tokens of honour beggaring description. What a spectacle this will be ! Is there anything to match it in this sordid world of ours 1

In contrast to this, recall the inauguration on January 20th last. Here is the President-elect driving to the Capitol in an open car such as any citizen might buy of an amomobile dealer in the land.

Scorning the last relic of class snobbery and 'pride, the tall silk hat, the new President, and his predecessor, like the humblest spectator on the curb, wear soft bats, some new, more showing the tell-tale signs of wear. The new President stands to take the oath! The setting of this most solemn moment is not a cathedral, or a palace, or even some gorgeous auditorium, but a bastily devised stand of raw lumber, held together by seed pails, and decorated with crude buntings of red, white and blue. The dress of the President is peither cobe nor cutaway, least of all a dress suit, but just an ordinary dark business suit. Most remarkable was the absence from his breast of decorations of any kind. I suppose Eisenhower bas more medals, and orders, and ribbons, and degrees than any other man alive, but not one of them was in evidence on this great day. Here, in his simplicity, President Eisenhawer keeps step with the common man, and there. with justifies democracy.

These two ceremonies, each so distinctive in character, have yet a significance which is their own. In the case of the lovely Queen Elizabeth, we seem to feel, through all the pomp and circumstance, a reaching back into the past, to make contact anew with the precepts and principles which are Britain's chief glory for mapkind. In the formidable Eisenhower, on the other hand, we see a confident facing of the future, with a high resolve to fear nothing and endure all. Together, these occasions,

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## BRITAIN 1832—SOUTH AFRICA 1953

## A COMPARISON FOR EUROPEANS

By C. W. M. GELL

Reproduced From 'The Forum' (Johannesburg)

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THE Great Reform Bill of 1832, which abolished most of the rotten boroughs, made the balance between town and country more equal and extended the vote to £10 householders (worth many times that today), seemed to many then a very radical measure. Today it surprises us that so much fuss produced so little change. But the dire catastrophes which the governing classes bad predicted failed to materialise and the advocates of "radical" reform showed singular statesmanship in supporting "the Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill." For they recognised (as I am sure responsible non-European leaders would today) that immediate universal suffrage was out of the question in the existing state of public opinion. And they knew (as again our non-European leaders would today) that once abe prescriptive right of the upper classes (of, our Europeans) alone to govern had been breached. there could be no "finality" at some intermediate stage. As Dr. Trevelyan has written: "The nation was bence forth master in its own house. But the political extent of the "nation" would yet need to be defined by a succession of franchise struggles, each less violent (though much more extensive) than the great original." Thus in 1867 all householders in the towns got the vote and this was extended to the countryside in 1884. In 1918 Britain reached universal manhood suffrage and began to give women the

I think there are three lessons we can learn from this historical analogy. First, those who utterly appose the extension of any political rights to non-Europeans should recall how only 120 years ago (and to a lesser extent, at every later stage in the struggle) the vast unenfranchised majority of the British public was considered by its ruling minority to be quite and permanently incapable of political responsibility and only to be kept in order by savige judicial penalties. retrospect, how very wrong that opinion proved. May not our own fears in regard to the non-Europeans prove equally illfounded? May we not be paralysing ourselves (Bristol 1830 and East London 1952 notwithstand. ing) by phantoms of our own creation?

Secondly, let those who here advocate "equality now" realise how very recently universal suffrage came to one of the most mature of political nations. What bappened in 1832 was decisive, despite the small number of extra voters enrolled, because it established the principle of change and threw the vote open to all, regardless of class and colour, who attained certain standards of civic stature. Let us, therefore, meet the fears of today's ruling minority in South Africa by pitching our franchise qualifications high, so that (as Mr. Cillie and Dr. Keppel-Jones in their different ways have pleaded) the number of new citizens to be assimilated into the political "pation" at each stage is quite small. At each successive stage, as fear diminishes, a larger "nation" will be able and willing to take in

### Intolerant Lessons

It would be disbonest to conceal that the cud of the process at a time we cannot now foretell will be universal suffrage; but only when all bave become civilised. I deeply sympathise with those who fear that the non-European majority will one day treat them as they today treat itthat one form of racial tyranny will replace another, the despotism of the majority instead of the despotism of the minority. They may point to Socialist attacks on upper class wealth and privilege in Britain and urge that racial factors increase the probability of that happening here. But 1 beg them to consider whether upper or lower classes in England would have been better off for the decades of class war which an uncompromising attempt to perpetuate political privilege would have certainly entailed. As for the racial question, it is of course a serious complication in a pattern which is nevertheless principally one of social and economic classes. But I can see no alternative to increasing racial and social strife except to go forward, as Hofmeyr advised, "in faith"-treating non-Europeans on their merits as men and boping that they will come to respect us as such, men good, bad and indifferent as individuals, but living, working and voting as men for ideas and policies and not as units of racial groups, present the non-Europeans are learning from us all the most

intolerant lessons of racial exclusiveness and colour nationalism.

Finally, democracy has yet to solve the problem of preserving quality and talent from a mass uniformity of mediocrity. since talent is no monopoly of our European group, the problem is not reduceable to racial categories. And those who see in the estab. lishment of block parties largely composed of hereditary loyalties the negation of the democratic process (2) should realise from comparing Britain and South Africa how very large a measure of national and social unity is tacitly affirmed by a universal franchise and explicitly depled by a limited one. History again emphasises this point. For reform of the criminal law was the only considerable national reform to precede the first Reform Bill. In the years immediately after it, slavery was abolished, municipalities made more democratic and the first Factory Acts introduced. Similarly a great wave of reform embracing religious toleration, universal primary education, the army, the civil service, the ballot followed the second Reform Bill and Trades Unions were really set on their feet after the third Bill. Thereafter the pattern of the welfare state caring equally for all its citizens gradually took shape under the impact of universal suffrage. There was a reverse side to all these benefits; but few will seriously contend today that the balance in human happiness and national solidarity was not decisively in their lavour. They constituted the peaceful (if sometimes vociferous) evolution of a united society.

## Britain's Pattern

I fully appreciate that Britain had many advantages, not all of which we share. But I believe that the pattern is one that we should try to follow in pinciple as the only alternative to very serious and prolonged untest from which "White civilisation" is unlikely to emerge. If we come honestly to analyse many of our reasons for distinguishing our conditions today from those of the British ruling classes 120 years ago, I think we shall find that we have little more substantial ground for much of our present fear and prejudice than they were proved by history to have then. (3) There is for us today no "safe" way. We have to choose what appears to be the lesser of two risks. As I see it, the choice lies between the certainty of growing racial strife to which coust be added the probability of our eventual and not so distant defeat (if not militarily, then by passive resistance and industrial non cooperation); or the possibility, if we try gradually to share our political privileges and economic

opportunities with non-Europeans of basic racial harmony within a framework of political parties cutting across racial divisions (as, Nationalist protests notwithstanding, our White parties have in large measure operated these last forty years within the boundaries, of the White electorate.)

And transcending the expedient factors though pointing, I believe, in the same direction, there is the inescapable commandment of ous Christian faith: "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you." And I like to hope that in the final analysis we shall apply to our human relationships what General Smuts pleaded in vain with the world on behalf of the vanquished in 1919:

"When you are up against a position so terrible in its possibilities for good and evil, you can do only one thing, even if you fail utterly. And that is the right thing, the thing you can justify to your conscience and to that of all reasonable and fairminded people."

There is a singular unanimity in the world today, White and non-White, Communist and non-Communist, that we have not yet set our feet on the road to a goal which commends itself to reasonable and fairminded people. Can we really be the only ones in step?

(2) This is being widely discussed in Britain and America.)

(3) The question of mixed marriages is irrelevant. They can only take place if both parties are willing. Before the Mixed Marriages Act, less than one-third of one per cent of our marriages were mixed and of this tiny proportion only five per cent (or 0.015 per cent of our total marriages) involved Africans. There is just no demand by Europeans or Africans for interbreeding.)

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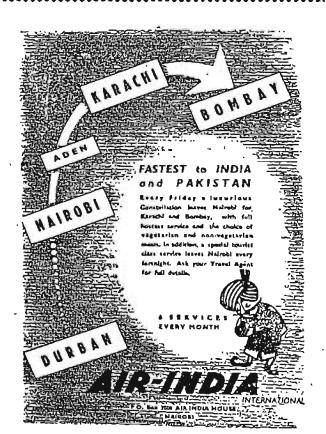
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## AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

## MR. LUTHULI ON INDIAN QUESTION

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

DURING the course of an interview with the Johannes-burg magazine 'Drum,' Mr. A. J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress, made remarks on Afro-Indian relations which, while perfectly intelligible to the Zulu, might seem a little eryptic to the non-Zulu.

'Drum' put this question to blm: "Do you think that there is a common cause between Indians and Africans?" and Mr. Luthuli seplied: "Yes, Our immediate objects are bound to be the same and we can and must work closely together. Since we welcome the sympathy and support of all races in the rest of the world, it would be absurd and contradictory to reject Indians in our own country. I myself would rather see the African people utterly destroyed than see them turn against the Indians.'

Pro-Buengu element's in the African community have seized on the last sentence in Mr. Luthuli's reply to give to it an interpretation which is the direct opposite of what Mr. Luthuli meant. He has been represented as having implied that his lovalty to the Indian as such is greater than his loyalty to the Africans whom he leads. If, to take an extremely hypothetical case, destruction were the inevitable lot of either the African or the Indian, he would work for the destruction of his own people.

What Mr . Luthuli did, which has given rise to what some people might consider an ambiguity, was to use a Zulu expression literally in an interview conducted in English. When the Zulu wants to emphasise that a certain course is absolutely impossible he says: okungcono kungafa mina... Literally this means: I would sooner be dead than (such a development to occur). This is the Zulu way of saying that in so far as it lies within his power he will give his own life to prevent a certain thing (which he opposes) happening. What Mr. Luthuli had in mind was to emphasise that rather than we the Indians destroyed, he, personally, would sacrifice his own life to mop this.

Indo-African relations in Natal will be subjected to new strams in Natal, now that the Malan Government has been returned to power. And it is a welcome thing that the leaders of the African people in the province are very much alive to this and are accordingly taking every precaution against anything which

might poison Indo-African relations and pave the way for Malanite designs to make the African and the Indian quarrel.

Only a week ago vast plans for a reception in bonour of Mr. Luthuli in Durban were upset partly by a whispering campaign which suggest that as the Indians would be present at the mass meeting planned at Cato Manor where Mr. Luthuli would be the main speaker, there would be a racial clash. Word spread very quickly around Durban to the effect that some people were ready to attack the Indians at the Congress meeting.

Apparently, largely as a result of these talks the City Council felt obliged to refuse permission to hold the meeting. Now, I do not suggest that the Council had this consideration only in mind. It might have been influenced by other factors, in addition to the rumours which were current in Durban then. But the point to note bere-and which very many people, in both the African National Congress and in sections of the Indian community refuse to face squarely-is the fact that racial dynamite is not completely dead in Durban. Heroic efforts are being made to iron out the differences between the Indians and the Africans. But these have not as yet reached the masses sufficiently and swayed them overwhelmingly in a way which makes them immune to propaganda-from whichever sourcebostile to the Indian

It is to the credit of both the leaders of the African National Congress and their followers in the national movement that spectacular successes have already been scored. But it also sheds light on what they are up against to see their successes against the background of what they have not achieved.

For example, the resistance movement in Natal fell below expectations. As a political unit, the Africans in Natal are more closely-knit than in any other province. A vigorous appeal to the Zulus, in which the resistance movement was represented as a climacteric in an historical process could have produced more spectacular results. But the style of the African leaders was cramp. ed beavily by the obligation they felt to work in very close collaboration with their Indian colleagues. Only the political issues at stake could be held in the forefront as a result. This stand, in turn, made it awkward for the leaders of the African National Congress to draw freely on the forces of national awakening which enabled Dr. N)ongwe at Port Elizabeth to score the victories which stand to his credit today.

In considering future strategies, the leaders of the African National Congress should have learnt from their serbacks in Natal that it is time a new formula was found on which to base the Afro-Indian alliance. The fact that the African National Congress bad to work within the contact of the type which prevails has shown us that our people are not as yet ready for such close co-ordination of activities. They have gone very far to make the alliance a reality and I think the point is now being approached when to press them farther might provoke an adverse reaction. True statesmanship lies, not so much in telling everybody how smoothly the alliance is working as in ensuring that at every stage the African National Congress carries the solid bulk of African opinion with

At the moment too close a co-ordination of activities gives our enemies the opportunity to break down and neutralise the African's own efforts to organise himself. The Cato Manor incident, at which Chief Luthuli was to have been welcomed, is an open book for all with eyes to read. And it is a book we must read if we are not going to betray the struggle.

What we need is a looser arrangement within which the allies will work with greater freedom and be in the position to draw freely on their natural genius. It serves our common cause better if the Indian Congress can go to its own people as the Indian Congress, speak in a language they understand and return a stronger body, throwing its full weight in the alliance. The same is true of the African National Congress—only more so.

Cur critics always say that the type of Afro-Indian unity we are building up is top-heavy. This is largely untrue; but to the extent that it is, we have not succeeded in making it work in the best interests of the causo which we all have at hears.

That is why a statement of the type made recently can be seized upon and, used against the background of internal developments, threaten to create a very awkward situation for the non-whites, at least in Naral, I do not think it is wisdom to blind ourselves to the realities of the Natal situation; nor does it help anybody to create the illusion (bat all is well, when so much cries out to high heaven for reform. And now, when the forces we oppose are still regrouping, is the time who we should put our own house

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## INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, April 17.

A CCORDING to reports from Now Delhi, senior officials of the Government of Pakistan will leave Karachi soon for discussions with their counterparts to Now Delhi to chalk out an arenda for an official conference to consider outstanding Indo-Pakistan problems:

Karachi's official quarters bave still neither confirmed 'nor denied the validity of these reports. In the meanwhile Pakistani Press has against India, blaming her for all the trouble that, is brewing in Pakistani Karachi daily, 'Dawn,' mouthpiece of the Muslim League in Pakistan, dwells upon the huility of direct discussions with India. This indicates which way the wind is blowing.

Mr. Nehru has sent a cable to Khwaja Nazimuddin, the Pakistan Premier, taking strong objection to falso reports published in the Pakistan Press. Mr. Nehru was understood to have told Mr. Nazimuddin that inch incorrect and misleading reports would only mar prospects of success of a the Nehru-Nazimuddin meeting.

The Indian High Commissiontrin Karachi has also registered a protest against such reports and asked the Pakistani Foreign Office to clarify the situation. According to latest reports, Mr. Nazimuddia has expressed his regret at the publication of such false reports.

The major problems affecting the good relations between the two countries are Kashmir, creal water dispute and the evacues property.

Facts regarding Kashmir are well known. In regard to the canal water dispute, the Palistani propagandists blame India for the present scarcity conditions prevailing in Palistan, but from the following facts anyone could judge for himself.

When the Iodian sub-continuous was partitioned in 1947, ladia could very well have refused to supply canal water according to international usage. But the Nebru Government was generous enough to consent to supply water for a limited period of time and an agreement was signed between the two countries in May 1948. The dispute was between East and West Junjab Governments regarding supply by East Punjab of water to the Central Bari of water to the Central Bari

Doab and the Wonalpur capala in West Puojab. Sinco 1948 Pakistan bad been receiving water under the May Agreement from year to year. But in December 1950, after two and a half years, Pakistan repudiated the agreement unilaterally. Nevertholess India continued to supply water to Pakistan according to the terms of the May Agreement. In September 1951 the Government of !ndia formally proposed to the Government of Pakistan that the question of validity of the agreement be referred to arbitration. Pakistan did not accept the proposal, Since May 1952, engineers of India and Pakistan bave been negotiating, at the initiative of the World Bank, for preparing a comprehensive plan for development of water of the Indus Basio, intended to solve the dispute between the two countries. They are scheduled to meet again in September at Washing tou.

Out of 16 caust systems in the undivided Punjab, 11 fall entirely within Pakistan and India has no control over them; only 3 lie wholly in India; one in common to both India and Pakistan. Of the total flow of six rivers of the Indus Basin; Pabiston utilises 40 per cent., India 5 per cent, and as much as 55 per cent. of water runs wastefully into the sea. On division of Punjab, India got nearly 45 per cent. of the total area-most of it undeveloped and without much canal network, while Pakistan got nearly 55 per cent, of land highly developed by Hindus and Sikhs with a vast network of canals. It is obvious from the facts stated above, where justice lies,

In regard to evacuce property, Hindus and Sikhs left nearly ten times the property left by Muslim migrants in India. The total value of property left by Hindus and Sikhs in West Pakistan is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of Rs: 1400 crores. Indla bad saggested to tackle this problem on a Govconment-to-Government basis, which the Pakistan Government has consistently refused. Pokistan did not accept the suggestion to settle this question by artitration. Pakistan wanted to settle this question on an individual basis, which the Government of India could not , accede to.

The latest position in regard

to this problem is that, Dr. Qureabi, Pabistan Minister of Rehabilitation, has suggested that the Government of India should first withdraw their evacuee property legislation from all but a few areas which are termed "agreed areas" in the 1949 agreement. But India's Minister for Rehabilitation, Mr. Ajitprasad Jain, selt that Dr. Quresbi's offer amounted to a demand that the Government of India should withdraw their evacuee property laws from large parts of India before the Government of Pakistan could even consider making a begining on their side. The Indian Government accordingly told the Pakistan Government that "the proposal made by them is so extraordinary that we can draw the conclusion that they are not anxious to consider the matter."

Mr. Nehru believes in the Gandhian approach to these and other problems. In dealing with Pakistan he said, "We have to look a little ahead and not be swept away by passions of the moment or by some ill deed that we hear about from there and thereby adopt policies which may be davil us in the suture. We have to solve this problem of ladia and Pakistan, It is better to solve it at leisure than to break it in haste."

He further stressed: "Let us remember that we have to live as neighbours today, to-morrow and in the future."

Let us bope that the talks between the two Prime Ministers may succeed and usher in a new era of co-operation and friendliness between the two countries.

The electric trams of Madras, which have been crawling on the roads of this Southern C.ty for nearly 60 years, have stopped plying. British-owned tramway company has suspended its services, declaring that the company was losing between Rs 40000 and Rs. 500000 every month. The Government of Madras is considering ways and means to meet the situation created by the suspension of tram services,

The West Bengal Government have fixed 100 acres of land as the limit beyond which all rent-receiving interests would be acquired by them, according to the provisions of the Zamindari Abolition Bill, finalised by the State Government,

Land over 100 acres, occupied by mines, tea estates, fisheries and orchards would also come under the purview of the legislation. There would not however be any change in the proprietorship of these industries, but the owners of the land on which such industries are run would be treated as lessess under the Government.

Compensation for all categories of rent-receiving interests to be acquired will be fixed at 4 to 15 times the annual revenue payable in 20 instalments.

The l'inance Minister, Mr. C. D. Deshmukb, replying to the Opposition demand for nationalisation of industries during the two-day debate on bis Ministry's demands for grants, told the House of the People that it was not possible to think in terms of widespread nationalisation in view of their current difficulties in regard to resources and administrative machinery. He said that "neither Communism nor socialism nor any other variant of that system will work in India."

Referring to the specific demand 'of the Socialists for on tionalising banks, Mr. Deshmukh said that so long as the private sector existed, it would be best to leave these matters to be managed by private agencies, provided due control was exercised.

He could say with confidence that the control and regulation of banking in this country was as thorough-going as one could hope to find in any country aunting a genuinely democratic system.

Indian Railways Centenary celebrations have begun on a grand scale. A magnificent exhibition showing various phases of railway development in India has been opened at New Delhi. Victoria Terminus of Central Railway (G.I.P.) and offices of Western Railway (B.B. & C.I.) have been illuminated with lights. In addition to the thousands of glittering bulbs which give the building of Victoria Terminus a blezing monument to the service of the Indian Railways for nearly 100 years, the Central Railway authorities bave also out on an exhibition of some of the engines which were commissioned as early as 1902, 1905 and 1915. A latest model railway bogey, with all the modern amenities, which are being built at their Matunga workshop, is also on the show.

The first train in India left Victoria Terminus in Bombay to Thana, a distance of 214 miles to the booming of guns and music, of bands on April 16, 1853. After 100 years the Indian Railways bave become the largest system in Asia having a route mileage of 33,343.

The total sum invested in developing this system is nearly Rs. 850 crores. The annual

gross revenue amounts to Rs. 275 crores and the total working expenses Rs. 230 crores.

Indian Railways are the biggest employers in the country, nearly a million men being on its pay roll and the annual wage bill will go into Rs. 123 crores.

Every minute 2340 passengers buy tickets from its 6273 stations.

India will become selfsufficient in regard to engloss, coaches and other railway materials in a few years. At present India is producing engines and coaches in its own factories, but not on a scale required by the Indian Railways.

After a four-day debate, the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly rejected an Opposition resolution urging the disintegration of Hyderabad State. The resolution, moved by Mr. Veobatman Rao (Peoples' Democratic Front) was lost by 79 votes to 63 votes, one member remaining neutral.

The resolution sought to request the President of India to recommend for immediate introduction in the House of the People a Bill for the disintegration of the State on a linguistic basis and reconstitution of the adjoining provinces on the basis of language.

Opposing the resolution the Chief Minister, Mr. Rambrishna Rao said that the disintegration of Hyderabad State and the formation of linguistic provinces in the country at the present juncture was "out of place" and "premature."

Mr. Rao emphasised that the State Congress resolution passed at its Nizamabad session calling for disintegration of the State still held good and there was no going back on it. But that resolution made it clear that the State should be disintegrated "keeping in view the general condition in the country and also the formation of other linguistic States."

## THE WIDER WORLD

By JOHN GILD

### THE REAL OPPOSITION

IT is a good thing that the Netionalists won the election by a big majority. If they had just scraped in by a very small majority, the United Party would have continued to cling to its illusions. It would have believed that it lost by electoral chance and that the tactics it employed would bring it success next time. Now, as things have turned out, it is clear even to short-sighted people that appearing Nationalist opinion has completely failed to produce results.

The English daily papers are still busy misleading U.P. supporters about the causes of their defeat. It is really a pitiful exhibition. For the reasons for the defeat of the Opposition are are not to be found in the electoral system or in juggling with figures in a forlore attempt to prove that the Government did not win the election. Every electoral system has defects of one kind or another. When the Nationalists were routed in the mid-war election of .1943, they actually received a third of the votes but not a third of the geals.

What will the United Party do now? I believe that it is an error to suppose that the Party will disintegrate. For one thing, a big national party does not easily fold up. It represents too many vested interests which would never let that happen It seems more likely that its wole a sa sucitoo liw anilob process concealed from English readers by a servile Press. The English Press reflects the interests of the minc-nwnors and big businessmen and investors These men really wanted a condition and it is now as certain as anything can be that they won't get one. They are consequently ready to accept the implications of deleat. The first is the fact that the Nationalist outlook will in future dominate political life. These men will therefore concentrate on their own economic interests, giving the Nationalists as little cause for offence as possible. In other words, the English cannot be relied on to assert alternative principles and policies or to oppose the Government with sustained vigour. This means that in the long run the real Opposition will emerge from another quarter.

It will be an alliance of various forces, including the African and Indian Congresses, the recently formed groups of liberal Europeans, and an assortment of Socialists some of whom are in the Labour Party and some of whom are in the Labour bination of forces might go far because it could find a basis for co-operation. This basi.

would give first place to an extension of the rights and a reduction of the wrongs of non-Europeans.

## Crisis In Nigeria

The Nigerian constitution which has been working for only a few years, is breaking down, and a serious crisis has come upon the country. Like other colonial peoples all the world over, West Africans want solf-government. They are so eager for it that they are no longer content to wait indefinitely until it pleases the British graciously to bestow it on them. Some of the political leaders therefore put down a motion in the House of Represopiatives as follows: "This House accepts as a primary political objective the attainment of self-government for Nigeria by 1956." The conservative Moslems from the Northern region were not willing to support the motion if it included a specific date. As they occupy half the member-ship of the House, the crisis developed. Four Cabinet Ministers from the Western region, under the leadership of Mr. Awolowo's Action Group party, teligned. Dr. Azikiwe and Mr. Awolowo have now sunk their differences and come together to insist that the North shall no longer hold up the Eastern and Western regions in their progress towards self-government. The constitution of 1946 was a clumsy affair, deliberately designed to slow up the pace and possibilities of political change. It recalls the constitution that was designed for India in 1935 when the British were also trying to fight a reargourd action. Once a nutional move. ment reaches a certain stage, its momentum becomes so strong and rapid that it can't be held back by old-style constitutional checks and balances designed by ingenious lawyers.

The Colonial Office faces a sharp dilemma. It does not want to let Nigeria, wih its 25 million Africans, go ahead "too fast." But it can't go back now. Already the Conservative papers are talking of partition, that sad coofession of imperial failure. Partition was the

doubtful heritage bequentied by British failure in India, Palestine and Ireland. Must it happen again? It may be neceseary, if Britain insists on "protecting" the Northern Moslems. The alternative may be internal disturbances, the outcome of which no one can foretell.

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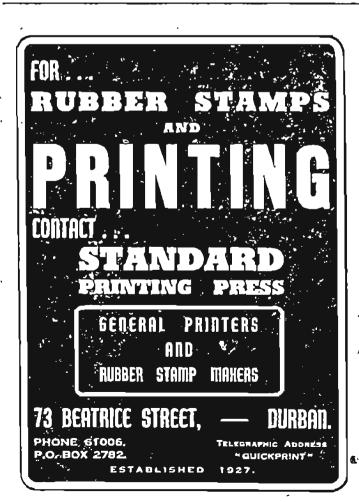
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## Pakistan News

Karachi, April 1953.

(From Our Own Correspondent)

## MINISTERIAL CHANGES

THERE is no doubt that Pakler tan lives in stirring times, but after a protracted period of consistently depressing news, men are beartened to find that the country possesses leaders capable of taking bold decisions and soling upon them.

The dismissal of Khweje Nezlmuddle, along with the four Ministers of Food, Commerce, Industry and Education, was a surprise, but it oannot be sild that with their going there has been any expression of rigret. Khwaja Nazimuddin is, bimself, a gentleman of plety abd integrity, but he laoks the power of firm and immediate dealsion which, from time to time, is essential in all undertakings. His complaint that the Governor-General bas soled iflegally and unconstitutionally ₩ill occasion little interest in the country which has come to feel that something more than dobate on legal issues is peccusary sulfs gallerofesh a severall of tion. During the last fifteen months of difficulty, there have been gross errors of judgment and a seeming inability to arrest the dealine and the nation shares the Governor-General's view that drastic changes are called for. Of the other Ministers dismissed, the probability is that irrespective of their ability, two of them at least (Mr. Fazlur Rahman and Pirzada Abdus Satter) had been too long in their ministerships and were exhausted of ideas and energy.

Two facts strike one foreibly at the present time. It is obvious that the country feels the need of a constitution so that the suffrages of the people can be sought. The second is that the old guard whom the Quid-1-Amm rallled round him at the time of Pakistan's birth, are slowly giving way to newer, younger, men. This development is inevitable and should not be regretted. It is indeed a sign that the country is Ridwing up.

The new Prime Minister has the good wish of the people there is no doubt about it. As representative of Pakistan sbroad, in several diplomatio tosts lucluding the Washington Embassy, he has been successful and has built up a reputation. The new Ministers include Abdul Quyyam Khan, until his now epointment the Ohief Minister

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to the NWFP and he is wall know for rnihless snergy and determination. Dr. Shoaib Qurelebi le a well-known public man who did well as Pakistan's Ambassador at Moscow. Mr. A. K. Brobl is young; he has risen high in the legal profession and he commands much respect for his learning and sound approach to problems of the day. In our first letter to 'Indian Opinion' we mentioned the way be bad eilenced his cirtics on constitutional pro-

Many people had realised that after a good start. Pakistan was beginning to rest on a quickly established reputation and during the last two years lethargy and alsokness were paralysing progress. The first duty of the new administration will be to revitalise all public business and bring new energy to the tasks that awalt completion.

The changes at the Captre followed galokly apon the changes in the Punjab. It is no longer necessary to recount the history of the anti-Ahmediya agitation, serious enough in itself, but it is pleasing to be sble to record that the "direct sollon" threatened by the agitators in Karsohi, was stillborn in the face of adequate precentions taken by the authoritles.

The fall of Mian Mumiar Daultana BB Ohlef Minister of the Punjab can scarcely call for expressions of regret. His administration enjoyed little suc ces, it stumbled from one impasse to the next and his own conduct at the time of the agitation aroused great misglving. His speeches were contradictory in tone and implication and the man in the street, however ignorant of the inner manipulations of politics (and usually they are very well-informed), could dedoos a disharmony between the Central and the Provincial Government. Dauliana's going is not mourned.

The appointment of Mallk Firoz Khan Noon as Chief Minister of the Panjab bas been welcomed, partly because changes in politics almost invertably enjoy a welcome, but also because he is a wellknown public men and if be lacks the book-learning of others, he has the greater advantages of nature and wide

personal oberm and integrity and is much respected. From him the Province expeals some. thing other than the gordid ablospery which for so long has torn and distracted the affairs of the Panjab He has many well wishers in his heavy duties.

### Budget Session

The Budget Bession of the Constituent Assembly in March was less depressing than many feared. The dimoulties of trade bad led us all to expect a Budget of the ulmost gloom, but Mr. Mohomed All (who omtinnes, doubtless as Fluance Minister, in the new Government) while facing the solid facts of the position, has nevertheless shown a temperate courage and enterprise. It is noteworthy that despite the difficulties of the past year, the revised budget estimate fell short of the original estimate by only Re. 27 lakes and the year did, in fact, close with a small surplus. For the coming year, the greatly diminished estimated revenue creates problems, but the Finance Minister, by insisting on economy in expenditure, h.s balanced the Budget with the addition of only Rs. 5.88 crores of new taxation. At the same time, he has incressed concessions to stimulate savings and industrial investment and. in a hold stop, he has actually incressed by six orores of rapees, the provision for industrial development.

The major weakness of the Badget is the omission to provide anything to finance the wheat imports which Pakisten will be obliged to undertake in the order of some 1,500,000 tome during the coming year. has been made orystal clear by Khwaja Nazimuddio that In this matter Pakistan most have foreign help and it is unlikely that he spoke in valu. Indeed, Australia bas just made a gift to Pakistan, under the Colombo Plan, of 45,000 tons of wheat.

### Trade Agreement

The three-year trade agreement recently signed between India and Pakistan is a welcome step forward in the relations between the two conntries. This agreement provides that Pakistan shall supply 1,800,000 bales of jule each year and India aball supply 84,000 of coal each month. Pakistan has removed the fee on jute exports to Indla and, for her part, India has removed the export surcharge on coal sent to Pakistan- Fartbermore, India has undertaken that all coal delivered under this agreement shall be rail-borne which means that the coal will reach the

experience. He is a man of borders of East and West Pakistan at the minimum possible prices. In the present circumstances of world trade, the agreement is valuable to both sides and illustrates olearly the advactages which both may read by utilising the patural economic obsunels which exist between

> Following upon this agree-ment there has been a good deal of speculation upon the possibility of a meeting between the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan to disones and perhaps resolve the problems that still exist, Some of these problems are delicate enough and it would be improper to venture remarks at this stage. Still, it is permissible to express the hope that the day may not be far dietant when both will have come to agreement on present differences for the benefits to both will be inestimable.

Doriog the last few weeks, the public mind has been so much concerned with political obsages and an atmosphere of disturbance that scarcely anything else has received attention. Moreover, the stringent financial eitnation has introduced a suggestion of diminishing sotivity which is probably unjustified. At the present stage we can only revert to an earlier theme. nemely, that the first duty of the new Government is to infose fresh energy and see to it that paper plans are translated into accomplishment. In the vital field of agriculture. Pakietan has appointed Lord Bayd-Orr as Obsirman of the Grow More Food Committee. This Committee is something more than an instrument for plons publishty. It has been invested with very wide powers of sotion intended to eliminate the delays which seem inherent in public administration. It will not be necessary for the Committee to operate through the normal and frequently sumbrons machinery of government but, subject to financial concurrence, will be able to go abead in placing orders for equipment and initiating its projects. It is this spirit which should inform the country today and as a test, the results of Lard Boyd. Orr's Committee, will be watched with much interest.

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## CONGRESS STATEMENT ON THE CAMPAIGN

(The following Press statement has been issued jointly by the African National Congress and the Natal Indian Congress.]

T a Press Conference at A T a Press Constitution of the Weblob, over 25 Newspaper men representing newspapers from all over the world. Ohlef L J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress made the following statement of policy as adopted at a meeting of the joint Executive Committees of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Franshies Asiion Council:

"The return of the Nationalist Party to office with increased majority has olearly demonstrated the support of the White roters of South Africa to the polloy of White supremacy and the subjugation of the Non-White people who constitute the vast majority of the popula-Mon. Despite the larger vote recorded in favour of the Parllamentary opposition, in effect the White electorate as a whole voted for the Nationalist policy, because the opposition also stood for the fundamental policy of denying to the non-White people full democratic rights, and its bolief in segregation is consonant with apartheld and White domination.

"Under the circumstances there is no middle course for the country. The choice is, wither to side with the Nationallet Party in its fasoist policy of Apartheld and White sqpremacy, which affects the democratic rights of all Bouth Africans regardless of race or colour, or to join the non-White people of the land in their struggle for freedom and full damoorusy.

"The hope of the freedomleving people of South Africa Hes in the non-violent struggle doldw five bas soitspini teniest has already stirred midions of people here and abroad and which has shaken the citadel of fascism in this country er at stellsnoitaN adt grinnes port to the ensetment of medieval and fraconic measures contained in the anti-Defiance Acts-the Laws Amendment Acts. It is the duty of all Bouth Afri-

cans to campaign for the immediate repeal of these and other unjust laws which attempt to crueb freedom and establish a fascist diotatorchip.

"We call upon all those White South Africans who still tressure freedom, liberty and democratio traditions to join the non-White people of this country who are pledged to wage a relentless struggle for the fundamental human rights of freedom of spessh, association and movement.

"The non-White people themselves must demonstrate unmistakably their indignation and resentment to all that White supremany and spartheld stands for and most consistantly and determinedly make the policy

of apartheid unworkable in every sphere and walk of life.

"The return of the Nationalists to office means a further reign of terror and fasoist brutality which will require the utmost vigilance and resurd lie to trace on the constella South Africans who cherish the principles of democracy and freedom and who are striving to make this land free from racial strife, intolerance and fear and in which future generations can live and work in peace, goodwill, economic prosperity and recial harmony.

"In the light of these circumstances and to solieve the high objectives for which we are pledged, this Conference calls upon the people to be in a moitos for seembersquery for setton essential to halt the feedst opplaught of Dr. Malan's Nationalist Government.

## Things In General

Welcome Reception To Mr. T. G. Desai

A welcome reception to Mr. T. G. Desai who returned recently from India was accorded under the auspices of the Shree Sanatan Vishnu Mandir, Candella Estate, of which Mr. Dessi is a chairman and a Trustee. At the reception Mr. J. Baboolall Maharaj presided. Mr. T. G. Desai was garlunded by him and also by the Chairman of the Indra Pooja Committee. Mrs. Desai was presented with a bouquet. Mr. Baboolali Maharaj spoke in glowing terms of the good work Mr. T. G. Desai had done for the district. He also praised him for having returned from India with five valuable marble Idols which Mr. stona Desai has promised to donate to the Shree Sapatan Vishnu Mandir when the proposed temple is erected. Messrs. B. M. Chaithu, treasurer of the Hindu Sangathan, B. Ramnarian Maharaj, Secretary of the Shree Sanatan Rastriya Samalan; S. R. Siogh, representative of the area O.F.S.A. Care Committee: R. R. Maharaj, Secretary Stree Sanatan Dharma Sabha Natal; Morarjee Desai and others spoke on the activities of the Public Safety and the Oriminal Mandir and the good work done by Mr. T. G. Desai. Mr.

T. G. Desai expressed his

gratitude and gave a vivid picture of the wonderful progress made by India after attaing ber independence. A vote of thanks was moved by Mr. R. Panday and the guests were entertained served with tea and light refreshments.

## H. H. Age Khan Unable To Attend Coronation

Among the distinguished persons who will be unable to attend the Coronation are His Highness and the Begum Aga Rhan. On doctor's orders the Aga Khan has had to decline with great reluctance an invitation sent him by her Majesty. The Aga Khan, who is at present at Cannes, has not fully recovered from the heart trouble from which he has been suffering for over a year."

## SA. Institute Of Race Relations

Prof. Leo Kuper, B.A. (Hone) LLB, M.A. Pb. D. delivered an interesting address on "The Passive Resistance Movement" at the University of Natel, City Building, Warwich Av., on Thursday, April 23 under the auspices of the S.A. Institute of race Relations. The subject had attracted an unusally large audience of non-Europeans both Indians and

Africans and the meeting had to be transferred to a larger hall.

### Mahatma Gandbi Memorial Fund

We wish to thank an ancaymous donor for the donation of £2-2-0 towards the Mahatma Gandbi Memorial a the same the same that the the same the same the same is

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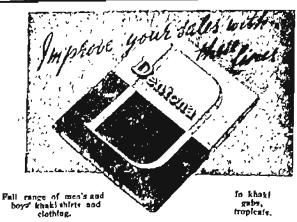
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