

No. 19—Vol.—L.I

FRIDAY,
5TH MAY, 1953

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper

Price 6d.

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INDIAN OPINION

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Our Preoccupation

"The western world jeopardizes its moral authority by its tendency to rely on physical force alone. More and more our pre-occupation has become arms, an atomic stockpile, military bases and airfields on our defence perimeter, and the development of a western European military alliance. No one should deny our need to attain enough military power to repel possible aggression. But the moral authority of the western world is grounded on our faith in authentic democracy, in the extension of human rights to all children of God, in our confidence that the Divine Providence guides the processes of history. we demonstrate this faith when we help the world's peoples to attain a more equitable social economic and political status, so that the false but alluring blandishments of communism no longer held an appeal for them. Only the expression of moral authority can win the allegiance of other peoples to the free world goals we seek.

—The Church Peace Union.



The Roots Of Danger Of Dehumanization In Modern Society

(Rene Fullop-Miller U.S.A.)

[Rene Fullop-Miller, is the writer of the famous book "Lenin and Gandhi." He is a close student of modern society and the new trends in civilization that are taking shape in the West under the revolutionary impact of modern science, art, psychology, politics and social philosophy. The results of such study was recently given by him in one of his lectures in America from which the following extracts are given:]

WHILE politicians are worrying about the bankruptcy of our economic or social set-up, very few people trouble themselves about an even greater impending danger; the bankruptcy which threatens the dignity of man.

There has scarcely been a time when man was as insecure as he is today. The insecurity which bothers us is not only outside, it is also within ourselves. It is part of us. And we often wonder whether there is not a guidepost that will point a way to a meaningful, happy and creative kind of life.

Since we have become unaccustomed to think for ourselves we look for some ready-made programme, which will solve our problems. After all, there are programmes which were worked out by the keenest minds and which aimed at providing for the needs and happiness of men. Perhaps all we have to do is to fall back on a programme and stick to it. But let us look at these programmes a bit more closely to see what they promised and check which promises they kept.

The programme that is closest and dearest to us is of course that of democracy, which offered to uphold the sacredness of the individual. This offer was based on good foundations; it derived from the ideals of Christianity and from the humanism of the Enlightenment. When the original offer arrived a great many people put in their order for democracy. When the goods were delivered, they received the right to vote, trial by jury, a free press, religious freedom, the freedom to choose their jobs and the freedom to speak their minds. They also got bread and shelter and many commodities which made life easier.

On the surface the order seemed to be filled neatly, but underneath there was an unordered item; economic man. This led to a brand of capitalism which laid too much stress on purely material security, and too little stress on inner security; too much stress on the capacity to produce goods and too little stress on the capacity of leading a purposeful life. And in the end the promised happiness was still wanting.

Then there was another offer made by socialism which came along later and tried to outbid its liberal democratic competitor. The socialist bid sounded good and convincing, so a lot of people filled out the order blank. But the international shipment ran into difficulty and eventually there was a change in management. The Bolsheviks took over most of the outfit, and their original offer read no less appealingly. They promised to help the under-dog, they promised a just distribution of goods and the protection of labour. Many people rushed in their orders,

(Continued on page 285)

INDIAN OPINION

FRIDAY, 8TH MAY, 1953

The Limit Of High-Handedness

THE refusal by the Minister of the Interior, Dr. T. E. Donges, to grant passports to the South African Indian soccer team to proceed on their tour of India last week has come as a severe shock to the whole Indian community of South Africa and we have no doubt to the whole of India, and an unexpected surprise to the world. The Nationalist Government has been bitterly complaining about others bringing it into disrepute in the outside world by carrying on false propaganda against it. But here is a most glaring example of how the Government's own action has been more vocal than all the propaganda in the world against it by others. A responsible Government should have good reasons for all its actions, and the present Government must, no doubt, have sound reasons for taking a step which must have serious repercussions not only on the four hundred million people of India but throughout the civilised world. Since the Government has refused to disclose the reasons, it has left us all thinking and guessing as to what could have led it to take such action against an organisation, which has never had any black record against it and whose case was pleaded by no less a person than Mr. D. G. Shepstone, the Administrator of Natal. The South African Indian Football Association even went to the extent of giving an

assurance to the Government that it was a non-political body, and that none of the players had any political allegiances; and gave an unconditional guarantee that the players would give no political interviews while in India.

What is noteworthy is that there is a soccer team from Dundee (Scotland) at present in the Union, a rugby team from Australia is due to arrive in the Union soon and a South African soccer team (European, of course) is soon to leave for England, and none of these have had any difficulty in either leaving their respective countries or in entering the Union. Why is it then that the Indian team alone has been singled out?

It is a known fact that there have been political differences between India and South Africa over the treatment of Indian nationals in this country but that surely should not come in the way of Indians going on a visit to their own Motherland on a purely non-political mission, in fact, just to play a game of football. Or is it that the present Government is just itching to turn what is at present a cold war between the two countries into a hot war? The only motive underlying this utterly high-handed action on the part of the Union Government (we say Government because the Department of the Interior would not act on a serious matter like this in a manner it has done without the knowledge and consent of the Government), seems to be just to slight the

Indians of South Africa and India. We should, however, not forget that this is not the only instance where such a thing has happened. Other instances are of the Union Government's refusal to allow the entry into the Union of India's celebrated dancer Ramgopal, and of India's newspaper correspondents. Where will this narrow vision of the Union Government lead this country to? It is a question all thinking people of South Africa need seriously to ponder over.

A Kick Combined With Sympathy

This shock coming from the Government might indeed have been lightened, we should have thought, by a sympathetic word from at least that section of the South African Press which is known to be liberal minded. The only comment come to our notice so far, however, is that by the 'Natal Witness' which does not seem to have been in a particularly happy mood when it made it. It has combined its sympathy with a kick to the Indians, the severity of which has rendered its sympathy insignificant. While the whole western world is full of praise of India's Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, our contemporary has chosen this particular moment to vent its wrath on him for no rhyme or reason and has charged him of being "a cunning, unscrupulous

politician, one who has never shrunk from practising power politics as ruthlessly as any dictator when it suited his book to do so." It has expressed its readiness to believe that Mr. Nehru's government might have tried to make some kind of political capital out of the visit of the South African Indian footballers. This is an unwarranted insult to Mr. Nehru and the Indian Government. Surely there is nothing wrong on the part of the head of any government according a welcome to any public organisation sending its representatives to that particular country. There is nothing in it beyond a simple act of courtesy and how one can impute motives to it is beyond us. But of course a guilty conscience sees guilt in everything. We are not very surprised in this criticism about Mr. Nehru when we think of how a great personality like Mahatma Gandhi even had been misjudged by some people. We can only say that we would not be disposed to make such comments against Dr. Malan, though we have had more than enough provocation to do so, as the 'Natal Witness' has deemed fit to make against Mr. Nehru. It only depicts, we are unhappy to have to say, the very low standard of culture of, indeed, not all, but the average White man in South Africa.

'NATAL WITNESS' CRITICISES MR. NEHRU

'The Natal Witness' dated May 2, writes as follows under the Caption "High-Handed Act" The refusal of passports to the members of the Indian football team chosen to represent South Africa on a tour of India seems to be a disgraceful example of administrative high-handedness. We make full allowance for the motives which may have inspired the Department of the Interior. We have never shared that feeling of near-worship with which simple-minded liberals everywhere seem to regard Pandit Nehru. He seems to us to be a cunning and, on occasions, an

unscrupulous politician. He has never shrunk from practising power politics as ruthlessly as any dictator when it suited his book to do so, though, like the prudent prince in Machiavelli and unlike most contemporary dictators, he has realised that the efficacy of ruthlessness and cunning depend largely on their being pleasingly disguised. We are ready to believe that his government might have tried to make some kind of political capital out of the visit of the South African Indian footballers. But even if the attempt had met with some

success, and seventeen Indians had returned to South Africa with some disturbing ideas in their minds, the harm would have been infinitesimal compared with the damage to South Africa's reputation throughout the whole world which this arrogant action will cause. There appears to be no reason—certainly none has been stated—to regard the members of the team as people whose political activities have rendered them suspect to the authorities. This is, so far as we know, the first occasion on which passports have been refused to people going overseas with no known intention of engaging in activities which the authorities could regard, however wrong-headedly, as detrimental to South Africa. If there is good reason for the

refusal, Dr. Donges should state it. In the absence of any such statement there seem to be only two possible explanations. Either the Department of the Interior, under the present Government, is determined to use every petty and spiteful administrative means it can to make non-Europeans feel their inferior status, or else it is determined to shut them off from all contact with a world in which things are not arranged to the satisfaction of purified Nationalism. In either case, the policy involves interference with individual liberty, and if the latter explanation is the proper one, it will not in the end have even the "realist" justification of succeeding in the aim that it is designed to achieve.

UNION REGARDED AS UNCIVILISED IN S.-E. ASIA

Mr. Maurice Webb, of the Institute of Race Relations, who has recently returned from a tour of Asian countries, writes in the 'Natal Daily News':

NO South African Government, however sensitive, could complain of misrepresentation in South-East Asia, for, in my experience, there is no representation at all. Except for a short paragraph or two in the newspapers, South Africa might have dropped out of the world.

Yet everyone knows the one undisputed fact about South Africa: that it practices and has recently accentuated policies of racial separation. These policies are not attacked; they are just regarded as being uncivilised.

In Singapore, I visited the Juvenile Court. The Magistrate was Indian, the Prosecutor, Malay, the Senior Probation Officer, Chinese, the Clerk of the Court, European. The Magistrate dealt with care and understanding with a number of typical cases of delinquency on the part of Indian, Chinese and Malay children.

I spent some time in the Department of Economics in the University of Malaya. The Professor of Economics is British, the lecturer in Industrial Economics, Australian, the lecturer in Agricultural Economics, Malay, the statistician, Chinese.

One soon realises that this is right in a multi-racial country. A Magistrate's Court or a university department should be

multi-racial; they are of the country.

It would be an interesting experience for Dr. Malan to explain to those four members of the staff of the Economics Department just why, if they were to come to South Africa to meet South African economists, they would not travel together or stay at the same hotel or share a cup of tea in a restaurant or go to the same cinema.

When I told them just what the situation would be they listened with amusement that covered hurt; hurt on the part of the "non-Europeans" that any country should offer them such affront; hurt on the part of the others that colleagues who held their friendship and respect could anywhere be so treated.

There is, I believe, no South African information service in Asia. It would be interesting and, perhaps, instructive if South Africa were to open an Information Service in Singapore and try to persuade audiences of Europeans, Chinese, Indians and Malays of the advantages of segregation, but it might be rather difficult to convince them that by keeping them apart and giving most of the privileges to one group the other three groups would be made safe for democracy.

We South Africans are naturally concerned for the good name of our country. In the West we have often to defend it from unjust attacks and to explain it

But in the East we realise that if we are to have a place of respect in the world, if we are to be thought civilised, we must change certain of our practices, however much we may regard them as essentially our domestic affair.

If we are to be able to hold up our heads among the peoples of

the world we must at least change the treatment that we accord to visitors to our country who happen not to be White. We could be host country to international gatherings that at present go elsewhere if visitors could come to us without being subjected to humiliation and hurt.

HEARTENING MESSAGE FROM GERMANY

WE have great pleasure in sharing with the reader the sentiments expressed in the following letter from H. Kraschützki, a friend in Germany, who has undergone terrible sufferings under Hitler's regime during the War and who had attended the World Peace Conference held in India in December 1949.

"Dear friend, may I once more assure you that the struggle for human rights for all inhabitants of the Union of South Africa, irrespective of their colour and race, is followed by us with extreme interest and sympathy.

"I heard that you have been sentenced to a fine yourself and I know that you are the very last person to be frightened by such methods.

"I am convinced that the struggle will be a long one, and that victims will have to suffer before victory is yours. There is no progress in the world without suffering, which is the strongest power for human progress. And I am convinced that you yourself have no illusions as to a short time of the struggle. The result of the recent elections seem to mean that the majority of White people in South Africa have not yet realised what the situation really is.

"If ever a struggle was morally right, it is yours. But I am sure you will not forget the

other side also. The philosopher Nietzsche once said to a man who had grossly offended him: "My friend, what have you done to me, I forgive you. But how can I forgive you what you have done by your attitude, unto yourself?"

"Malan and his people, what are they doing? They can flog poor negroes, can incarcerate them for shorter or longer time but whose soul is spoilt? Certainly not yours, nor the poor African's, but his own. Would you like to be in his position? If one day you are in jail—and you will go, I am sure of that—would you change your place against his, to the government's palace? I know you, and so I know you would not.

"And ourselves? We feel fortified when thinking of you all in South Africa. We do not know whether and when our own fate will once more be to be persecuted. Then we shall think of you.

"And I remember the word an American anarchist once said (Eugene Debs): "As long as there are men in jail, I am not free."

"I beg you to accept my best wishes for the future of your struggle, and to believe me that I feel humble when thinking of what so many brave men and women in South Africa have to suffer for the cause of freedom, which is our own.

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SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS—(I)

HOW THEY CAME TO NATAL

By C. W. M. GELL

From 'The Forum' (Johannesburg)

THERE were some disconcerting signs that the fate of our smallest racial minority, the Indians, was again a party-political football in the struggle for votes in Natal, where anti-Indian feeling plays a part similar to the role of anti-Semitism in some other countries.

We do not want a repetition of the Durban riots which followed so soon after the 1948 election campaign, in which candidates exploited hostility to the Indians for personal and party advantage.

As long ago as 1925 Dr. Malan, then Minister of the Interior, declared: "The Indian, as a race in this country, is an alien element in the population and no solution of the question will be acceptable to the country unless it results in a very considerable reduction of the Indian population."

In 1948, as Prime Minister, he said: "The Indians have no right to regard themselves as part of the settled population of South Africa and must, therefore, be prepared to remain in South Africa under restrictions."

No doubt, belief that this attitude helped the Nationalists to win three Natal seats in 1948 is responsible for the U.P.'s present unrealistic Indian policy. Both Mr. Strauss and Mr. Mitchell have spoken of going back to the 1927 agreement "that the Indians were to be repatriated" and beginning negotiations again with India and Pakistan from that point.

The purpose of these three articles is to show that the Nationalist policy is thoroughly un-historical and immoral—no novelty in Nationalist attitudes to non-European peoples—and that the U.P. policy is unlikely to lead to any constructive solution.

This was emphasised most surprisingly and to the consternation of his own supporters, by Mr. J. G. Strydom at Newcastle on November 26 when he quite correctly argued that we cannot repatriate unwilling persons unless some other country agrees to accept them. For either party to pretend that there is any hope of this is dishonest to its own supporters and unfair to the Indian minority.

The reasons for this state of affairs go back into the widely misrepresented history of how the Indians came to this country. The official report (1950) of a Joint Committee studying Asiatic

Land Tenure, upon which the Government relied for evidence to prove the necessity for the Group Areas Act, begins: "A perusal of the evidence (not published) shows that the Indian came to South Africa as an indentured labourer against the wishes of the European inhabitants of Natal. They did not want the Indian and they feared the curses which they believed would come upon the country with the advent of the Indian."

The use of intemperate language in official documents is unfortunately nothing new. But in this case the statements are a most flagrant distortion of the truth in the interests of party propaganda.

The facts are these. From about 1850 there had been a chronic shortage of reliable labour on the coastal plantations of Natal, as the Zulus did not care for this sort of work. Various other sources were considered in vain—convicts, orphans, Chinese, coolies, freed negro slaves from America.

In November, 1855, the Durban Town Council by a very large majority inserted into an address of welcome to Sir George Grey, the Governor of the Cape, a request for "coolies or other labourers from the East in aid of the new enterprises on the coast lands, to the success of which sufficient and reliable labour is absolutely essential." Grey, who had seen the value of Indian labour on Mauritian plantations, began negotiations with India.

Natal became a Crown Colony in 1856 and India passed from the control of the East India Company to the British raj after the Mutiny of 1857. Henceforward, the negotiations were between the Natal and Indian governments.

The second Natal Legislative Council, elected in 1852, learnt that India would agree to limited indentured emigration, if Natal made provisions for Indians similar to those in force in Mauritius and the West Indies. Accordingly, the Council passed Law 14 of 1859 without a division.

This law provided for a period of five years' indenture, after which the "coolie" would be free to re-engage or to hire himself out as an ordinary salaried labourer or to set up on his own.

On the completion of ten years' residence, during five of which he

must have been indentured, the immigrant was entitled to a free return passage to India or, if he preferred, to a grant of Crown land in lieu.

A Nationalist said in the Senate debate of September 27, 1948, that "the whole idea was that at the expiry of the period of their contracts, and it was provided that they should be so, they should be repatriated to India."

But Sections 6, 9 and 28 of Law 14 completely refute this convenient theory. It may be that the Senator expressed the conditions on which many would have liked to import coolies. But the historical record is quite clear that the Indian Government would never have allowed importation on such terms.

This aspect of the matter was again prominent in 1872-74 when Natal wished to re-open coolie immigration after the depression of the late 60's.

In order to meet Indian charges that some of the provisions of Law 14 were being more honoured in the breach than the observance, Natal appointed the Coolie Commission of 1872. As a result of its recommendations, Law 12 of 1872 exempted Indians from corporal punishment and substituted "Indian immigrant" for the offensive word "coolie" in all official wording; and Law 19 of 1874 enforced much more effective supervision of the original provisions of Law 14 of 1859.

India then permitted the resumption of indentured emigration. It is thus beyond dispute that, if Natal wanted Indian immigrants (as indeed it did), it had to accept the terms laid down by the Indian Government and these never included any sort of compulsory repatriation.

Memories are, however, short where self-interest is concerned. Many of the witnesses before the Wragg Commission in 1885-87 pleaded for the extension of the term of indenture to the whole period of the Indian immigrant's residence. And the Commission while admitting that this was the preponderant European opinion at that time, had to remind the public that Indians were not available on such conditions.

Its recommendations for increasing the supply of indigenous Native labour were again unsuccessful and, despite the growing European reaction against the expanding "freed" Indian population, a majority in the Natal Government (e.g. the volkswil of Natal) continued to facilitate indentured Indian immigration until 1911. Indian labour was used not merely on the plantations near the coast but inland as well,

and for domestic service, in the mines and on the railways.

Some figures tell their own tale. The first batch of Indians landed at Durban in November, 1860. By 1866 6,445 had arrived and the figure remained at 6,000 until 1874.

The value of sugar exported from Natal rose from £2,009 in 1857 and £3,860 in 1858 to £26,000 in 1863 and £100,000 in 1864.

By 1870 all the early immigrants had finished their terms of contract and only one had entered into fresh indentures. Immigration was resumed in 1874 and Natal Indians reached 30,000 in 1886, 41,000 in 1891, 101,000 in 1904 and 133,000 in 1911 (against 98,000 Europeans). The bulk of the increase was due to continued immigration of labourers under indenture.

In 1911, because of the unsatisfactory treatment of Indians in the Union, the Indian Government finally closed indentured emigration of South Africa.

The Union Government interceded energetically on behalf of Natal, which still wanted indentured labourers, but in vain. Thus, India stopped the entry of "coolies" into this country against the wishes of South Africa.

In all, over 142,000 indentured Indians were brought to Natal. Eighty-one per cent of our present Indian population descends from these "coolies"; the other 19 per cent from the free Indian immigrants who were mostly traders and clerks.

The year 1911 saw the end of the first phase of our dealings with Indians. During it, the Europeans of this country profited so greatly from cheap and reliable Indian labour that they (with few dissenting voices) wanted Indians in ever larger numbers.

The historical evidence fully justifies the verdict of the late Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr in regard to our four-fifths of our Indians: "However we may regard our Asiatic problem, the fact that it came into existence is due to the European and the European alone."

We invited Indians to come here on terms which allowed them to become free men after five years and to commute their return passage for a grant of land. We thus helped them to settle. And we went on doing so for our own considerable profit, long after some of the racial complications became apparent.

Without disowning our own history or adding to an already formidable list of dishonoured obligations, we cannot now disclaim responsibility for this "alien element."

(To be Continued)



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THE ROOTS OF DANGER OF DEHUMANIZATION IN MODERN SOCIETY

(Continued from front page)

and from Russia they received their collective security, and a common purpose of the working class. But they also received an unordered item: mass-man, or collective man. The mass-man was produced by the State and come equipped with a synthetic outlook on life. He was conditioned to accept freedom from thought, freedom from choice and freedom from personal decision, and in return he received true emotional security of a robot.

Now interestingly enough the two unordered items, economic man on the one hand and mass-man on the other hand, reveal that democracy and communism share a basic misconception of man. While both have a great deal to say about "the concrete human being," while both combat abstract generalities, they both fell victim to the very thing which they professed to be combating, namely, to abstraction. They fought idealistic generalizations because they abstracted from the concreteness of man. But the religio-humanitarian abstraction lifted man up by idealizing him and seeing in him the crown of creation. The new abstractions of economic and mass-man, however, dragged man down by reducing him to his material needs.

There is also another similarity between the two camps. Both share an almost religious faith in the miracles of modern technology, which is chiefly concerned with mass production, statistics and speed. This outlook gives preference to quantity over quality. The result is a highly mechanized life which puts the main stress on technical achievements and leaves our innermost being unsatisfied. Thus it seems that neither of the two programmes can fully meet man's requirements.

All the promises that are made on either side have a hollow ring. And I think the reason for it is that the most important thing—human values—was lost in transit. Without such values, the kind of values which you can take with you when you die, neither the individual nor science and technology are able to func-

tion satisfactorily. Yet it seems that in the various programmes to date these values have been left out. What happened to them? How and why did they disappear? Why is it that on the one hand terms like "cash value," "big value," "special value, and on the other hand "ideological values," "planned values," "proletarian values," have replaced the value of man?

In a democracy at least the right to be ourselves is not being contested! We have a chance to

grow and develop according to our own possibilities. This makes me feel that basically democracy is man's best bet. Still there is room for improvement.

We have freedom, but freedom for what? There is progress, but progress where to? Freedom is not an end in itself. It should not be confused with licence. True freedom entails responsibility; it is the right to choose what we ought to do. The ultimate freedom is a freedom of self-dedication. Progress again is not a wild onrush. We need a higher goal toward which we want to progress. We need a purpose which we want to achieve.

and socially he seems to have made his mark in the student world.

Success To Bantu Student

An African student of the University of Natal, Mr. A. Vilakazi, B.A. (Hons.), has just been awarded a teaching fellowship in the Department of African Studies of the Kennedy School of Missions which is one of the 3 schools of the Hartford Seminary Foundation in Hartford Connecticut. He will be required to lecture for 6 hours a week and devote the rest of his time to working for a M.A. or Ph.D. Degree which would involve research and the preparation of a thesis. The appointment is, in the first place, for one year but may be latter extended to 3 years. The Hartford Seminary Foundation is essentially a post-graduate institution and specialises in preparing its students for vocations in connection with the Church.

Things In General

John Gunther To Visit The Union

Mr. John Gunther, American author of "Inside America," "Inside Europe," "Inside Asia" and other authoritative books dealing with world affairs, is in Northern Rhodesia planning a new book which will be called "Inside Africa." Mr. and Mrs. Gunther have undertaken a comprehensive tour of the Continent visiting nearly every territory in it. They began in Morocco, travelled along the Mediterranean coast, through Egypt, the Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zaazibar, the Belgian Congo and arrived in Ndola from Elizabethville last week. After visiting Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, they will fly to the Union where they will spend a month. One of the experiences that stands out most in Mr. Gunther's mind, states the 'Natal Daily News' correspondent, was having dinner in Kenya with revolvers lying on the table next to the plates!

Professor And Mrs. Douglas Steere

Professor and Mrs. Douglas Steere who are touring the Union are at present in Durbar. Professor Douglas Steere is Professor of Physiology at Haverford College, Pennsylvania. He has travelled widely on behalf of the American Friends Service Council and is the author of several books. They come to

the Union after a lightening tour of Europe and West Africa, and brief visits to Johannesburg, Kimberley, Capetown, Port Elizabeth and Fort Hare. We extend to them a cordial welcome and wish them every success in their mission. Included in the short programme in Durban is a visit to Phoenix where they will spend next Sunday at Mahatma Gandhi's Phoenix Settlement as honoured guests of Mr. and Mrs. Manilal Gandhi.

Tribute To an African Student

The first issue of the International Students Reporter, which is the organ of the International Students' Association, Banaras Hindu University, paid tributes to its President, Mr. E. G. Mwalenga, an East African student, in the following terms: "This year under the Presidentship of one of the founder members, Mr. Mwalenga, the International Students' Association is ably carrying on these principles of friendship, toleration and free enquiry together with the traditional Banaras hospitality." Mr. Mwalenga is one of the first five African students who went to India for further studies in 1947 on Government of India Cultural Scholarships. After passing his B.A. from the Banaras Hindu University in 1951 he joined the same University for law. In his L.L.B. (Previous) examination held in April 1952 he secured the first division. Both academicaly

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PAKISTANI DIPLOMAT'S BID TO SMEAR INDIA IN U.S.A.

SHARP REBUFF FROM PROMINENT AMERICAN CITIZEN

AN attempt by a Pakistani diplomat in the U.S.A. to blacken India has brought a sharp rebuff from a distinguished American citizen. Mr. S. N. Burke, Pakistan Minister in Washington, recently delivered a speech containing the usual mendacious charges against India. The reply to it came from Mrs. Dorothy Norman, whose letter, published under the caption "Aid to India and Pakistan" in the 'New York Times' on March 26, is as follows:

"As reported in the 'New York Times', Mr. S. M. Burke, Pakistani Minister in Washington, recently informed an English-speaking Union audience in New York City that with respect to our foreign aid programme, equal treatment of India and Pakistan by the United States—despite India's declared neutrality and Pakistan's co-operation with Western nations is "puzzling" to many Pakistanis.

"Mr. Burke's statement is itself puzzling to this writer as an American. For, until only a short while ago, South Asian suspicions of the United States derived largely from fear that we would in fact tie "political strings" to our foreign aid. It was assumed that if any country happened to disagree with our foreign policy, either we would refuse to give aid at all or, having given it, we would withdraw it unless the nation in question altered its policy in conformity with our own.

U.S. Policy

"After finally having succeeded in dispelling such suspicions, to be castigated in reverse is indeed puzzling. Certainly in the matter of making foreign grants-in-aid it is, and should be, our policy to give an assurance to these free peoples throughout the world who are most in need of it, irrespective of obtaining perfect agreement with them on all issues.

"In this connection it should be especially noted that India has adopted a democratic constitution; she is earnestly striving to establish herself as a full-scale secular democracy with guarantees to her people of the same fundamental rights as those valued most by America both for herself and for others throughout the world; she has been attempting to raise the standard of living for her vast population against great odds;

she is quite obviously a peace-loving nation. Certainly it would be neither wise nor friendly to withhold aid from a country with such a record.

Apportionment Of Aid

"As for the amount of assistance we have given to India and Pakistan, the relationship between the populations of the two countries has been the major factor determining how our aid has been apportioned. Thus it would be impossible on this score, too, to charge that we have been anything but fair and impartial.

"Mr. Burke is further quoted as having stated that the United States economic aid has been given to further irrigation projects and had returned some areas of Pakistan to desert. Since it must be to the Bhakra Dam that Mr. Burke has referred, it should be recalled that the project located in the north of India was initiated by the British before either Pakistani or Indian independence was won; hence, before the partition of Pakistan from India.

"The Bhakra Dam was designed to serve East Punjab, now part of India, whereas most of the canal systems previously developed by the British were located in West Punjab and Sindh (now in Pakistan). At the time the dam was conceived the British took what might be termed a unified view of the needs of the territory now divided between North India and West Pakistan; it was never thought that the project would impair water supply for any irrigation scheme now located in the latter area.

"As has been pointed out by the Indian Government, Pakistan's alleged grievances on this matter have not even been communicated to India in the form of official protest. Moreover, it is well known that the river system of Punjab has suffered from scanty rainfall during the past year, which has decreased the amount of water available for irrigation both in India and Pakistan. This shortage of water, is due neither to American aid nor to any scheme designed to jeopardise the well-being of Pakistan in any way.

A Few Facts

"A few facts relating to availability of the Indus basin waters in question and use thereof, both in India and Pa-

kistan, may be illuminating. According to the 'Eastern Economist' on February 27, 1953; the total run-off of waters in question has been estimated at 168 million acre-feet, of which only 77 million acre-feet are now being utilised. Only one-seventh of this is now being utilised in India; when the other schemes for additional utilisation are completed, the total utilisation in India will not exceed 35 million acre-feet.

It would still leave Pakistan with about 20 million acre-feet in Indus basin rivers and the balance of run-off to the sea of about 49 million acre-feet.

"However, the situation should be further clarified as soon as the Technical Mission of the World Bank (on which both Indian and Pakistani technicians are serving) has completed surveying the area and its water resources."

GROUP AREAS ACT

THE following is the text of a letter addressed by Mr. Rajeshwar Dayal, India's Permanent Representative at UN, to the Secretary-General of the UN—

"The Permanent Representative of India to the UN presents his compliments to the Secretary-General of the UN and has the honour to transmit the following communication from the Government of India:

"According to a statement made in the South African Parliament by the Minister of the Interior, the Group Areas will be proclaimed very shortly in a number of places. Accordingly, the Land Tenure Advisory Board has notified Group Area plans for the various important cities including Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Kimberley giving very short notice to interested parties to file objections.

"A protest by the Natal Indian Organisation against the shortness of time allowed has gone unheeded. The public hearing of objections, which is the next step in the process of implementation of the plans, is scheduled to take place on March 2, 10 and 17 in Capetown, Durban and Port Elizabeth respectively.

"One of the two main proposals in respect of Durban notified by the Board is from the Nationalist Party, which envisages practically complete removal of non-Europeans and making Durban an entirely "White" city. The acceptance of this plan would affect 146,000 Indians forcing them to leave their homes, established businesses and a large number of religious and cultural institutions, including temples and mosques.

"The value of the property to be abandoned by the Indian community in Durban is estimated at £30 million.

"The other plan from the Durban City Council covering the residential area alone, would uproot 63,000 Indians for the present. Their plan for the central commercial area of

Durban which has not yet been submitted; would affect 54,000 Indians of that area also. There is no provision for alternative housing and the Durban City Council's plan is designed to remove Indians to undeveloped land outside the City's boundaries. Similar plans for other cities inflict hardships on Indians in varying degrees, though in smaller numbers.

"The Indian community is apprehending very early removal from the group areas. The proposed zoning will inevitably cause racial bitterness and friction. The Natal Indian Congress, in a memorandum to the Land Tenure Advisory Board, has pointed out that the real intention of the Group Areas Act is to "deprive the Indian people of their long-established ownership and occupation of lands and houses" and to "facilitate the uprooting and expatriation of unhappy South African citizens of Indian origin, or confine them to ghettos as a cheap source of labour."

"The Government of India consider the present move of the South African Government aimed at causing untold misery and hardship to large numbers of persons of Indian origin in South Africa as an extremely serious matter. Not only are these measures a violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the UN, but they are a deliberate disregard of the resolutions of the UN of 1950, 1951 and 1952, recommending the non-implementation of the Group Areas Act.

"The Government of India have already placed before the UN the whole question of the treatment of persons of Indian origin in South Africa. They feel it their duty to bring these latest developments immediately to the notice of the UN for such action as may be deemed practicable.

"It is requested that copies of this communication be circulated to all members of the UN and the Good Offices Commission established by the General Assembly by its Resolution 615 (VII) of December 5, 1952.

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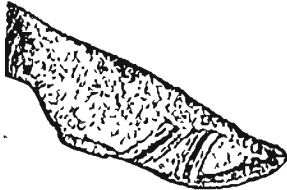
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AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

A PAN-AFRICAN FRONT

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

THE Press recently reported Mr. Walter M. Sluilo, Secretary-General of the African National Congress, as saying that steps were being considered to explore the possibilities of convening a pan-African conference at which the oppressed peoples of Africa would devise ways and means of waging a joint struggle against the tyranny of colour.

Such a conference has been overdue for a very long time. That this is the fact, however, does not in any way rob the Congress intention in this regard of its very great significance. There is about it a touch of statesmanship and realism which deserve the support of every fair-minded man.

It has been clear for a very long time now that those Africans who still dream and talk of change of heart among the white people live in a fool's paradise. Those who imagined that this change of heart could come about freely as a result of petitions and drawing room plans for racial peace should have realised from the results of the last elections, that the world of reality is very far removed from their dream-world.

The real and cruel fact we have to face today is that the more militant we become in our struggle to free ourselves and the more determination we show, the more our oppressors become frightened of our growing strength and increasingly resort to more and more desperate measures to crush our march to a happier future for ourselves and our children.

The odds against which we have ranged ourselves are, in our state of organisation, formidable. The Malanites, for example, have all the military police and political power on their side. In itself, this advantage is not in any way decisive—as History teaches. But it can delay an emancipatory struggle for an unnecessarily long time. In this country it is being used to keep us in the gutter for the longest time possible. We ourselves are relatively poorly organised at present. For this reason we need to use additional weapons in our struggle which we might not have had to use if we were stronger; at least not for the purpose for which we might use them now.

One of the weapons is the creation of alliances with, firstly, similarly placed people in Africa and, secondly, with free and

self-governing peoples in other parts of the world who have or can be made to have sympathy for our cause.

Solid Foundations

During the last ten years or so, our leaders have systematically laid solid foundations for friendship with self-governing peoples in other parts of the world. We are today reaping the benefits of this policy in the way in which our case is known practically to all the civilised world. We are reaping the benefits in the fact that at every international conference where the colour question is debated, our oppressors always find themselves on the defensive. There are signs that they now find themselves being routed as well. But the greatest benefit we are reaping today—from the internal angle—is the fact that not even the Malanites, in their starkest political madness have imagined that they could shoot us down to silence us.

Deaf as they would like the world to believe they are to world opinion, they know today that their case is so bad that they would merely throw themselves out of court if they resorted to military violence against us. We are not scared of military or any other violence. A people which can do things we are doing, under the conditions in which we find ourselves, can do them only when it has banished fear from its heart.

In spite of this, however, it is to the credit of world opinion and the way it has made itself felt that the Malanites have not felt free to use harsher measures to crush our political fight. To the extent that this has saved innocent men and women who might otherwise have had to suffer, we should regard it as one direct benefit we reap from the wise policy of our leaders.

But, also within the last ten years, a new situation has been arising which called for a re-examination of our relations with fellow-Africans who are oppressed like us in their countries. Within South Africa itself reason was progressively abandoned when it came to the colour question. Law after law was being passed to make it almost physically impossible for the African to develop and take his rightful place among the free men of the world.

Whether we like the fact or not, this process was being approved of by the majority of the

white people in this country. The Malanites made no bones about their own intentions, of course. If the United Party was a little shy about holding its tyrant's flag, that was not because of any pricks of conscience it felt. At heart the United Party was as ruthless a racial oppressor as the Malanites. See what Mr. Strauss said on the eve of the elections—when he described as enemies the African intellectuals who were today raising their voice against their people's humiliation! The United Party could not just afford to let the world see it for what it really is when it comes to treatment of the African.

United Party

For its reason, I can't have much sympathy for those, in this Party, who have publicly donned the sackcloth, thrown the ashes on their guilty heads and from every platform shout: "Woe! Woe unto us all!" At heart they have always approved of the processes basic to the Malanite approach to the colour question. It was inevitable that in the face of the crisis of colour, the average whiteman in this country should trust Malan and his gang—who want no half-measures—to do a cleaner job of keeping the 'nigger in his place' than the United Party.

The noisy boom-beating going on in United Party ranks at the moment should not worry any non-European. A jilted bag resorts to queer theatricals to express her disappointment. When the United Party cools down and surveys the racial situation more calmly, it will decide that Malanism and its hostility to the Appellate Court are a better evil than the African people's stretched hand of genuine friendship with the whiteman.

It is largely against the background of this situation that the leaders of the African National Congress have decided to consider establishing closer bonds with the oppressed in Africa.

The experiences of the people of Asia, in their struggle against foreign domination, are always an open book freely bequeathed to us by History for us to peruse and learn political wisdom therefrom. The struggle in Asia was delayed for many years by the slow development of pan-Asian consciousness. When at last this consciousness was strong enough to assert itself, it freed Indonesia!

This is not in any way a reflection on the heroic struggle of the people of Indonesia. They had laid solid foundations for their own liberation. But because they were isolated in the Indian Ocean, under the heel of a mighty Dutch empire, they

would have taken a considerably longer time to free themselves finally if it were not for the timely and decisive intervention of the rest of Asia. India, for example, stopped Dutch military planes with reinforcements for the Dutch East Indies army passing over Indian territory. Burma took up an attitude which helped the Indonesians too. So did very many Asian powers. The result was: The Dutch had to surrender sooner than they expected.

We are in a somewhat similar position. In international councils our voice; the voice of ten million non-whites; is raised high against injustice. Humanity's conscience heeds it; but the men at the head of affairs—in America, Britain and France, for example, who attach greater importance to gold and uranium than to human values—say it might not be politic, for one reason or the other, to heed the African's voice against that of the Malanites who rule the country!

If, on the other hand, the voice raised against tyranny was not just the voice of ten million in the Union but of the 150,000,000 in all Africa—even the men at the head of affairs in Britain, America and France would listen.

There is another reason why the Congress move is commendable. It will broaden the African's own outlook. We have grown up in an environment where we could see only ourselves and the white man against the background of what was going on in this country and outside. When we see our struggle as part of a bigger struggle, when we see ourselves as members of the larger human family, we shall accustom ourselves to the idea of belonging to that family. The spiritual and psychological effects such a realisation will have on the masses of our people justify everything our leaders are doing to broaden our horizons.

This does not mean that no obstacles will be laid on their path. Obstacles have been laid on the path of progress since the dawn of History; obstacles have made History. But Mankind has marched forward on the trail of defeated obstacles.

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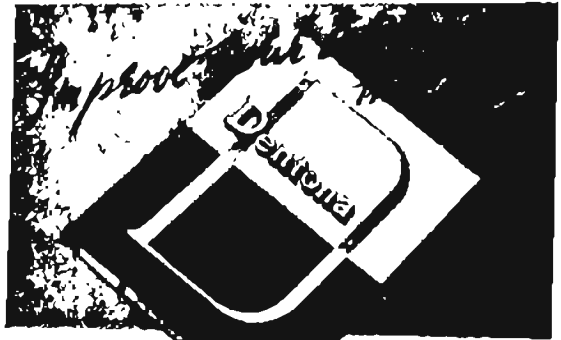
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