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# INDIAN OPINION

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## What's In A Name?

*The Parson draws a  
"Stipend,"*

*The Lawyer pockets "fees,"*

*The Banker adds up  
"interest,"*

*The Merchant "profit" sees.*

*Shareholders cash their  
"dividends,"*

*The Landlord calls for  
"rent,"*

*The Statesman takes a  
"salary,"*

*The Royalty "grants"  
are sent.*

*The Pirate seizes "booty,"*

*The Smugglers "plunder"  
lag.*

*Brigands demand a  
"ransom,"*

*The Burglar collars  
"swag."*

*What's in a name? 'Tis  
all the same—*

*Obtained by law or  
stealth:*

*But from the Workers'  
toil alone,*

*Comes every form of  
wealth.*

—A. E. Anderson.

## The Contest Between Good And Evil

**A**T Vishrampur, a village in India a friend asked Shri Vinoba Bhave, "How is it that in the contest between the forces of evil and the forces of good we often find the former dominating the latter?" It is a question which troubles most of us and especially those who are weak of faith and temperamentally pessimistic: Shri Vinoba gave the following illuminating reply to the question.

He said that the evil opposing good serves one very valuable purpose. It puts goodness to test. But if one keeps patient and goes on returning goodness in the face of evil, he will see that ultimately it is good which wins. Goodness to be effective should be allowed a real chance. The good must take care not to resort to evil out of impatience. The weapon of the good is goodness. And they can prove themselves strong only by using their own weapon. Of course one must have the patience to wait. Christ was crucified and killed. Outwardly it would appear as though he lost. But the world has forgotten the killers of Christ while Christ lives in countless human hearts. But you cannot hope to succeed in 15 minutes. The seed of goodness takes time to sprout up. Bhoodan (Land gift) is an outstanding example of the success of goodness. So far as the individual is concerned goodness has always won. We are now engaged on an experiment whether it can also win in the social sphere.

But for success in the social sphere on a social scale, we must organise goodness. What happens is that while the wicked organise and unite for serving evil, the good do not care to unite on the side of good. Bhoodan is now doing this. Charity has always been practised but only individually. We are now organising it on a social scale and in the form of a country-wide movement with a view to resolving some of our problems. This was not attempted before. The good should throw in all their might for the success of this movement and for the triumph of good over evil.

# INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 14TH AUGUST, 1953

## Mr. Beard

WE have devoted quite a good bit of space this week in reproducing from the 'Natal Mercury' letters of Mr. Frederick G. Beard on the treatment of Indians in South Africa and some of the replies given to those letters. We have done so because Mr. Beard at one time held a responsible position and therefore whatever he says is naturally taken by the public to be responsible and weighty and thus the public is misled.

Might we suggest to Mr. Beard that for one moment he tries to forget altogether what exists or what is happening in the outside world, and what other people are, or what they say or what they do. Let him treat the matter of the treatment of Indians in South Africa in particular and that of the non-Europeans in general, as one of our own domestic concern. We think everything else is quite irrelevant. Br. Beard will surely admit that to be self-satisfied with being better than the other person is not just enough. One may be better and yet not be what he should be. Our very existence is based on not what others are but on the Supreme Law of God which alone guides our destiny and the destiny of the whole universe. We are all enjoined to respect that Law for that alone and no other power on earth will

sustain us. We take it for granted that Mr. Beard believes in and has respect for these moral values. If he does not then it is not worthwhile entering into an argument with him for he can never be convinced with reason.

We would then ask Mr. Beard to think of the problem of our existence in South Africa on its own merits. Here are three million people who have assumed unto themselves the power to rule. Not for what is good and right and just but just for their own self-preservation they are determined, by fair means or foul, to exploit a mass of people who are four times their number and to do everything possible to keep them suppressed. This small minority claims to be much more civilised and intelligent than the vast majority over which it rules. We concede to them that and we say with the little intelligence that God has blessed us with, that this vast majority should rise to the level of the ruling minority and should be given the fullest opportunity to do so. The ruling minority would certainly deem it its duty to afford that opportunity, indeed, would be inspired to do so, if it were ruling out of benevolence. But the unhappy fact is that this minority is obsessed with the idea of its own self-preservation; it is overcome with the fear of being

swamped by the vast majority if the latter were given the slightest opportunity to rise and so it is trying to do everything possible to crush it out of existence. The vast majority, on the other hand, is coming to its consciousness by the law of nature and is strongly protesting against and is resisting this evil.

Now if the very basis of this ruling minority is self-preservation and not the common good of humanity of which it forms a humble part—and it does not take long to be convinced of this, for the legislative measures that have already been taken and are in the process of being taken speak for themselves—then there is no case left for that minority.

What is needed in South Africa is to cultivate the spirit of live and let live, love thy neighbour as thyself, do unto others as ye would that they should do unto you. That is the essence of Christ's teachings which the present rulers profess to follow but all their actions are quite to the contrary. This is the very sad situation in which we are placed and it requires to be treated calmly and coolly without losing ones equilibrium. We humbly suggest that there is no case for 'White South Africa'. The latest Apartheid measure before Parliament exposes the Government's whole policy. There is not going to be any semblance of fairness even in Apartheid. In everything the lion share is barefacedly claimed for the White minority and the vast majority is to go to the wall. How can Mr. Beard or those who think like him call this justice? Apartheid is a hydra-headed monster which if not destroyed in time will destroy this fairland and all that is good in it.

## August 15

AUGUST 15 is a memorable day in the history of India; for on that day India achieved her freedom from the yoke of foreign rule. India enters into the sixth year of her independence on that day. Indians throughout the world will on that day think of their Motherland, think of all those who sacrificed their lives at the altar of Freedom, and will pray for them and for the glory of their Motherland. Within the brief period of five years India has made progress in every direction which is the envy of the world. We can dare to say with pride, that no country in the world, placed in the situation in which India was placed, could have survived and made such tremendous progress. Her most outstanding achievement is the settlement of her land problem by non-violent means and the credit for it goes only to one person and that is Shri Vinoba Bhave. In the real spirit of Mahatma Gandhi he has been able to achieve what no power on earth is known to have achieved. To persuade landowners to part with thousands of acres of their land for free distribution to the landless is not a small matter and yet, according to the latest figures available, Shri Vinoba Bhave has so far received 1,462,000 acres of land throughout the country which has been distributed among the landless. Before this great achievement all others pale into insignificance. Though of course immense progress is made in the fields of agriculture, education, food transport etc. On the other hand we learn from people returning from India that industrialisation is going on on a large scale and people are fast becoming Americanised—copying the worst from America. That is not

a good sign nor do the good Americans wish India to do such a thing, for they themselves condemn much that is in vogue in their country. It is always good to copy other peoples virtues but not their vices. We can only pray that India and all Indians may have the wisdom to keep before them the great heritage left for them by Mahatma Gandhi and try to inculcate the high ideals of Truth, Love and Non-violence for which he lived and died.

We in South Africa—Indians in particular and non-Europeans in general have a great lesson to learn from India in our struggle for freedom in this country. India had to have tremendous amount of patience and thousands of her sons and daughters had

to undergo untold hardships and had to sacrifice not only their wealth but their near and dear ones and their very lives in their thousands before the dawn of Independence was ever seen. Unless we prepare ourselves to undergo all that we shall certainly not reach our desired goal. And what is that goal? Not to snatch away power from the White man. He need have no fear on that score. What we want is that there should be no discrimination based on colour or race but that all human beings should be treated as human beings. The greatest homage we can pay to India is to resolve not to do anything that would disgrace her. May we all have wisdom, strength and the courage to do so.

had made no representations to the Governments of India or Egypt in connection with the proposed conference.

In so far as our information goes this conference has not been sponsored by either the Government of India or the Government of Egypt.

#### London 'Times' Offers Sane Advice To S.A. Government

'The Times' (London) in an editorial on South Africa in its issue of August 8 states: "To persist, as the South African Government is doing, in the belief that the African shall develop only on the White man's terms, and that only thus can the White man secure his position, is almost bound ultimately to recoil on the White man's head. "But no concrete or practical suggestions to this end are likely to emerge from the work of a Commission such as that which ends its public hearings in Geneva today. It may be able to do no more than to show that South Africa's present policy is inconsistent with her obligations, under the United Nations Charter, to respect human rights. It can influence public opinion at large, but European opinion in South Africa looks askance at its work, and only by harnessing this European opinion may events in South Africa be partly shaped from abroad." 'The Times' referred to the new Bill introduced in the South African House of Assembly to "consolidate separation of the races" in the use of public amenities, and the United Nations Commission sitting in Geneva, which had heard the views of private individuals on what is wrong racially in South Africa.

"The present rulers of South Africa take their stand on being the men on the spot and dismiss as dangerous and impractical liberalism all criticism, however temperately expressed, of their determination rigidly to discriminate between Black and White. It is, indeed, easy for those who live in countries far away from experience of the colour problem to find fault with such a governing minority as that now in control of South Africa. But to dismiss all unfavourable comment because some of it goes too far is to invite trouble in the long run," the paper said.—Sapa.

#### Glut Of Sugar

Sapa-Reuters report from London states that the world production of sugar now exceeds the annual consumption by nearly 3,000,000 tons. The latest available figures show that annual production of sugar in the world is now 35,600,000 tons, and con-

sumption is 32,800,000 tons. Strange to say that the price of sugar still does not seem to go down in South Africa which is a long-established sugar-producing country. Very likely we shall soon be hearing that tons of sugar was dumped into the sea as we not long ago heard of the dumping of tons of grapefruits. The capitalists never think of the poor. They only think of their own coffers. What wonder is there if, in the circumstances, people become communists?

#### Pakistan Government On S.A. Racial Policy

A Sapa-Reuters message from Karachi states that Pakistan submitted a memorandum to the U.N. Commission on South Africa which concluded its sittings in Geneva last Saturday, calling the South African racial discrimination policy "pregnant with danger" and stating that it was a flagrant violation of the basic principles of human rights and fundamental freedoms enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The Pakistan memorandum said that the solution of South Africa's racial problem lay in partnership of the races on a basis of equality and freedom, and not in the domination of one race. The social, economic and political development of the country would be impossible if the non-European section of the population was kept in backwardness and servitude. The Commission now sitting in Geneva was set up by the General Assembly last year at the instance of the 13 members of the Arab-Asian group. It asked to hear member nations, non-Government organisations and private individuals.

The Minister of Finance, replying to Mr. A. Hopewell (U.P., Pinetown) in the House of Assembly last week said the increase in war veterans' pensions and the additional pensions payable to Coloureds and Indians would be received by the pensioners towards the end of September.

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'INDIAN OPINION,'

P/Bag, Phoenix, Natal.

## NOTES AND NEWS

### Segregation In Durban

#### Legalised

It has always been recognised in Durban, states the 'Natal Mercury,' that certain beaches were set aside for non-Europeans, and that non-Europeans could only travel in certain reserved seats on buses.

A Court finding last year, however, declared that this could only be done where equal facilities existed. To overcome this, a private draft Ordinance was introduced in the Natal Provincial Council, seeking among other things to make it lawful to segregate the races on the beaches and the buses, even though equal facilities were not provided. This went to a select committee, but was not passed at the third reading, which was taken at the time of the Union's constitutional crisis. The City Council then endeavoured to get the Minister of the Interior to take action, but he declined on the grounds that it was a Provincial matter. The Government itself experienced the same difficulty as the City Council in respect of railway facilities, such as waiting rooms. To overcome the position Mr. Swart has now introduced the Reservation of Separate Amenities Bill, which makes it legal to separate the races without providing equal facilities. The Min-

ister explained that there was no compulsion on anyone to introduce segregation, but where it was wanted it would be legal whether separate facilities were provided or not. The Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, said with the passage of the Bill Durban could lawfully continue its present practice.

### Passports For Pan-Africa Conference

The Prime Minister, Dr. Malan, was asked by Mr. B. Coetzee (U.P., North Rand) in the Union House of Assembly last week if the Government proposed to issue passports to South African delegates to a Pan-Africa conference in Cairo in the near future. The Prime Minister said that was a hypothetical question that could not be answered at this stage. He said that plans were being made in India for the holding of the conference, which was being initiated by the India-Africa Council. The objects of the Council were said to be the development of the general freedom of the people of Africa to rule themselves. The Prime Minister said that according to Press reports, the proposed conference would be attended by representatives of the Kikuyu and the whole of Coloured colonised Africa. The Union Govern-

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## TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

By FREDERICK G. BEARD, F.Com., F.R.Econ.S.

Formerly Senior Administrative Officer On UN Secretariat

[We reproduce the following correspondence from the 'Natal Mercury' because of its importance at the present moment when the U.N. Commission on the treatment of Indians is sitting in Geneva. The letter by "Face Facts" was sent to the 'Natal Mercury' but was not published and hence it was sent to us for publication.—Ed. I.O.]

EVER since the United Nations was formed in 1945, India, backed by the Arab-Asian bloc as a whole, and by Russia and her satellites for the purpose of sowing dissension among the countries outside the Iron Curtain—has singled out South Africa for unremitting attack at every session of the General Assembly, accusing us of deliberately oppressing the Indians living here and demanding on their behalf, full equality with the Europeans in accordance with the position in "more enlightened countries."

The Arab-Asian bloc, of which India is the leader, has now succeeded in having a resolution passed by the General Assembly creating a special U.N. Commission to investigate our racial laws. All the Great Powers (excluding, of course, the U.S.S.R.) and practically all the White countries either abstained from voting altogether or voted against the resolution as they regarded the issue—and rightly so—as being completely outside the competence of the United Nations. This special U.N. Commission has just held its first meeting in Geneva and the South African Indian Congress has lost no time in advising the Commission by cable that it desires to submit written evidence. The time is not inopportune, therefore, to consider afresh the alleged "oppression" of the Indians living in South Africa.

### Repatriation Resisted

It is common knowledge, of course, that successive Governments in South Africa have vainly endeavoured to repatriate the Indians at Government expense but not only do they fiercely resist the attempts to return them to teeming, underfed and under-privileged land of their forefathers but Mother India herself does not appear to be at all anxious to take her children back—despite her tender solicitude for their welfare at the international forum.

Much of India's unwarranted intrusion in this purely domestic

affair is due to the frenzied appeals made to her by the Indians in South Africa and India's somewhat hysterical denunciations in the General Assembly—reported so fully in the World Press—have done incalculable harm to South Africa. The Government, with every justification, has made it clear that it will not even listen to any representations until such time as the Indians in South Africa cease invoking the aid of India at the United Nations.

The Indians here should realise that loyalty to the land of their birth or adoption is obviously a necessary prerequisite to any serious consideration of their claims by the Government.

### The Rights

Let us briefly examine these "rights" for which they are clamouring so loudly.

First and foremost—they claim that they are entitled to be placed on the voters' rolls, so that they can play their part in the Government of the country. And, secondly, they resent any discrimination against them on the grounds of colour.

Dealing with the question of franchise—South Africa is not the only country in which the Indians cannot vote. Ceylon disfranchised nearly 900,000 Indians under their Citizenship Act of 1948 and—when one of the Indian settlers appealed to the Privy Council against a decision of the Ceylon Supreme Court—Lord Oaksey, giving judgment on behalf of the Judicial Committee, said that it was a perfectly natural and legitimate function of the legislature of a country to determine the composition of its nationals. The appeal was therefore dismissed and the judgment of the Supreme Court upheld.

It is indeed significant that India has never complained to the United Nations of Ceylon's treatment of the Indians settled on the island—although the number involved is considerably in excess of the total Indian population of South Africa (at the 1951 census, there were 365,524 Asians in the Union). This clearly indicates that India is much concerned in disseminating anti-White propaganda than in endeavouring to protect the Indians settled outside her borders.

### Racial Discrimination

Secondly—discrimination on the grounds of colour is cer-

tainly not unknown in other countries. Australia—that progressive and certainly most enlightened country—has steadfastly maintained her "White Australia" policy. In the United States of America—the Southern States are adamant in their refusal to abolish segregation. The Governor of Georgia has threatened to close down all the public schools in Georgia rather than allow Negroes free access to White schools. The Editor of a Georgia newspaper is reported to have said: "Negroes in my daughter's school? Over my dead body!". Even in that citadel of Yankeeism, New York (where Negroes are supposed to have equal rights) racial discrimination is rife. The Negro district of Harlem anticipated by many years the purpose of our Group Areas Act. The writer had difficulty in procuring an apartment as a South African—as he was thought to be black!

In India itself, despite Mr. Nehru's pious affirmation of the U.N. Human Rights Charter, racial discrimination is common—caste Hindus, depressed classes, Parsees, etc., being segregated in separate localities. Gandhi described the early Indians who came to South Africa as "Asiatic labourers, from densely populated areas in India, belonging to the lowest classes. "They were," he added, "living in a state of semi-starvation." These early arrivals, therefore, were the victims of India's vicious caste system of segregation and oppression and yet their children and grandchildren have the temerity to complain to Mother India of the relatively mild and certainly harmless discrimination encountered in their new homeland!

### Illusory Allegation

The words "harmless discrimination" are used advisedly, as the discrimination against the Indians is social and the allegations of economic discrimination are largely illusory. Take, for example, the granting of trading licences in Durban. Here are the official figures for the municipal year ended 31st July, 1952—with the population figures in juxtaposition but adjusted so as to reflect adults only:—

	Euro-peans	Indians
1951 Census	131,430	145,744
Population under 21	(£) 43,810	(£) 97,163
Adults	87,620	48,581
Trading licences granted	5,913	5,649

It will be seen at once that the Indians enjoy an advantage

of roughly two to one—so that, if any discrimination exists, it is against the Europeans.

When the late President Roosevelt enunciated his famous Four Freedoms, he declared that they were "the very fundamentals of Democracy" knowing full well, as he did, that only a handful (relatively speaking) of the millions of people in the world enjoyed these four freedoms. It is certainly illuminating to consider these freedoms in relation to the Indians living in South Africa. Here they are:—

**Freedom From Fear.** The Indians enjoy the same protection from the State as the Europeans do. A European was recently hanged for the brutal murder of an Indian. If the police had not protected the Indians from the enraged Natives during the riots in Durban, the death roll would have been staggering. They live, trade and enjoy the fruits of their labour without "let or hindrance."

**Freedom From Want.** In collating evidence in connection with the Group Areas Act, the Durban Corporation found that the Indians in Durban own land and property worth nearly £25,000,000. A brochure published by the Durban Corporation in 1946, entitled "The Indian in Natal," reflected the following facts:

(1) Of the licensed trade vehicles in Durban 21.7 per cent. were the property of Asiatics.

(2) Of the omnibuses in the City (including the Municipal fleet) 58 per cent. of them were Indian-owned.

(3) Of the licensed taxis in Durban 44.7 per cent. were owned by Indians.

Since 1946 these percentages have probably increased appreciably. It would be most interesting to compare the per-capita income and worth of the Indian with the European in the lower-income group. This is a freedom for which the hungry masses in India would gladly trade their right to vote in elections which they do not understand and for candidates in whom they are not interested.

**Freedom Of Religion.** Both the Hindu and the Mahomedan enjoy absolute freedom to follow their religions. In Durban there is a positive plethora of mosques and temples—all of which, as a point of interest, are exempted from rates.

**Freedom Of Speech.** The very fact that the South African Indian Congress have openly declared their intention to submit evidence to the U.N. Commission in Geneva is surely

(Continued on page 507)

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# THE UNITED PARTY AND THE ELECTION

## THE COLOURED VOTE AND THE CONSTITUTION

By C. W. M. GELL

### II

IN my last article I argued that Afrikaner Nationalism is for the present irresistible within the limits of the White electorate. But I cannot sufficiently emphasise that it is not synonymous with South African patriotism as its adherents so frequently and intemperately aver. Even when in the fullness of time it represents a majority of the White population, it will still only command the loyalty of one-tenth of the Union's inhabitants.

It is, therefore, extremely unfortunate that we have half played the Nationalists' game by opposing their rampant sectional racialism with a conception of "a broad national unity of all South Africans," when we are clearly only thinking of European and quite explicitly excluding non-European from our definition of "all." By allowing ourselves to be drawn into the old and now largely irrelevant battlefields between Boer and Briton, we have let our attention be distracted from a quite different and rapidly developing racial situation. We have been carrying the right banners in the wrong fight. In trying to win Afrikaner Nationalists to our standard, we have been alienating non-European opinion almost as the Nationalists, themselves. This has suited the Nats. very well

Take, for instance, the question of the Coloured vote, for which the Opposition fought so resounding a campaign against the Separate Representation Act and the High Court of Parliament. There is no need to describe again the blatant bad faith of Nats. on these constitutional issues of which we have not yet heard the last. Nor, as it now appears, was there any real ground for the Nat. apprehension that the Coloureds held the balance of power against them in the Cape. In his "cross roads" speech at Bethal as late as August 30 Dr. Malan reiterated his usual tendentious account of how the British had forced the Cape franchise on Union against the wishes of the other three provinces "and even of the European population of the Cape," how the "qualifications to safeguard the Europeans" were no longer effective; how this must result "in the Coloureds governing the Cape in the foreseeable future;" how the Coloureds, Natives, liberals, communists combined with British public opinion, UNO, India and other external influences to compel South Africa to abandon her colour bars and discrimination; and that "how long will South Africa remain a White

country and how long will the White man continue to rule?"

But the whole of this appeal to racial prejudice rested upon the fallacious assertion that the 48,000 Cape Coloured voters (representing a Coloured, Malay and Indian populations of just over a million on a basis of male suffrage only, under restrictions and registrations etc. which limit their numbers ever more effectively than Rhodes' qualification) will shortly swamp the Cape's 600,000 voters enrolled under universal adult suffrage for both sexes.

Yet what did the Opposition make of this splendid case?

Certainly it fought a good battle for the Constitution and the rule of law. But there was hardly even a suggestion that it stood also for the maintenance (and perhaps extension) of non-European rights as such. When at the time of Union there was talk in the Cape Assembly of "keeping faith" with non-European voters, the reference was not to disfranchising them by not less than a two-thirds majority but to the inconceivability that any Cape M.P. would ever support such a retrogressive step. Yet the U.P. did just that in 1936 in regard to the Cape Natives. And on September 18 last Mr. Blaas Coetzee, now U.P. member for North Rand, declared: "The only difference between the U.P. and Nat. policies boils down to whether the Coloured voters should be taken off the common roll constitutionally or unconstitutionally. If the Nats. and the U.P. are to cut each other's throats for the sake of these Coloured voters, their's is the most foolish and the most useless fight I have ever seen. I feel that if the Nats. would agree to uphold the Constitution, there is no reason why both parties should not hammer out a solution which could then, with the support of the U.P., be translated into action by the two thirds majority." From such remarks and Mr. Stranges's offer to treat the Coloureds "as a loyal appendix to the Europeans" it was obvious that the U.P. was more concerned with its own electoral interests in certain Cape seats than with the principle of non-European representation. And, indeed, in view of the great betrayal of 1936 it is difficult to see how the U.P. could have thought otherwise without a real change of heart.

But in April we reaped the harvest of this unprincipled and opportunist policy. For the results in seats like Worcester and Paarl, where the Coloureds probably hold the balance of power, suggest that a strong body of Coloured opinion

prefers Dr. Donges' cynical offer of "four certain winners instead of 55 'losers.'" Some of us may realise that the four Coloured M.P.'s will be as powerless as the three Native Representatives; that the Coloured Affaire Dept. will display concern and zeal over Coloured interests only in so far as these suit Nationalist apartheid plans. But the Coloureds themselves, confronted by the U.P.'s apathy about their real grievances (except for brief interludes at election times, but not notably at this) and its rather too transparent acceptance of them merely as pawns in the White electoral struggle, seem to prefer the Nationalist quarter-loaf to no loaf at all. And since the U.P. has never allowed them to see the real value of their present franchise, it is hard to blame them.

If my reading of the Coloured attitude is correct, it seems that the U.P.'s continued opposition to their separate representation may be in defiance of both their own wishes and those of the Nationalists. On the other hand (and this also removes the real reason for the fight the U.P. has so far made) one main Nat. motive has disappeared, since the Coloureds have been proved no real electoral stumbling block to a Nationalist victory. However, both for ideological reasons and in case Coloured opinion should later harden—as well as to fulfil some militant electioneering they could hardly now repudiate—the Nats. must press on with their proposal. If the Coloureds no longer object seriously, what is the U.P. fighting for? The sanctity of the Constitution? But the only remaining entrenchment would be the language equality. And while there is absolutely no reason at all to trust Nationalist pledges about English being "entrenched in the will of the people," is this really an issue worth a last ditch stand and the risk of civil war? After all Afrikaans is such a simple language to learn.

The preservation of the rule of law is certainly important. But

U.P. has already compromised on it. Some Opposition M.P.'s refrained from voting against the Group Areas Act, which puts the Minister's tremendous powers over property beyond the reach of the courts; a few Opposition M.P.'s actually supported the Act. And the entire U.P. helped to pass the Public Safety Act which enables the Government to suspend the rule of law almost entirely.

Thus if U.P. motives remain unchanged in regard to the Coloured vote, I believe it is fighting an unnecessary battle. And I will be supported by all those Right-wing U.P. votes and candidates who think (certainly quite erroneously) that its opposition to the Nats. on this issue lost it the election. But if, as I am later going to suggest, the principles it has sought to uphold have been wrong or inadequate, if it should have been fighting to increase non-European representation, if its concentration purely upon our supposed electoral interests was sordid and unworthy of a much more honourable element in its own political tradition, then the whole picture alters. It will then be in the unchallengeable moral position of fighting a good cause in the interests, incidentally of itself but primarily of the Coloureds, with their support and the sympathy of all non-Europeans. In these circumstances its continued stand would be a great deal more worthwhile than all the tumult of the last two years.

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## TREATMENT OF INDIANS IN S. AFRICA

(Continued from Page 503)

conclusive proof that they enjoy complete freedom of speech.

The Indians in South Africa, therefore, would be well advised to ponder these facts carefully and digest them thoroughly before submitting evidence claiming to be oppressed to the U.N. Commission on Racial Discrimination.

### Mrs. J. F. Hill

Sir,—Mr. F. G. Beard, in his article on the treatment of Indians in South Africa takes great pains to show that some of those who throw stones at us live in glass houses themselves. But two wrongs do not make a right, and no man of honesty and justice would content himself with the question, "Am I better or worse than my neighbour?" The real issue is whether our treatment of Indians is just and fair. And the crucial test is whether, if we imagine ourselves for a moment in their shoes, we should feel satisfied with our situation. And let us remember that in that case our standard of comparison would not be an India we have never seen, or an America equally remote, but the conditions enjoyed by the Europeans we saw every day.

Mr. Beard uses the words "harmless discrimination." Apparently he means that provided I do not touch a man's pocket, I may subject him to any insults and indignities I choose. A queer sort of doctrine to find in a land which calls itself Christian. Economic discrimination has disastrous effects; but who can tell what harm is done by our pride and prejudice and our callous sneering remarks—what harm to human minds and spirits?

But wrong attitudes of mind invariably issue in material wrongs; and whether it be in educational opportunities, avenues of employment, opportunities to own and occupy property, or to influence municipal and Government policy, Indians, by virtue of their colour are at a disadvantage compared with Europeans. And the worst of it is that many Europeans think it is as it should be.

### Dr. Mabel Palmer

The article published in 'The Natal Mercury' on July 8 on the treatment of Indians in South Africa by Mr. F. G. Beard is singularly misinformed.

In the first place, Mr. Beard completely ignores the conditions under which the Indian immi-

grants were brought to Natal. They did not come here, as is frequently assumed, on their own initiative, but on the direct solicitation of the Natal Government to the Government of India. The India Government was by no means willing at first to give permission for the establishment of indentured immigration into Natal and twice over, in 1859 and again in 1871, the Natal Government despatched a high ranking official to negotiate on the matter with the Government of India.

Finally, though permission was given, it was only on certain definite conditions. One of these conditions was that once the Indian immigrants had worked out their indentures they were to be admitted to all the privileges of ordinary citizens, and that no discrimination was to be practised against them. They were to be free to return to India if they wished, but were at liberty to remain in this country if they preferred that course.

During the early period of Indian immigration, from about 1860 to 1880, the Natal Government and the White population of Natal were so anxious to retain them that plots of Crown land were offered to them in lieu of their passages back to India. The considerable Indian population at Umzinto, for instance, is due to the fact that in that area the Indians took advantage of the offer and settled there on plots of Crown land granted to them by the Government. The situation in Ceylon and Burma was quite different. There, the immigration was personal and not sponsored by the Government, though some measures of Government control was later introduced.

### Repatriation

As for repatriation, when after 1880 the tide of public opinion turned against the Indians, a change which was largely due to trade jealousy of the successful Indian merchants, there were many demands that the indentures should end in India, which would mean that all Indians would be automatically returned to India at the end of their period of service. Natal sent several deputations to India to deal with this question, but the India Government always refused. The policy was described by officials in India as a "sucked orange policy," since it would mean that Natal took the best working period of the lives of the young Indians and then returned them to India when they were no longer so capable of hard work.

The utmost to which the India Government was willing to go was that after 1895 Natal should be at liberty to impose a tax on the Indians who immigrated after that date and did not return to India—the notorious £3 licence or tax. This was only granted on condition that no Indian who failed to return should be subject to any legal proceedings resulting in imprisonment, a condition that was in practice disregarded by the Government of Natal, as Indians who failed to pay were condemned for contempt of Court and were sent to prison.

This £3 licence was one of the many grievances which inspired Gandhi to take up the cause of the Indians and was roundly condemned in the Solomon Report of 1914.

Why, after all, should the Indians consent to repatriation? As Mr. Beard himself admits, they are better off in Natal than they would be if they returned to India. When suggestions were made that another place should be found for them, the only places proposed were unhealthy tropical areas like British Guiana and another tropical colony in the Far East. Colonists are usually better off in the country to which they emigrate than their home-country which is, of course, the reason why they choose to remove themselves from their homeland.

To reiterate, the ancestors of the greater number of the Indians in Natal came here at the direct invitation of the Natal Government on the promise that they should be given the same rights as all other inhabitants of the country—a promise which Natal has notoriously failed to keep. It should be added that 95 per cent. of the Indians now living in Natal were born here and are, therefore, according to international law, nationals of South Africa.

### Right To Vote

Under this heading, Mr. Beard quotes the case of Australia, but Australia decided some years before the question of Indian immigration into Natal was raised that she would not accept Indian immigrants because they would inevitably grow into a separate community, animated by different principles and ideals from those of the mass of the inhabitants.

In Australia, the White labour policy is a reality, whereas in South Africa it is a sham. The Australians are willing to pay the price for being a White community and are prepared to do their own menial work, whereas in South Africa, the White labour policy merely means that all the better paid and agreeable

posts are reserved for the Europeans and the low paid and disagreeable jobs are left to the non-European, including Indians.

In the United States of America, although it is true, as Mr. Beard says, that some of the more backward Southern States still cling to a policy of discrimination against the Negroes, the Federal Government is firmly opposed to any such policy. Legally voting qualifications are the same for Negroes as for White Americans. It insists that educational institutions in the far South shall be opened to Negroes. It has just abolished all discrimination in restaurants against Negroes in Washington. It has abolished its separate Negro regiments and now admits Negroes to the American army on the same terms as other Americans.

The statement that the "Negro district of Harlem anticipated by many years the purposes of the Group Areas Act" is especially misleading. It is true that Harlem is now a Negro district, but this arises from the fact that the Negroes, on the whole, prefer to live among their own people. There is no law compelling them to live in Harlem, and here in South Africa, if there were no legal discrimination with regard to residence, the same thing would happen.

### Voluntary Segregation

Were communities left free to choose their own place of residence, voluntary segregation would come into play and would to a large extent solve the problem. It is the compulsion to live in one area only, and that generally an area not pleasantly situated and usually devoid of the ordinary amenities of lighting, drainage, water supply, etc., that causes such resentment among the Indians in South Africa.

As for India itself, Mr. Beard is, of course, right in saying that it was cursed by the caste system, but he omits to mention that the present Government of India is doing its best to put a stop to the caste system, though it is, in view of the backwardness and illiteracy and strong religious prejudices of many sections of Indians, a very difficult task. Mrs. Pandit, at one of the meetings of the United Nations, was able to point to the fact that a member of the delegation was Dr. Ambedkar, who came from the pariah section of the Indian nation. In short, in India the caste system is, though slowly and hesitatingly, on the way out and is discouraged by the Government, whereas in South Africa, the caste system is steadily increasing and is directly sponsored by the authorities.

### Racial Discrimination

Mr Beard talks of the "relatively mild and certainly harmless discrimination encountered in their new homeland" by the Indians. Allow me to draw his attention to the following facts:

Indians pay in South Africa the same rates and taxes as Europeans, but they are not provided with schools on the same lines as Europeans. For Europeans elementary education is free and compulsory. For Indians, it is not compulsory and the provision of Indian schools is quite inadequate. Most of the schools that are erected in Natal for Indians are built by the Indians themselves from their own funds and only when the school is completed and taken over by the Education Department, is a grant of 50 per cent. for its cost repaid.

The situation with regard to Indian primary education is so serious that the Natal Indian Teachers' Society (Indian teachers are paid lower salaries than their European colleagues) is actually taking steps to raise a special fund to provide Indian schools. Surely this is a glaring instance of race discrimination?

It would take too long a time to give all details with regard to the various examples of discrimination practised against Indians, but may I draw attention to the fact that they are debarred from free entrance to the Universities, except Universities of Capetown and the Witwatersrand, while in Natal they are admitted only to a segregated section. They are debarred from all the European Technical Colleges in the Union. They are debarred from all the libraries in the Union.

### Public Transport

In Natal and the Transvaal they are not allowed, or allowed only to a comparatively small extent, and subject to the constant insults of the European conductors, to use public transport vehicles. On the railways and the railway stations they are similarly treated. No Indian can qualify in the Union as a pharmaceutical chemist, chartered accountant or surveyor, nor can he get any employment as an engineer or an architect. Indians are, however, admitted to the legal and medical professions.

Are not all these instances of racial discrimination peculiarly insulting to the many Indians of culture and education who reside among us?

As for poverty, has Mr. Beard read Professor Burrow's pamphlet published by the Race Relations Institute which shows that the level of poverty among the Indians is very high? Has he

studied the figures recently published, showing that 85 per cent. of Indian school children are undernourished?

### Freedom From Fear

Mr. Beard states that the "Indians enjoy the same protection from the State as the Europeans do." This is not the case. It is true that when the recent Durban riots against the Indians became serious, some Indians received police protection, and in the end, to put down disorders, the Government was forced to make use of military detachments. But it is notorious that when the riots began, the police took very little action, and the Bantu were encouraged by some of the European spectators.

Indians roundabout Durban are often subjected to unprovoked attacks. I know personally several Indians who have been obliged to give up living in outlying areas because it was impossible for them to reach home at night in safety. One Indian student of the M. L. Sultan Technical College was attacked by a gang of Native hooligans on the outskirts of the College, stripped of all his clothes except his shirt, and had to be conveyed home in the Principal's car.

I agree that the Indians do enjoy freedom of speech, though the operation of the anti-Communism Act is depriving many of their leaders of the right to address public meetings. They also enjoy freedom of religion, but their religious leaders are not granted the status of marriage officers, and therefore besides the religious service, all Indians must also go through a civil ceremony of marriage—a condition that is not required from Europeans.

In conclusion, I submit that Mr. Beard's article is misinformed on many essential points and employs besides a tone of sneering superiority to the Indians which is unjustified and harmful to the susceptibilities of the people with whom he is dealing.

### "Face Facts"

The article entitled "Treatment of Indians in South Africa" by Mr. Frederick G. Beard in the 'Natal Mercury' of July 8 attracted my attention. It did so not only because of Mr. Beard's high educational qualifications but also because of the mention made that he was formerly Senior Administrative Officer in the UN Secretariat. I was expecting a very objective treatment of this issue. However on reading it I felt sadly disillusioned.

Mr. Beard refers to Ceylon disfranchising nearly 999,999

Indians under the Citizenship Act of 1948. It is not quite that. The Citizenship Act provides certain residential qualifications for acquisition of Ceylonese citizenship and these qualifications are admittedly harsh. Because of that a large number of Indians domiciled in Ceylon do not qualify for citizenship, but those who do qualify have full citizenship rights including franchise. There is no discrimination against Ceylonese citizens of Indian origin of any kind whatsoever. According to the Prime Minister of Ceylon 400,000 actually qualify for the citizenship. The question of further relaxing the qualifications for citizenship is under discussion between India and Ceylon and it is expected that an amicable settlement will be reached very shortly. The position in South Africa is not at all comparable as over 90 per cent. of the Indians of South Africa were born in this country and are legally citizens of this country. But in spite of being citizens they are denied the franchise and other normal rights of citizens on the basis of colour alone.

Mr. Beard also refers to Australia and its "White Australia" policy. Australia does not admit non-white settlers. But no one has asked South Africa to admit non-white settlers. What is asked is that the non-white citizens of South Africa should be given their normal rights. Mr. Beard also refers to racial discrimination against Negroes in USA. But does the Government of that country defend racial discrimination? Is it not that discrimination is being deemed as an evil thing by the US Government which is taking active steps to minimise and abolish it. On the other hand, in what direction is South Africa moving? Is it not that day by day South Africa goes on enforcing more and more measures denying human rights and opportunities for progress and development to non-white peoples of South Africa?

Mr. Beard also talks of the depressed classes of India. No one regrets more than the people of India the disabilities suffered in the past by these classes. They are anxious to uplift them and special legislative and other measures have been taken for that purpose. Special seats are reserved for them in the legislatures. Provision is made for reservation for them of government jobs in the highest services, and even certain requirements such as age limits are relaxed in their favour so

that they may come up to the level of the population quickly. The problem is too big to be solved in a day, particularly because India faces grave problems in the development of the resources quickly but already the status of these persons has changed, and all avenues of advancement are open to them. Some of them are even Ministers in the Central and Provincial Cabinets. What is happening in South Africa is that whatever little rights the non-whites possess are being taken away from them and legitimate agitation on their part is banned.

Mr. Beard has given some figures of trading licences for Indians in Durban. According to him, Indians possess practically as many licences as Europeans. Trading activities always show the prosperity of a community and if one is to go by the figures given by him one should assume that Indians of Durban are as prosperous as the Europeans. But is that a fact? The fallacy lies in this that these licences do not show the number of business establishments. A large number of the licenceholders among Indians are merely hawkers. Also an Indian shopkeeper selling a few odd things like vegetables, sweets, cool drinks has to obtain licences for each line. An ordinary small shop may have as many as five or six licences. On the other hand, European business houses are substantial establishments. And then Mr. Beard also forgets that there is hardly any other lucrative avenue open to the Indian community.

Mr. Beard talks of Indian properties in Durban, but are there not plans now under the Group Areas Act to dispossess them of those properties and practically drive them out of Durban. Mr. Beard claims that Indians have freedom of speech, but is it not common knowledge that no public meeting can be held anywhere in Durban without the permission of the City Council and that permission is consistently being refused? Are not the important Indian leaders banned from attending public meetings?

It is being constantly pointed out why do not Indians go back to India and Mr. Beard also asks the same question. This raises the counter question—why do the Englishmen not go back to England? Englishmen who have come to South Africa have become South Africans. They are acclimatised to this country. They have developed vested interests in this country and therefore

they would be reluctant to leave this country, in spite of the fact that conditions in England are not too bad. In fact the entire repressive policy of the Government in this country is justified on the basis of fear that if the non-Europeans are given normal rights they might throw out the Europeans from this country. The Europeans want to stick to this country at any cost. Similarly Indians who have settled in this country have become South Africans. They know no other country and are reluctant to leave this country. The European, who is himself a settler and not an aborigine, has no right to demand that Indians should leave this country.

Mr. Beard offers no apology for discrimination against Indians and other non-Whites, but tries to justify it merely because some racial discrimination exists elsewhere. Racial discrimination is frowned upon everywhere except in South Africa and certain other parts of Africa and steps are being taken to eradicate it. The most vital issue before South Africa is whether it will continue to persist in its present direction and create forces within and without which it will have soon to contend with or whether it will accept the principles of human rights and earnestly set about putting its house in order on that basis. If one examines conditions in any country there will always be something to pick out which is not so good. Similarly there is something wrong with White South Africa too and it is not that which makes it unpopular with the world, but its declared determination to continue on the wrong path with even greater vigour and try to perpetuate white domination to the denial of human rights to non-whites.

### Frederick G. Beard

May I be permitted to reply to Dr. Mabel Palmer's rather severe strictures against my article on the treatment of Indians in South Africa?

At the outset, although Dr. Palmer starts off by declaring that the article is "singularly misinformed" and finishes up saying that it is "misinformed on many essential points"—I count three instances of "It is true but...", one instance of "Mr. Beard is right in saying...", and two instances of "I agree that..."

My article, therefore, does not appear to be the mass of misinformation that Dr. Palmer would have us believe. I cannot, of course, reply to all the

submissions and contentions put forward by Dr. Palmer (her criticisms are more lengthy than my article) but there are several statements that I cannot leave unchallenged.

### Hofmeyr Pamphlet

Firstly, I am fully aware of the history of Indian immigration to this country (the late J. H. Hofmeyr, inter alia, wrote a most informative pamphlet hereon) but my article speaks of "successive Governments in India indicates that these negotiations were conducted by two completely autonomous States—whereas Natal was a Crown Colony in those days and India was ruled by the British Raj.

The negotiations were thus, in effect, inter-departments between the Colonial Office of the British Government. Imagine the reaction of Sir Roy Welensky if the now autonomous Northern Rhodesian Government (within the new Central African Federation) was held responsible for the actions of the Colonial Office in Northern Rhodesia since the Victorian era!

### Harlem Position

Secondly, I am surprised at Dr. Palmer's blunt assertion that my statement regarding the Negro district of Harlem is "especially misleading," and that, in fact, the Negroes prefer to live among their own people. Let me hasten to assure her—as one who has lived in New York and taken a keen interest in the problem—that the Negroes are herded together in Harlem, not because they prefer living together, but because of a system of residential discrimination which outstrips anything in this country.

Even in the poor districts of Brooklyn and the Bronx where millions of Whites live in tenements—I understand that any landlord letting to a Negro will lose his other tenants immediately and that his rooms or flats will be boycotted until the Negro has been ejected. In any case, landlords knew that their properties would suffer an immediate slump in value if they let to Negroes. While there is no law compelling Negroes to live in Harlem, in fact, the Negro—according to law—enjoys full equality with the Whites—I make bold to say that our Group Areas Act is a much more honest approach to this problem.

### Education

Thirdly, Dr. Palmer states that, as the Indians pay the same taxes as the Europeans,

they are entitled to the same educational facilities for their children. They certainly pay the same rates of tax but, for reasons which I do not propose to dilate upon, their contributions to the State coffers are considerably less (in proportion) than those of the Europeans. Bearing in mind that the Indian children here in Durban outnumber the European children by more than two to one, is it seriously contended that they are entitled to the same educational facilities in this city?

Finally, my article was written as factual rebuttal of India's charge at the United Nations that the Indians in South Africa are oppressed and as an appeal to the Indians to think twice before further antagonising the Government and the bulk of the Europeans by submitting evidence claiming to be oppressed to U.N. Commission on Racial Discrimination. My dictionary defines oppression as "governing tyrannically" or "subject to continual cruelty," and I reiterate that the harmless social discrimination which the Indians encounter in South Africa (and which, let me add, they would encounter not only in

other White countries but in India itself) cannot by any stretch of imagination be termed tyrannical government or continual cruelty.

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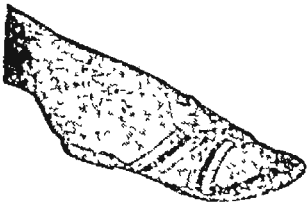
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## THE RISE OF CONGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By JULIUS LEWIN

(Reprinted from 'The Political Quarterly', London)

Continued from last week

A FEW months later Smuts lost the election to the Nationalists. After another quarrel with the Council, the new Government did not allow it to meet again and finally abolished it, Dr. Moroka and Professor Matthews having already responded to Congress pressure by resigning from it.

The Nationalists lost no time in proceeding with a different policy not only towards Africans, but towards all non-Europeans. It did not take long for Dr. Malan to begin to pass into law the policy he had preached in opposition. This policy of *apartheid* has been expounded and analysed to such an extent that it is not necessary to describe it here. It may, however, be recorded that it is Indians and Coloured people who have borne the main brunt of the attack. First came the Act prohibiting marriage between white and any non-white. It was followed by the Act making it a serious crime for white and any non-white to have sexual intercourse. Then the group areas Act made probable the uprooting of non-white traders and residents in urban and peri-urban areas where many of them and their fathers had worked and lived for generations. In a word, Indians and Coloured people were to be degraded to the status that Africans had long suffered.

No more effective method could have been designed to bring together in political unity the three communities that the Government insisted were separate racial entities, each with a distant social life and cultural tradition of its own. True, the large Cape Coloured population remained largely unaffected by the spirit that began to animate Africans and Indians. As a community, the Coloured people had long been leaderless. Its middle class men are nearly all teachers dependent on posts in Government service and lacking the independence of the business and professional men who lead the other racial groups.

The South African Indians, however, were more than ready to make common cause with the Africans. This they had demonstrated early in 1949 when Durban was disgraced by one of the very worst race riots in the modern history of the world. The Zulus of the city and its environs had suddenly run amok and killed and wounded hundreds of innocent Indians and looted their shops and houses, while the white authorities, slow to grasp the situation, failed for some time to

curb the pogrom. With barely concealed satisfaction, the Nationalists hailed this terrible tragedy as proof positive of their favourite theory of inevitable racial antagonism between different groups. What they, in common with nearly all white people, failed to appreciate, was the instant and remarkable magnanimity and political wisdom displayed by Indians after that dreadful outburst against them. Plucking resentment and hatred from their hearts, the Indian leaders without delay held out the hand of inter-racial fellowship and the African leaders grasped it without hesitation. So far from moving further apart to sulk in enmity or to yield to despair, both groups renewed and redoubled their efforts to make common cause against their common enemy, an oppressive Government whose policies led to race riots.

The Indians had every reason to realize the necessity for supporting the Africans. Their political status and economic opportunities had also gone from bad to worse. First Hertzog in 1939, then Smuts in 1943 and again in 1946 had got Parliament to tighten the screws that supported the barriers to their natural progress. Trading rights and residential sites that had been held for over half a century were attacked in a series of steady blows, both in Natal and in the Transvaal.

A better organised and efficiently managed body, the South African Indian Congress, had, since its inception in 1926, weathered the internal storms similar to, and sometimes worse than, those that had impeded the growth of the African National Congress. The respectable Indian merchants represented a type of mind that was always anxious to moderate its claims in the face of a hostile Government. Isolated and without allies in the Union, Indians were unable to evoke even the limited degree of sympathy sometimes shown Africans in subjection. Nor are Indians numerous enough, or economically strong enough, to influence the Government by their own unaided pressure. In partnership with the African National Congress, however, they can materially help to produce a very different situation. For Indians bring to a joint movement a richer experience of affairs, a superior capacity for organisation, and a more sophisticated outlook generally—the very elements required to make a move-

ment of resistance into a force no Government can safely ignore.

The Indians also brought something else of incomparable effect. They brought a knowledge of the technique and immense value of passive resistance. It was in South Africa before the Union that Mahatma Gandhi was first inspired to employ this new political weapon. Gandhi spent twenty years in Natal and the Transvaal where he first encountered the realities of racial oppression. It was here that he devised and practised the technique of non-violent non-co-operation. The first generation of South African Indians had been invited and welcomed to the country. Their children remained to suffer disabilities—legal, political, economic, and social—that were severe fifty years ago, even if they seem mild by comparison with those put upon all Indians since then. For instance, the entry of Indian immigrants was hampered even when they came to join their relatives, and a special tax was imposed on those who entered. Indians were prevented from living where they liked or buying property where they pleased; and they were subjected to a degrading system of registration. Against these and other hardships, Gandhi had organised protests. He strove by every means in his power to persuade the authorities to rectify obvious grievances. Patiently he had negotiated with Smuts and honourably he had sought to compromise on his people's claims. But having no franchise, the Indians lacked the normal instrument for political bargaining. Having no representation in the legislature, they lacked the normal means to express their opinions or to protect their interests, let alone to make the white electorate aware of their burning sense of the injustices they suffered.

In these circumstances, the novel idea of passive resistance against unjust laws came as an inspiration. Its full significance has since been the subject of much study by many scholars. Here it is enough to recall that in the Union's early years, *satyagraha* achieved results when nothing else did. The Indian Relief Act of 1914 lifted from Indians their worst disabilities, and Gandhi sailed away from South Africa to conquer fresh and larger fields and to win the admiration of the world by the methods of his conquest.

Those who understand the lessons of history might have foreseen that the time would come when Indians in South Africa would revive the spirit and technique of *satyagraha*. Indeed, in 1939 Jan H. Hofmeyr, demonstrated with Smuts' party against the anti-Indian law it

framed in that year, warned it that Indians might be provoked to passive resistance. Before long, Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, the leader of the uncompromising radical wing in the South African Indian Congress, was actually advocating the use of passive resistance. However, he and his adherents remained a minority for years; while the so-called "moderates" sought, by appeals to reason or to law courts, to secure some modification of fresh legislation. Their efforts were of little avail. As with the Africans, successive Governments seemed determined to teach Indians the folly and futility of relying on reason. By the time the second world war had ended, the Indian Congress had elected Dr. Dadoo its leader. In 1946 the newest anti-Indian laws were resisted in Natal by non-violent non-co-operation. Nearly two thousand Indians and a few white people, led by the Rev. Michael Scott, were put in prison.

Meanwhile, events in the great world beyond South Africa were moving in a new direction. Thanks to the leadership of the greater Indian National Congress and inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, India became a free state. Taking the Charter of the United Nations at its full value, India soon embarrassed one of its authors, Smuts, by raising in its forum and in the hearing of the whole world, the question of the treatment of Indians in the Union. At one session after another the subject was debated to the disadvantage of South Africa. By 1952 the larger question of *apartheid* as a policy was itself under discussion and set for further inquiry.

Indians and Africans in the Union were encouraged by the sympathy that their cause evoked abroad and by the dismay that the effects of world publicity produced in the dominant race at home. The second world war had been fought to overthrow the greatest racial tyranny in human history. One of its major effects was to produce a new awareness all the world over, and not least in South Africa, of the evils of racialism. This bred in those most affected by the blight a new determination to resist it in every shape and form. Moreover, racial discrimination was condemned repeatedly and in various ways by the United Nations. It became wholly unacceptable, however it might be disguised, to men conscious of a new freedom awaiting those who demanded it with their old dignity supported by new contemporary forces.

Partly under the pressure of these forces, dependent status had been ended in half-a-dozen or more Asian and Arab countries.

Even in the colonial dependencies that remained, nearly all in Africa, political rights had been noticeably extended during the war and post-war period. Alone among the states of the world, South Africa had in this same period chosen to curtail old rights and to impose new wrongs on the majority of her people.

It was in this changing climate of world opinion that the Congress movement of the non-whites in the Union at last came of age. The pursuit by the Malan Government of its vicious policies soon applied any sharper spur that may have been necessary. To make matters worse, European opinion had failed to support Jan Hofmeyr in his efforts to make a mild liberalism an effective political force. Indeed, the United party never showed real opposition to the Nationalists. Accordingly, an alternative policy to *apartheid* was never seriously put before the electorate. The tension of race relations grew steadily worse. In this situation one of the early casualties was the group of white liberals who had ever since the Union tended, in one way or another, to act as the spokesman of African opinion. Under the Native Representation Act of 1936, seven seats were provided in Parliament for this type of white liberal. In its early years this form of representation had worked well enough, thanks largely to the fact that Europeans of unusual ability and character—notably Rheinallt Jones, Edgar Brookes, Donald Molteno and Margaret Ballinger—came forward to fill those seats. Of these only Mrs. Ballinger remained in Parliament by 1953. The deep change that took place in the minds of Africans had become visible in their attitude to this representation of black interests by white spokesmen. By 1950, if not before, Africans had lost all confidence in white liberal leadership and in the restrained and moderate policies which it presented in the face of the formidable challenge of the Nationalists.

Alone among the white members of Parliament elected by Africans, Sam Kahn, an avowed communist, retained the warm support of an overwhelming majority of his constituents until not they, but the Government, deprived him, in May 1952, of the seat he had won. This support was, however, not due to his communist outlook, but to his unflinching advocacy of equal rights, regardless of race, for all in South Africa, and his courageous denunciation of racialism in every form. It should be emphasised that Africans looked on him as their champion, not on communism as their cause. So

much was common knowledge in the Cape, and it was confirmed by the evidence put before the parliamentary Select Committee whose revealing Report (S.C. 6 of 1951) by the majority Nationalist vote, recommended Mr. Kahn's expulsion from the House of Assembly. Even the English daily papers, by no means tolerant of anything savouring of communism, could scarce forbear to cheer Mr. Kahn's performance during his three years (1949-1952) in parliament.

There was, indeed, no good reason why Africans should any longer be content with white spokesmen. These had always held a difficult and peculiar position, in which they found themselves facing an unsympathetic European audience as often as a critical African audience. Unless, like Mr. Khan, they abandoned all attempts to convert white opinion by a process of persuasion, a subtle change inevitably occurred in their function. They began to expound and explain, if not defend, most aspects of white policy to Africans rather than to express African opinion to Europeans.

The Indians had in 1946 rejected a similar form of communal parliamentary representation by Europeans enacted for them by Smuts, but withdrawn by Dr. Malan as soon as he took office. There were soon growing indications that Africans and Indians alike had come to regard with nothing but contempt the futile efforts made on their behalf by white liberals.

The term liberal has, of course, a variety of connotations. To the Nationalists it is a word of abuse only a little weaker than "communist." Even in the ranks of the United party, mild liberals are unwelcome and their exertions nullified by vigilant party managers. From the white electorate, therefore, there has not come the slightest encouragement to Africans and Indians to moderate their demands, to persist in patient courses, or to restrain themselves and ask for only half a loaf when pressed by their hungry followers. It has, on the contrary, been made clear that there is no real hope of political progress, however gradual, for non-Europeans.

(To be Continued)

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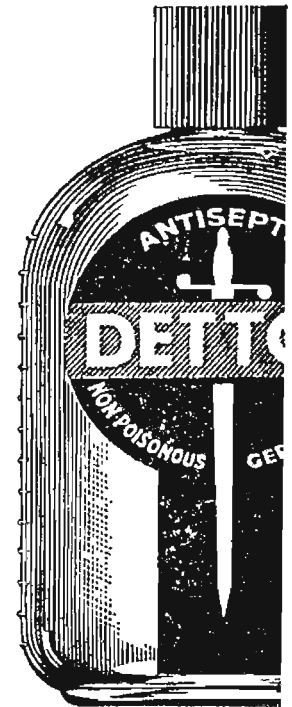
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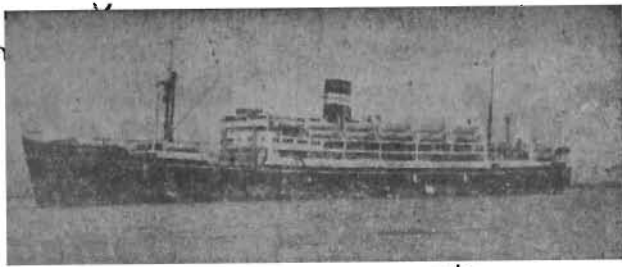
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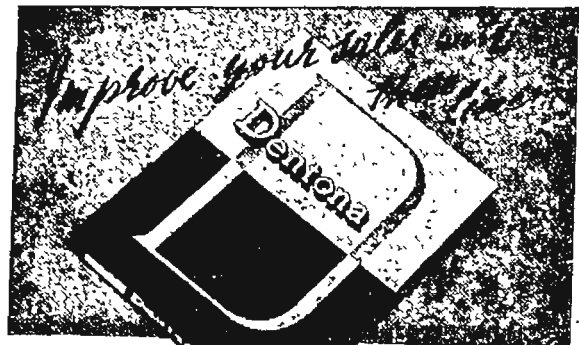
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