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*"Pluck this little flower
and take it; delay not! I
fear lest it droop and drop
into the dust.*

*It may not find a place
in thy garland, but honour
it with a touch of pain
from thy hand and pluck
it I fear lest the day end
before I am aware, and
the time of offering go by.*

*Though its colour be not
deep and its smell be faint,
use this flower in thy
service and pluck it while
there is time."*

—Tagore.



LIFE'S PURPOSE

Man does not live for himself alone. He lives for the good of others as well as of himself. Everyone has his duties to perform—the richest as well as the poorest. To some life is pleasure, to others suffering. But the best do not live for self-enjoyment or even for fame. Their strongest motive power is hopeful, useful work in every good cause. To do our duty in this world towards God and towards man, consistently and steadily, requires the cultivation of all the faculties which God has given us. And He has given us everything. It is the Higher Will that instructs and guides our will. It is the knowledge of good and evil, the knowledge of what is right and what is wrong, that makes us responsible to man here and to God hereafter. The sphere of duty is infinite. It exists in every station of life. We have it not in our choice to be rich or poor, to be happy or unhappy but it becomes us to do the duty that everywhere surrounds us. Obedience to duty, at all costs and risks, is the very essence of the highest civilized life. Great deeds must be worked for, hoped for, died for, now as in the past.

—'Smiles.'

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 8TH MARCH, 1953

Threat To World Peace

THE White voters of the Union go to the polls on April 15 in an election which is as crucial for South Africa as it is for world peace.

On the homefront racial tension, generated largely by Dr. Malan's Government, has risen to heights without parallel in the history of the Union. The non-Europeans are steadily rising as one man against the racial tyranny advocated by the apartheiders. With their growing strength and unity of purpose the weaknesses of apartheid become more visible and increase from day to day. This, in turn, has driven the Malanites to the extreme of bringing before Parliament two Bills which were allegedly designed to deal with a hypothetical crisis which the Malanites believe will come about if the resistance movement is not stopped. These Bills, however, went to great extremes in concentrating very wide powers in the hands of the Minister of Justice.

For example the Minister alone can say when a state of emergency exists. After that he can suspend some of the laws of the land and take almost any action he likes almost against anybody he dislikes and still be under no real obligation to get immediate parliamentary approval of his deeds. Tyranny could not have been more firmly entrenched.

But behind this, there is a mentality which even the

Afrikaans voters who did so much to put this Government in power must pause to weigh very seriously. Most of them believe Minister Swart when he tells them his tales about the non-Whites conspiring to revolt against constitutional authority. Most of them equally disbelieve charges of totalitarianism levelled against some of the Malanite Cabinet Ministers. But these charges are not just empty talk. The Ministers themselves might or might not be totalitarians at heart. But the political forces which support them and give them political power have distinct totalitarian characteristics. For example, a few weeks ago at least one prominent Afrikaner publicly reported that he had been assaulted for having changed his political allegiance.

This is not in any way an insignificant incident. It expresses a quality of mind among sections of the younger generation of Afrikaners behind the Government. Political opposition, among these people, is a crime. Those who rebel against Malanism must be punished or, which is more frequent, ostracised. In other words some of the Malanites have abandoned argument, propaganda and persuasion as the means by which to further their point of view and are tending to regard force as the only effective argument at their disposal. This is tyranny, pure and simple.

What is very striking and which confirms what the non-Europeans have always said, however, is that the totalitarianism of the Malanites knows no colour. The things that the Malanites did freely to the African and Indian yesterday, with largely Afrikaner support, they now do to their own Afrikaans people! For, since when has an Afrikaner been assaulted for changing his political allegiance? Since when has he been liable to being kicked and sjamboked to persuade him to vote for a particular political party? Strange things are happening in this country when an Afrikaner can be beaten up for his political convictions.

It is true that the Minister of Justice has warned against this type of violence. But the warning is almost valueless because day in and day out the Cabinet itself sets glaring examples of tyranny by trampling underfoot the rights of the non-Whites. The Statute Book is replete with parliamentary Acts in which the man of colour is permanently humiliated. These things must in the end have a

brutalising effect on the average men who blindly follow the people at the head of the Nasionale Party. And when acts of violence of the type referred to occur, the Cabinet itself must receive its full share of the blame for this.

The dominant issue before White South Africans as they prepare for the elections is whether or not South Africa will continue to be ruled by the sjambok.

For the outside world the issue is one of the extent to which South Africa has committed herself to the policy of being World Trouble-maker Number One. At the moment, the African continent seethes with discontent against racial discrimination. Malanism will fan this into open conflict between Black and White. This, in turn, will produce dangerous repercussions in many parts of the world.

It all adds up to one thing: White South Africa should not hesitate to throw out the Malanites and return to power a Government which will at least stop driving everybody to disaster.

NOTES

Cilliers Pleads For Coalition

A Plea for coalition between the political Parties in South Africa was made by Professor A. C. Cilliers, of Stellenbosch University, at a meeting of the Institute of Citizenship in Capetown. "There are only three real problems to be fought in South Africa—the danger of over population, soil erosion and the inter penetration of the races," he said. Industrially the country can carry 100,000,000 people—but it cannot provide food for more than twice the present population. Soil erosion is the reason. "One-Party government will only make a mess of these problems. It needs both Parties. To get the wagon out of the river we must inspan both teams of oxen at one end of the wagon instead of one at

each end pulling in opposite directions." There were four obstacles to coalition—ambition, jealousy, enmity and distrust. Ambition and jealousy could be overcome by expanding the Cabinet to 22 to include eight or 10 members of the Party not in power. "That should satisfy the pangs of ambition suffered by certain politicians." As for enmity there was no solution but time. Distrust, too, was a serious obstacle.

Mr. Schoeman Attacks

Bishops

Mr. B. J. Schoeman (Minister of Labour and Public Works) at a meeting at Paarl reiterated accusations against the Anglican Bishops of Natal, Bloemfontein and Johannesburg made at Midland that they were giving in-

direct moral support and encouragement to the defiance campaign. Mr. Schoeman said the Bishops had denied these allegations in letter to the English Press. He quoted from newspaper cuttings that the opposite was the case, and these cuttings supported his accusations. The Bishop of Johannesburg had said, according to Mr. Schoeman, that the passive resistance campaign was a moral judgment on the discrimination legislation. The Bishop of Natal, the Right Rev. Vernon Ioman, had said that the fairest African policy for South Africa was to commence a common franchise for the non-Europeans however loaded this franchise might be. This had advocated the normal voters' right for non-Europeans, which was also desired by the participants in the defiance campaign.

Dr. Malan To Retire

Dr. Malan will retire immediately after the election and be succeeded by Mr. Havenga (if the Nationalists win,) it is rumoured in the highest purified Nationalists circles, says Mr. O. Pirow in his latest Newsletter. "But," says Mr. Pirow, "if Mr. Havenga did succeed him, 'wild men,' of the purified Nationalists would so undermine Mr. Havenga's position that he would have to call another election within 12 months."

Parliament Prorogued To June 19

A Government Gazette Extraordinary, signed by the Governor-General, Dr. E. G. Janzen, and the Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, announces the prorogation of Parliament until Friday, June 19, 1953. The Government intend to convene the new Parliament for two months and a few days after the General Election—if they are returned to power. If the United Party takes office after the election it will also have to convene Parliament after that time.

Police Leave Cancelled

All police leave throughout the Union and South-West Africa has been cancelled. Police headquarters in Pretoria refuse to give any reasons for the cancellation; but it is reliably understood that it is "because of the election." This is the first time for 25 years that there has been a general cancellation of leave in peace-time in the Union. The last peace-time occasion was, as far as can be ascertained, during the Flag Bill troubles in 1928. Shortly after the outbreak of war in 1939 all police leave was

stopped when trouble arose over South Africa's declaration of war. The general cancellation of leave is a drastic step which is resorted to only in times of emergency. The Commissioner of Police has full discretion whether or not he takes the step. On previous occasions leave in individual divisions has been stopped when a crisis arose in a particular area, but a general stoppage throughout the country in peacetime is considered by men with intimate police knowledge to be almost unprecedented. Certainly there is no recorded instance where leave has been cancelled because of an election. It is understood that the order applied from the last week-end until after election day. It has been modified slightly to allow men at present on leave to complete their holidays without being immediately recalled for duty and for those who have already spent money on planned leave to take that leave. The order was, it is understood, issued suddenly without preliminary warning on Saturday.

First Young S.A. Born

Parsee Doctor

Mr. N. J. Randeria of Durban has just received a cable message from his son, Dara N. Randeria, that he has passed his final year in the study of medicine at the Glasgow University. Dr. W. N. Randeria will be the first young South African-born Parsee doctor. Dr. Nanji and Dr. Hira Manek were the only two Parsee doctors we had in South Africa who passed away many years ago.

Fine African Gesture

For the fourth time in the last few months a party of Africans will voluntarily give up a whole day to work without pay at Don Mackenzie's TB Settlement at Botba's Hill. Thirty labourers, the largest contingent so far, visited the settlement recently and spent the day excavating roads and digging foundations. The Africans will have a collection box, heavy with their contributions, when they travel up. Every Friday, which is pay day, the box has been handed round and pennies, sixpences and shillings have been dropped in. They handed the proceeds over to Mr. Mackenzie the following day. It is not the first donation they have made from their own pockets. Since they began collecting last September they have scraped together about £26. The Africans, who are employed by an international firm of road builders, pay all their transport expenses, when travelling to and from the settlement. The firm loans them

a lorry and the hat is passed round among them to collect money for petrol and other expenses. This day's labour which they give so freely is, for them, a way of expressing their appreciation for all that is being done for non-European TB sufferers and their determination to help their own people. On a recent visit to Botba's Hill the Africans were offered tea or coffee at lunch time. "Water is enough," they replied. "We have come here to work, not to eat and drink."

Thousand Kikuyu Women

Petition Queen

A petition from 1,000 Kikuyu women was sent to the Queen last week by the women Labour M.P.s. It asked for a commission of women to be sent from Britain to investigate the "most grave and unjust situation prevailing in Kenya." In a letter to the Queen the Parliamentary members, Mrs. Barbara Castle, Miss Jennie Lee and Mrs. Alice Cullen, said: "We cannot, of course, take responsibility for all of the statements made, and some of them seem to us to be extravagantly expressed, but we do think there is a case for an inquiry by a commission of women as suggested in the document." Four grievances were set out by the Kikuyu women in their petition. They said that because their husbands had been arrested they were left unprotected to look after their homes, children and holdings. They had become so afraid of the police patrolling the Native reserves, that they and their children slept in the bush. They were compelled to work in the police camps where, they said, the police are in the habit of beating us." Because of collective punishment, their property and stock had been confiscated in many cases, and "our children are left in a state of famine without support." The petition said that children were not attending schools, "because the Kenya Government has closed our independent schools." "As women, we were very glad when we heard that Your Majesty was to reign over us and we deeply hoped that our rights as women would be preserved by you as our leader and Queen. "We hand over our troubles and difficulties to Your Majesty and ask you to remember them and to see that justice is done. We loyal Kenya African women wish Your Majesty and the Royal Family a long and prosperous life during your reign as our Queen. We ask your quick help in alleviating our sorrows.

CHANGE OF NAME

In response to our request to our readers for proposals to change the name of 'Indian Opinion,' we have now received the following names: 'Liberal Opinion,' 'The Statesman,' 'New Outlook,' 'African Dawn,' 'Times Of Africa,' 'Equality' 'Candid' 'Opinion' 'Justinian' 'Truth,' 'Faith,' 'People's Voice,' and 'World Opinion.' Readers are requested to kindly send further suggestions.

Manager 'Indian Opinion.'

NEWS OF THE CAMPAIGN

MR. M. B. YENGBWA, Secretary of the African National Congress (Natal) was arrested together with the following Congress members under the Curfew Regulations last week: Misses Treasa Gamede, Elizabeth Boloze, Dorothy Nyembe, Idha Msojole, Messrs. Abraham [Doma, Mima Mklize, Rogers Komalo, Peter Mbathaba, Francois Mtembu, Bekizandhla, Henzika Sibisa, Naphthal Zondl, Joseph Komalo, Johannes Langa, Petros Ndhlovu and Richard Komalo.

They were all sentenced to 14 days imprisonment. Mr. Yengwa in a statement to the 'Flash' said "These hateful Pass Laws are a nuisance and I am not prepared to tolerate them any longer."

Nene Arrested

Mr. Ashmou Nene known popularly as the Lion of "Two Shields"—Booth Road was arrested at the Berea Road Station for refusing to leave the "Europeans Only" waiting room. He said: "I am a son of this land why should I sit where I like?"

Mike Taken By Police

At a meeting of the A.N.C. Youth League and Natal Indian Youth Congress at Lutball Square, the police took away the mike set. The meeting continued, however, without a mike.

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LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

WHAT IS THEIR POLICY?

By C W. M. GELL

IN a speech to the summer school of Cape Town University on February 20 Sir de Villiers Graaf defined the U.P. policy towards the Indians. As he is chairman of the U.P. in the Cape, his statement may be regarded as authoritative and it agrees very well with what Mr. Strauss said at Bloemfontein on November 18.

Sir de Villiers said that, if the U.P. was returned to power, it would consider holding a conference with India and Pakistan "to find out how many Indians may wish to return to those countries." This seems a rather cumbersome procedure—even if the U.P. is committed to nothing more precise than "considering." Surely the quickest and cheapest way to find out would be to ask our Indians directly? Mr. Strauss, however, was a little more definite. He is reported to have said: "All possible steps will be taken by a U.P. government to bring about a round-table conference with India and Pakistan with a view to repatriating the Indians from South Africa." And Mr. Douglas Mitchell, the U.P. leader in Natal, said in Durban on January 10 that there was an agreement in 1927 between the Union and Indian Governments "by which the Indians were to be repatriated. Many went and many came back and the scheme fell into abeyance. We will have to go back and begin negotiations from that point."

There was, indeed, the first Cape Town (or Malan Sastri) Agreement of 1927 between the Union and Indian Governments by which the Union was to provide free passages to India and a £20 bonus to any of its Indian citizens wishing to migrate to India and the Indian Government assumed responsibility for their settlement there. Since Dr. Donges has given notice of his Government's intention of repudiating the Swais-Gandhi agreement as far as it relates to the entry of Indian women or children, we may record here that this right was explicitly reaffirmed in the Malan Sastri Agreement, whose other clauses included India's acknowledgement that the Union Government was entitled to seek to establish Western standards of civilisation in this country and the Union's acceptance of responsibility for the education, housing, welfare of its resident Indian population. This last clause clearly implies recognition that those Indians, who do not wish to repatriate themselves, are permanent residents of this coun-

try; and there is nothing whatever in the Agreement—a pact between two virtually sovereign states—to justify Dr. Malan's outburst at Potchefstroom only two months after he had signed the document on behalf of his Government: "The whole object of the Agreement is to get as many Indians repatriated as possible.... All other points were subsidiary to this. The Agreement is not an agreement in the usual sense of the term. The Union Government does not bind itself in any way with regard to future legislation, and can impose any legislation it likes in the event of the repatriation proposal not working satisfactorily." No one will enter into treaties with a Government which adopts this attitude to contractual agreements; and the Nationalists have only themselves to blame if their "pledged words" are universally regarded as worthless.

Under the Cape Town Agreement 3,250 Indians emigrated permanently from the Union in the first year; but thereafter the annual numbers fell steadily and the total for five years was only 10,738. The second Cape Town Agreement of 1932 admitted that repatriation had failed because by that time over 80 per cent of our Indians were Union born. Today the figure is probably about 95 per cent. Is it, therefore, likely that any substantial number will wish—not to "return" or "repatriate" themselves for they are Union citizens, very few of whom have ever been to India—to emigrate to a strange land, i.e. to expatriate themselves? Ask our South African British immigrants or Germans, French or Hollanders if they wish "to return home," and you will get very similar replies.

But perhaps I am wrong. Disturbed by the great increase of discriminatory measures or by the boycott advocated (not for the first time) by a Transvaal Afrikaans newspaper or by any other of the many contraventions of the Union's pledge under the Malan-Sastri Agreement culminating in Dr. Malan's notorious utterance of 1948 that "the Indians have no right to regard themselves as a settled part of the population and must be prepared to remain in South Africa under restrictions," perhaps many Indians do wish to "return" to India. But surely India and Pakistan would need to be convinced that there was a genuine demand for "repatriation" before they consented to undertake the usually unprofitable busi-

ness of negotiating with the Union on such a basis? Has the U.P. satisfied itself that such a demand exists? For the party can be quite sure, even if Mr. Strydom had not told it and his own party so at Newcastle on November 26, that neither India nor Pakistan will agree to any form of expatriation under duress.

The second point in the U.P. policy, according to Sir de Villiers Graaf, was that "while Indians continue to ally themselves with another nation and regard themselves as a part of India rather than a part of South Africa, political rights should not be given to them." And Mr. Mitchell at the end of October told the Indians that they must stop "their perpetual shouting for help from overseas." They had to adopt either a South African attitude or an Indian one. Mr. Strauss pontificated in a similar vein about their loyalty to India appearing greater than their loyalty to South Africa, which, he thought (with a sigh of relief?) made the question of their political rights "hypothetical." One might well question the wording of these phrases. Who, speaking on behalf of whom, has allied himself with whom? Unless we are descending to the level of the Nationalist nonsense about our Indians acting as agents of India's national ambition to use Natal as a dumping ground for her surplus millions, in what way precisely have our Indians manifested loyalty to India and disloyalty to South Africa (as distinct from dissatisfaction with some South African policies)? And who in this context is "South Africa"? White South Africa only?

But supposing that India abstained from exercising her undoubted right to press the Union to fulfil the obligations it voluntarily undertook in 1927 and supposing that our Indians renounced this "alliance" with a foreign power (whose validity within certain limits the Nationalists tacitly recognised by negotiating with the Indian Government in 1927 and 1932) in order to resume their so far entirely abortive, unaided efforts to secure political and municipal rights in the land of their birth by sending addresses to European politicians and interviewing such politicians as agreed to receive them, what rights is the U.P. now (or has it ever been) prepared to grant them? What have our Indians to show for many years' "requesting" from the ruling race group in South Africa? And the hollowness of the U.P. implication that only their "foreign alliance" stands in the way of increased Indian rights is completely exposed when, in the next breath, Sir de Villiers Graaf, Mr. Strauss and Mr. Mitchell like a

well-drilled chorus exclaim: "By taking a leading part in the Defiance Campaign Indians are creating a state of public opinion which will make it extremely difficult for any government to afford them political rights." There you have it both ways. For, when Indians form an alliance with fellow-South Africans in the only course of positive political activity open to them, that too is considered a ground for denying them the larger rights and opportunities for which Africans and Indians are now fighting together.

It is hard to resist the conclusion that the U.P. is dissembling. The Nationalists do have the edge in consistency. You know where you are when Mr. Strydom says: "The White man will only succeed in remaining in South Africa if he retains all power in his hands." Or when Dr. Otto du Plessis says: "We Nationalists believe that White supremacy must be maintained for all time." But if we honestly don't like that policy and its implications, how are we to help its professed opponents to reach political and moral maturity (and political power) if their own utterances are so confused, obtuse or merely (e.g. the proposed conference with India and Pakistan) pointless?

Sir de Villiers Graaf ended his speech by reaffirming the U.P.'s pledge to consult African opinion and said that the party knew of moderate leaders representing African opinion whom it could consult. This might be comforting if one knew who these leaders were, whom they represented and if one was given some inkling that the U.P. contemplated anything more constructive than a slightly less aggressive application of the racial *status quo*. And if Africans are to be consulted, why not Indians and Coloureds too, so that we can have a real racial get-together prepared to consider, not only what the Europeans are willing to concede (if anything), but what the real grievances of each community are and how each group can accommodate itself to the needs of others, as good neighbours should? Only by some such process and the increasing association of all race groups in the business of government can we make South Africa a country which deservedly earns the devotion and loyalty of all her citizens.

Mr. Gild And Mr. Gell

Mr. Gild has taken me to task for "decluding myself that the Russians have suddenly become racialists." He and I have, however, a large measure of common ground. We are agreed that Communism is theoretically against

racial discrimination. We both suspect that the motives behind the Prague trials and the allegations against the Moscow Jewish doctors may be connected with Russian designs in the Middle East or with providing scapegoats for internal difficulties. That we should nevertheless come to widely different conclusions is partly due, as Mr. Gild urges, to lack of entirely reliable evidence (which is seldom, if ever, forthcoming from behind the Iron Curtain) and partly to a possible ambiguity in the use of the word "racism." If Mr. Gild will re-read my article of January 30, he will see that I used the word in a political sense (though I must add that it makes little difference to the victims whether the reasons for discriminating against them as a race are political or something else.) I fully concur with Mr.

Gild that Russia has eliminated some aspects of racialism. But, by demanding that all its subject peoples shall unreservedly merge their distinctive identities in a monolithic Russian nationalism, it has frequently seemed to practise a rigorous type of political racialism. To what extent the process that has been applied already to Ukrainians, Georgians, the Muslim peoples of central Asia etc. is now to be applied to the Jews and in what degree this will fan the flames of the anti-Semitism which has so long been latent among the peoples of Eastern Europe and Western Russia, only time will fully tell. While we await that verdict, Mr. Gild and I, respecting each other's sincerity, will no doubt continue to differ amicably about the most reasonable interpretation of current events.

paradise than the Union is today, and for the same reasons.

Federation will, however, not go through without another battle in Britain, where there is far more public interest in Africa than in the past. London newspapers have carried many letters and articles critical of the scheme and even the Conservative papers are on the defensive. Some of this ferment is due to the African Bureau (69 Great Peter Street, London, S.W.1.), a body started by Michael Scott that has attracted support from all the political parties. In its latest Information Digest, I was amused to read this quotation:—

"It will be an ill day for the Native races when their fortunes are removed from the impartial and august administration of the Crown and abandoned to the fierce self-interest of a small White population." That statement was made by no less a person than Mr. Winston Churchill! It occurs in his book, "My African Journey," published in 1901. It is still true—though I don't suppose that the author still admits its truth.

China And Her Past

The book I recommend this week is "The Making Of Modern

China" by Owen and Eleanor Lattimore (Allen and Unwin, 1945). It is a short history of a great country about which we all know far too little. China is obviously destined to remain one of the great powers, whether the United States chooses to recognise the fact or not. Mr. Lattimore is an American professor who knows China well and who loves her people. At this moment he is still being accused in Washington of having betrayed his own country. Americans are busy looking for scapegoats on whom to blame the failure of their policy in China. Mr. Lattimore's real "crime" is that he was one of the first to admit the folly of supporting Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt government. That was years before it was finally overthrown by the Chinese people themselves. To understand the new China, we must understand its ancient past, and not least the ignoble part played by selfish profit-seeking foreign interests.

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THE WIDER WORLD

"EQUALITY"

By JOHN GILD

WHEN Mrs. Ballinger was speaking in the House of Assembly the other week, a Nationalist asked her if she stood for equality between White and Black, and she replied no. I find that reply deeply disappointing. The single word Equality can no doubt be confusing, but I wonder what kind of inequality Mrs. Ballinger wants to maintain. When people say that they want equality, it is understood that they mean equal opportunities, i.e. to education, to earn a livelihood, and to enjoy life. A few months ago Mrs. Ballinger signed a public manifesto pleading for "equal rights for all civilised people and equal opportunities for all to attain civilised standards." That is a good slogan. Why should Mrs. Ballinger retreat from any of its implications in the face of Nationalist hostility?

Liberals must beware of weakening their case any further. Now that the Communists have been officially suppressed, "liberal" is becoming, on the lips of the Nationalists, a term of abuse only a shade weaker than "Communist" used to be. Instead of asking your opponent, "Are you a Communist?" it seems that the thing to do now is to demand whether he believes in "equality"—and watch him run away.

Mrs. Ballinger is the last of the original Native Representatives in whom Africans once had faith. The way in which she has refrained from contact, let alone sympathy, with Congress in this time of crisis has already diminished her prestige. If, in addi-

tion, she is now going to stand for some kind of permanent inequality, Africans will lose their last shred of belief in the value of their White members of Parliament.

Betrayal In Rhodesia

The British Government is dealing a heavy blow to Africa in granting responsible government to the small White minority in Rhodesia. The constitution makes it clear that Britain is about to surrender all pretence of trusteeship. The White voters are assured of a two thirds majority in the federal Assembly. Any future amendment of the constitution can be made only with the consent of the Assembly itself, which is far more likely to reduce than to increase the African share of political power. As for Asians and Coloured people, their rights are not even mentioned.

Why is Britain so determined to force federation, and with it self-government, on Rhodesia in the teeth of unanimous opposition from Africans? I believe that this is the answer: if there is further delay, African political organisation and especially the African trade unions in the copper mines, will grow stronger. Once the White settlers and miners are free from restraint by Whitehall, they will soon make new laws designed to hamper African organisation of any type. I predict that the colour bars so common in Southern Rhodesia will spread beyond the Zambesi. The time will come when central Africa will no more be an investor's

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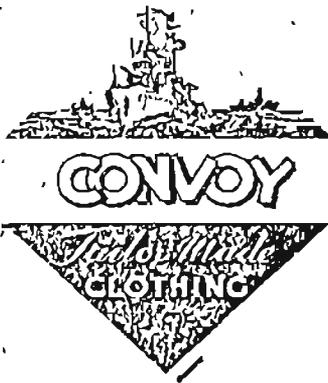
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SEETHING SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

By HOMER A. JACK

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

11

WHAT IS APARTHEID ?

THE visitor to South Africa or the resident there, need not take lessons in the theories of white supremacy to understand the oppression every non-white lives under every minute of the day and night. There are *apartheid* (segregation) laws and customs regulating every aspect of living, literally from the cradle (the maternity hospital) to the grave...not to mention the postmortem examinations which by law can be performed in the Transvaal only by white physicians and white medical students on white cadavers.

But South Africa has its theories of segregation, for theories are essential to the masters though they make no real difference to the slaves. The masters, despite their callousness, must believe in a system, must have a faith. For many years the creed of racism was improvised by the leaders of all parties in South Africa; not until the ascendancy of Dr. Malan's Nationalists (the Nats) in 1948 were these theories tied up into an ideological package.

Studying Race Relations

Ever since the South African Institute of Race Relations was founded in 1929 with funds from the Carnegie Corporation, the South African racists have attacked it and its many factual studies. With the steady rise of Afrikaner nationalism, however, a number of the Nationalist intellectuals realised that with power came responsibility. Just before Dr. Malan came into office, the Nationalists established their own nationwide race relations organisation. It is popularly known as SABRA, which stands for Suid-Afrikaanse Buro vir Rasse Angeleenthede—South African Bureau of Racial Affairs. It is non-political, non-profit organisation and one of its purposes is laudable enough: "To encourage and work for peace, goodwill and co-operation between the various sections and races of the population of South-Africa."

SABRA today has about 700 individual members—mostly Afrikaners and, of course, no Africans—and about 100 affiliated organisations, including all three branches of the Dutch Reformed Church. Its chairman is Professor G. B. A. Gerjener of the Stellenbosch Theological

Seminary (his field is missions) and its board of directors includes some of the leading Nationalist intellectuals, among them a moderator of the Dutch Reformed Church, several members of Parliament, an anthropologist, the Governor-General of South Africa and the Secretary of Native Affairs.

SABRA's *Mein Kampf* is a new pamphlet entitled "Integration or Separate Development?" In this the SABRA intellectuals initially assert that there are only two solutions for the racial problem in South Africa: integration or separate development. Integration will lead to assimilation. Propagation of this doctrine would lead its proponent—meaning the United Party—into "the political and social wilderness." Then in a moment of compassion SABRA asserts that "the integration policy is dishonest towards the Bantu (that is, the African) population, as it creates the impression that their political demands (for voting privileges) will be fully satisfied when in fact the integration supporters are well aware that the Europeans will never allow such a development to take place, since their political leadership must of necessity be threatened by it."

Thus eliminating integration as a valid alternative, SABRA begins to build a case for its solution of total separation. The SABRA professors are not racists in the traditional sense, for they never openly assert that blacks are inferior to whites. The Africans may be culturally inferior at the moment, but "in the not too distant future the uppermost strata of Bantu society will have reached the level of the lowest strata in the European society." This progress on the part of the Africans will ultimately result in one of the three possible outcomes; oppression of blacks by whites, oppression of whites by blacks, or "complete equality between the two communities."

Sabra's Race Policy

At this point SABRA drags out its solution. For the past decade or more the racial policies of the Nationalists have been popularly called *apartheid*, meaning "apartness" or a state of separateness. SABRA claims that the Africans, and the world,

misunderstood the term and thought of it as being only negative. It now prefers to use the longer but more "positive" phrase, "complete separate development" otherwise referred to as "territorial separation" or "distinctive development." (This is not unlike the 49th state idea or the "Black Republic" of the U. S. Communists.) It is not, SABRA emphasizes, mere "local separation," which has existed in South Africa for centuries and increasingly since 1948. Such local separation can only "postpone the evil day" of the toppling of white supremacy, and indeed by attempting to follow a policy of mere postponement white South Africans are today sacrificing their heritage "for the sake of immediate gain."

The essence of the SARRA plan is a revolutionary and expensive idea: 8½ million Africans are to be provided with "areas which must serve as national and political homes for the different Bantu communities." Knowing that its solution can be attacked from the viewpoint of practicability as well as theory, SABRA tries to muster facts and figures, but all its researchers can really say is that "the separation policy is practicable provided the European population themselves desire it." In demanding sacrifice for principle, the SABRA theorists are eloquent: "Many in the European community derive comfort from the knowledge that servant boy Jim or servant girl Mary is there always at their beck and call to carry out their least wish or command, to do the dirty work and to provide labour where needed. The Europeans have built a small paradise for themselves in South Africa with convenience, ease and comfort as the chief considerations."

The Stellenbosch professors warn that it would be "preferable for the European community to rely on its own resources for labour, instead of leaving such an essential part of the national life in the hands of members of another race," but they know that even their fellow professors and *predkants* will not dispense with their Jims and Marys, so they come up with a compromise formula. South Africa can eat its cake (keep separate) and have it (cheap, abundant labour). The Africans can live permanently in the reserves and become part of the political and social structure of their own communities and nation, and come into the white towns and white agricultural areas under a system of "migratory labour." This is nothing new, of course. Today several hundred thousand Africans are

migratory labourers in the gold mines—one of the saddest chapters of industrial exploitation and social disorganisation in the modern world.

Knowing that their own plan, if viewed in terms of economics by the expert and in terms of taxes by the voter, would put them also into the political wilderness, the SABRA ideologists cast one eye at America and assert hopefully, "It should be possible to obtain overseas financial assistance in the development of native territories." They come up with another possibility: "It should also be considered whether the Bantu communities themselves cannot be made responsible for the payment of a portion or all of the interest and redemption on such loans, (for) it can hardly be expected that the European population should for ever be prepared to play the role of economic guardian."

Plan Under Scrutiny

This plan to turn the clock in South Africa and exile 8½ million natives to the reserves is utter nonsense and can be scientifically demonstrated as such. The sober Native Laws Commission under the chairmanship of Justice H. A. Fagan studied this basic problem for two years. In the famous "Fagan Report" of 1948 the commission stated that (1) the idea of the total segregation is completely impracticable; (2) the rural-to-urban movement of the Africans is a natural economic necessity which cannot be reversed; and (3) the reserves are incapable of supporting their present population, let alone providing for the vastly increased numbers that would be there if all the Africans now residing outside the reserves were to be sent back. The Commission also criticised severely the system of migratory labour.

Nobody can take this SABRA plan seriously, yet nobody took Hitler seriously either. In the meantime, the SABRA solution has its distinct uses. The Africans now know not only how far the SABRA theorists are capable of compassion and scientific research, but how much they would ask their fellow Europeans to sacrifice for the African—with the African, naturally, contributing his share. (The Coloureds and Indians do not yet know their fate, since SABRA admittedly has had its hands full dealing with the Africans.) The National Party, while it is not completely identified with SABRA, can use this plan when it is condemned—especially during the election campaign due before October 1953—for not

having a fully worked-out, long-range policy. It is known, however, that Prime Minister Malan and some of the moderates—for he is a moderate on race issues compared to some of the younger members of his cabinet—have criticized territorial *apartheid* (they still use that misunderstood term), although the Group Areas Act passed in 1950 would be the first long step towards this goal.

Dr. Malan's Race Policy

The differences between SABRA's policy and that of Dr. Malan's National Party may be found in a booklet recently published by the State Information Office, *Life and Policy of Dr. D. F. Malan*. After telling how "this leader of a virile South African nation emerging into world prominence" received a Doctor of Divinity degree at the University of Utrecht, the booklet says that the National Party desires to "foster a spirit of mutual confidence and co-operation between the races." As for the non-whites, the Party "accepts the Christian guardianship of the European race as the basic principle of its policy with regard to the non-European races, and desires to furnish them with the opportunity to develop themselves in their own areas in accordance with their natural genius and capacity, and to ensure for them fair and just treatment in the administration of the country." To guard against any possibility of misunderstanding, the booklet emphasises that the Nationalists are "definitely opposed to any miscegenation between the Europeans and non-European races." The Party's policy is similar to SABRA's in that it favours the territorial, political and residential separation of Europeans and non-Europeans, but it differs from the SABRA plan in calling for industrial separation only "as far as possible."

In its "Programme of Principles," that National Party adds that it wishes to "protect all groups of the population against Asiatic immigration and competition, among other means by preventing further encroachment on their means of livelihood and by an effective scheme of segregation and repatriation." (In a plank on "public morality," the party "recognises the duty of the authorities...to oppose all un-Christian practices in the national life, and to maintain a high moral code, at the same time taking into consideration the freedom of the individual citizen in his own sphere.")

Where Does United Party Stand?

If the racial theories of SABRA and the National Party are hardly distinguishable, one would hope to find a clear-cut difference in the programme of the chief and only Opposition, the United Party. The latest policy statement of the United Party starts off well enough with a call for "a united South Africa nation" with "freedom and dignity of the individual." But the next point is headed "White leadership with justice" and declares that "to maintain and vindicate European leadership...the United Party stands for a fair deal under white leadership."

Supplementing this brief platform, the booklet *Native and Coloured People's Policy of the United Party* explains the policy in detail and makes this statement of principle: "The Party...is not in favour of a policy of equality or assimilation and stands (a) for the maintenance of a policy of social and residential separation and the avoidance of race intermixture and (b) for the development, while taking account of the difference referred to, of the Native peoples in their own and the country's interests." There is obviously a difference in the way the two Parties, once in power, have carried out their respective policies. The Nationalists have been rigid and severe; the United Party has been more pliable and lenient. Yet both want white supremacy, whether the noun used be "guardianship" or "leadership." Most non-European leaders seem unimpressed by the nuances between these two major parties in their stand on "native policy."

Of all the racial theories put forth by responsible non-European groups in South Africa, perhaps the most satisfactory is that of the South African Institute of Race Relations. One would expect the Institute to have the same relationship to the United Party as the Fabian Society has to the British Labour Party or SABRA to the National Party, but the organisation is completely non-partisan and has no direct relationship to and precious little influence on any power group.

Institute Of Race Relations

At the request of a Government Commission, the Institute recently reformulated its principles and methods. It considers a policy of total assimilation "not acceptable and equally impracticable." But if it rejects physical assimilation, it is believed that basic cultural

assimilation is possible and desirable and is indeed proceeding apace today. This process of integration, the Institute predicts, will continue for many years. The present pattern of society exhibits elements of segregation, of inferior parallelism, of assimilation. Then the Institute hedges a bit by stating that "for the present the welfare of the country and the maintenance of Western civilisation depend upon the continuance of European initiative and responsibility." However, it looks to "the progressive assumption by Africans of the standards of Western civilisation and of the duties

implicit in the acquisition of fundamental rights as the only way, in the long run, that Western civilisation can be preserved in South Africa." The Institute concludes that "the choice for European South Africa is faith or fear, Christian democratic ideals or the fallacious and deceptive policy of apparent self-preservation in an authoritarian form based upon permanent white domination."

Despite its severe limitations, this is one of the best policy statements coming from white South Africa. It is a pity that no political party in the country dare adopt it.

PROBLEMS OF UNION RELATED TO AFRICA

MR. ROGER BRICKHILL, Organising Secretary of the Torch Commando on the Natal Coast, who has just returned from attending the Summer School on "South Africa in Perspective" held at the University of Cape Town, said that the most profound impression made on South African students was that the problems of the Union could no longer be considered without relating them to the rest of Africa.

He told the 'Daily News' that the discussions showed that in the Cape at least there was a greater political awareness than in Natal. There was great need for someone to take the first step in Natal in educating an apathetic electorate on the vital issues at stake in South Africa today.

He said: "For good or bad there is a new spirit among the non-Whites in Southern Africa. Many States have recognised this, but in South Africa we have not only failed to go forward, we have actually gone backwards.

"Lecturers from territories outside the Union were horrified at our apparent complacency.

"One of the most interesting features of the course was the number of young people present.

The University of Natal has no extra-moral department or one might suggest that they emulate the example of their sister university."

The lecturers on the course at Cape Town included four ex-Governors from British East Africa, eight professors, Mr. Marshall Clark on Communications, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, M.P., on mining, Dr. H. J. van Eck on secondary industry, General Theron on military potential and the director of extra-mural studies of the University College of the Gold Coast. An African from Natal, Mr. S. Ngcobo, and Mr. B. A. Naidoo and Dr. R. E. van der Ross, spoke on Africans, Indians and Coloureds respectively.

The course concluded with a round-table discussion by Mr. Harry Lawrence, M.P., Dr. Otto du Plessis, Mr. Theo Lovell M.P. and Mrs. M. Ballinger, M.P.

Among persons attending were Americans, British, Rhodesians, Australians, Swiss and Chinese. Mrs. J.G.N. Strauss, wife of the Leader of the Opposition, also attended. A group of Natal Torchmen who were granted bursaries by the Natal Coast Region of the Commando were also present.

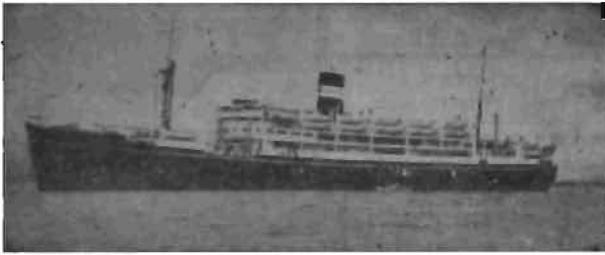
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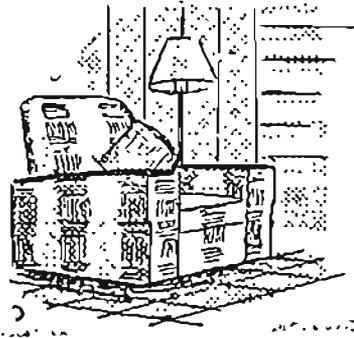
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

AFRICANS AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

WHITE South Africa goes to the polls on April 15. Both the White politicians and newspaper commentators have told us that the election will be one of the most crucial for South Africa. And crucial it will be, for if the Malanites are returned to power they will take that as endorsement of their racial tyranny; their contempt for the Rule of Law and their attacks on the Judiciary. That, in turn, will embolden them to resort increasingly to harsh and tyrannous measures to silence by force non-European demands for an effective say in the Government of the land.

What lies in store for us, as well as for every democrat, for that matter, from the Malanite elite is crystal clear. The man of colour can expect no quarter and himself has appreciated this so keenly that he is now more determined than ever to yield no ground.

What is generally not understood is what will happen if the United Party is returned to office. There is a hazy idea that Mr. Strauss would not be as bad as the racial fanatics who rule the country to-day. On the face of it, the United Party is not as fanatical in its hatred of the man of colour as the Malanite are. This does not arise out of any love of justice for the man of colour. The economic and political interests served by the United Party are such that this Party can antagonise Africa or world opinion only up to a certain point and not beyond. For this reason the United Party feels constrained to advocate a policy which, when contrasted with Apartheid, appears slightly conciliatory.

But the attitude of the Party towards the anti-defiance Acts shows clearly that when it comes to the fundamental question of race, it is not much different from the Malanite. A closer examination of the Party's decision not to fall into the Malanite "trap" set by the two Acts reveals two things. Firstly, the United Party realises that in recent weeks there have been significant accretions of strength to its side. The odds between it and the Malanites, at the time of writing, are about even. This mild change in White opinion creates, for the United Party, the possibility of being returned to power. If that happens the Party feels forwardly that it would be powerless to settle the racial crisis

in an honourable and democratic way. Although Mr. Strauss has been loud in announcing that he will consult with the leaders of the African people he has scrupulously avoided saying precisely what the basis and scope of those consultations will be. His reticence to speak his mind more freely might be a tactical over-election attitude. Be that as it may be. But coming as it does from one who might form the Government on April 16 and against the background of the fact that his attitude towards the defiance campaign has much in common with Dr. Malan's, it confirms African fears that Mr. Strauss and his Party have no better solution of the racial problem than the sjambok and persecution legislated by the Swart deerees.

Secondly, the United Party might be realising that it could not afford to violate the Constitution or treat with contempt the Rule of Law when it has had to say so much in defence or praise of these. It might have felt, when Minister Swart came with his two Bills, that he would do the dirty political work and draw world opprobrium on his political head only to leave the United Party with exactly the tools it required to crush the resistance movement.

I wish I could be proved wrong in seeing United Party policy in this light. Unfortunately there are obstinate facts at which one cannot blink. These confirm African fears that once in power, the United Party's severity against non-violent agitations for reform will differ from Minister Swart's only in degree.

It is against this background that the present attitude of the African National Congress has to be seen. In a series of well-attended provincial conferences last month the Africans decided to wage the struggle with renewed vigour. There was keen appreciation of the fact that in some essentials the two Swart Acts necessitated the employment of more effective tactics in the day-to-day non-violent struggle to free South Africa from the tyranny of race. Suggestions were even made of a stoppage of work.

Against the background of these conferences the leaders of the resistance movement met in Johannesburg towards the end of the month and agreed on a course which should make

every thoughtful White voter realise the dangers to which Malanem has already driven South Africa.

The leaders of the non-White peoples realise that the struggle will have to be a long and costly one. But this has only steeled their determination to fight with renewed strength. They have not been deterred in any way by the Swart Acts. Their national organisations might be banned; a state of emergency might be declared and the leaders of non-White opinion jailed. But the struggle will go on.

From this angle the return to power of the United Party will not be something which

the African National Congress will welcome with whoops and cheers. The leaders of the African National Congress have prepared themselves in such a way that whether Strauss or Malan is the next Prime Minister should not be a point which affects their struggle very materially.

The African National Congress has unyielding faith in the strength of its followers to ensure respect for their wishes in the end. While it has shown that it welcomes within the fold of its allies genuine democrats from every racial group it does not believe the United Party, for example, is genuinely democratic.

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INDIA LETTER

From Our Own Correspondent

Bombay, February 18

THE South African Government's Bill to amend the Criminal Law and to acquire wide powers to crush the Civil Disobedience campaign in the Union and the harsh punishment meted out to Mr. Manilal Gandhi and Mr. Duncan has been severely criticised by Indian newspapers and politicians. The cancellation of the Gandhi-Smuts agreement, to which Dr. Malan was also a party as a Minister, has also provoked harsh comment. The comment in the 'Times of India' is typical of the general tone of the criticism. The paper writes: "Even a maniac would shrink from the kind of terror which Dr. Malan seeks to institute in South Africa. That his Government would ask for wide powers to suppress the resistance campaign against apartheid laws was known for a long time. But the provisions of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill published this week are so savage that even those who have known the record of the Malan Government have been taken aback by it.

The drastic penalties provided in the Bill indeed show that Dr. Malan wants nothing less than the total liquidation of the African National Congress as well as the South African Indian Congress and every other organisation that dared to raise its voice of protest against oppressive laws...It is not surprising that the provisions of the Bill have alarmed even white Opposition parties. Whether the opposition to the Bill will be strong enough to make itself felt is doubtful. But what is not in doubt is the fact that the South African Government's hysteria has reached a point where it threatens not only to destroy the last vestiges of democracy in the country but also to injure the interests of the white population."

President Dr. Rajendraprasad also referred to this in his inaugural address to the Indian Parliament. The Government of India is considering steps to be taken in this regard and their decision will be known soon.

The well-known Gujarati writer and Gandhite leader Kaka Sahib Kalelkar expressed his intention to pass his last years in Africa. He declared in an address at Bombay that, "following the noble philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Manilal Gandhi and his associates are struggling to get justice for the Africans. That some religious-minded Europeans have also joined the struggle is a happy augury."

The agitation against the Sales Tax Act in Saurashtra has fizzled out and Praja Parishad has officially decided to call off the struggle. Saurashtra Government has released all the persons arrested in this connection.

The Government of India has struck a major blow to Praja Parishad agitation in Jammu by large-scale arrests of its supporters and sympathisers in Jan Singh, Hindu Mahasabha and R.S.S. in Delhi and Punjab. Agitation to merge Jammu completely in India and apply all the provisions of the Indian Constitution to it, have been going on for months. But the Government of Kashmir are determined not to bow to this agitation.

In Hyderabad Shri Ramkrishna Rao's Ministry has resigned. After Pandit Nehru's criticism of the number of Ministers, it was decided to reduce their number and re-allocate the portfolios. Mr. Rao is given the task of forming the new Ministry.

Saurashtra High Court has upheld the sentence of six years imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 2000 awarded by a lower Court to Prince Nirmalkumar of Bhavnagar in the Rib Dacoity case.

The Government of India has decided to start a Television Station as an experimental measure. If this measure proves to be successful, then other stations will be opened.

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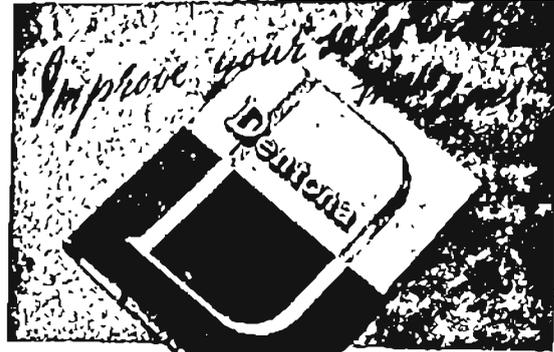
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