No. 23-Voi-Li

FRIDAN, STH JUNE, 1953

Repetered at the CPO as a Hearsaper

Price 6d.

☆

Our tragedy loday is a general and universal physical fear, so long sustained by rote that see can even bear it. There or no longer problem, of the spirit. There is only the question When will I be blown np?

-William Faulkner, Nobel Prize Winner.

"This is tohat I found out about religion. It fives you courage to make the decisions you will make in a crisis, and then the confidence to leave the result to a higher Power. Only by trustim God can a man carrying responsibility find a those."

-Dwight D. Eisenhower.

INDIAN OPINION Founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1903

Atmosphere Of Non-Violence Of The Brave

DVISING workers on how to produce an atmosphere of nonviolence of the brave. Gandhi once said: ".....,This depends on individual workers cultivating non-violence in thought, word and deed, by means of a concentrated effort in the fulfilment of the constructive programme. Maximum of word: and minimum of speech must be your motioo. There is the programme of literacy. You must concentrate exclusively on it, and not talk of any other thing. The work should be systematic and according to time-table.

Don't talk of politics—not even of non-violence—but talk to them of the advantages of literacy. There is prohibition of drink and into-vicating drugs and of gambling. There is medical relief by means of the propagation of simple rules of hygiene and sanitation and elementary preventive measures, and of cheap home remedies and training intelligent villagers for these.

All this constructive work should be for its own sake. And yet be sure that it will develop the quality required for non-violent responsible government. That is how t began my work in South Africa. I began with serving them. 1 did not know myself that 1 was so training myself.

This constructive programme may go on endlessly. Why should you be tired of it? Do you know the hundred years war in England? If they fought for a hundred years, we should be prepared to fight for a thousand years, in as much as we are a continent. Thus we will have given our contribution to the fight for freedom, which will be our reward. That is the mass constructive programme 1 want you to do and that is the basis of the training for the non-violence of the brave. It is whole and indivisable and those who do not believe in it whole-heartedly must leave me and work according to their own light. 344





All Is Not Well With Africa

DIT HE statement made of the Union population. by our Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, on his arrival in England last week merits some thought. It is human nature to resent personal criticism. Praise is always pleasing but fault-finding is most displeasing. Yeta person can learn' and improve oneself only by not being elated by the praises and by humbly accepting adverse criticism, examining it thoroughly and, making adjustments where necessary and rejecting what seems to be not applicable, without bearing malice towards those who have the criticism in offered Βυι το all good faith. intolerant ລກປ້ become resentful over the least criticism shows a sign of false pride and a guilty conscience. The Nationalists in South Africa, we are afraid, are suffering from both and it is because of this that they and their leader Dr. Malan are not able to see light and yet imagine that they do so. That is what is ruining South Africa and not the criticism either favourable or_unfavourable.

Dr. Malan has either consciously or unconsciously uttered half truths. "All is well with South Africa," he said and asserted that "we have no unemployment problems and no industrial unrest." He probably had in mind when he said this only the White population which represents less than a quarter

When he is tackled about the rest of the three quarters the only answer he gives is: "they are better off than elsewhere." The people concerned are denied the right to speak for themselves. The facts are that they have been kept suppressed; they are used and meant to be used as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for the White people. Over seventy per cent. of the comparatively small Indian population-numbering three hundred thousand in a total population of twelve million are living below bread line. These are only one or two of the most startling and unchallengable facts.

If all was well with South Africa how did it happen that there was a defiance movement at all in which eight thousand people were flung into prison? Why were there riots in practically all the important cities of the Union and why did the police have to resort to sliooting and killing people? Why was it necessary for the Government to pass harsh and inhuman luws such as the Riotous Assemblies and the Criminal Law Amendment Acts?

"The defiance movement is dead," said Dr. Malan. Is that really true? Or would it be truer to say that it has been suppressed by harsh measures on the part of the Government, which in other words means that the Government is not at all secure. It is sitting

on top of a volcano and there is no knowing when it may erupt? In order to make the Government secure Dr. Malan would have both the White groups to form themselves into an united front against the discontented nine million , non-Whites, and in that he seeks the assistance of the Press and the people of the United Kingdom and of the world and loses his head if it is denied.

Dr. Malan wants the outside world to investigate thoroughly and impartially their sources of information about South Africa. Why then does his Government refuse to allow the commission appointed by the United Nations to get a first hand knowledge of the conditions in South Africa? Why should there be any fear if there is nothing to hide and if all is well with South Africa?

It is no use charging Britain and the outside world of being "contaminated by political bias and an undying haired of anyone and everything which is anything else than purely British." The charge is really and truly applicable to the Nationalists in South Africa.

If all is well with South Africa why is a ban placed on the freedom of speech and movement on practically all the non-European The fact is that leaders. all is not well with South Africa and what Dr. Malan and his Government claim as being South Africa's domestic question is fast becoming an international problem endangering world peace.

NOTES AND NEWS

Apartheid On Coronation Day

N Durban the non-European ex-servicemen were not Detmitted to join the European exservicemen and so the detachments organised a parade on their own at the Curries Fountain where the salute was taken by Mr. A. C. Stead, Acting Protector of Indian Immigrants, who was the chief recruiting officer for Indians during the war.

In Maritzburg it was originally arranged by the City Council that non-European ex-servicemen would take part in the general parade and would march in a column behind the European exservicemen. The order of the parade had to be altered however, because of a Government ruling that non-European and European ex-servicemen must not march together in processions on Coronation Day. It was also intended that non-European ex-servicemen would not take part in the marchpast at the Oval where the Mavor Mr, D. R. Warmbach took the It was decided later salute. that non-European ex servicemen would have their own march-past and the salute would be taken by the Mayor.

Mr. Warmbach is reported by the 'Natal Witness' to have said that he was surprised to see in the Press that non-European ex-

servicemen would not be permitted to follow the parade of military detachments at the Oval when he was to take the salute. "I know that when we were at war we welcomed any assistance, no matter what colour it was or what language was spoken. Now those people who rendered that service are being denied their wish to pay homage and show their loyalty to the Queen," he said.

Equality "The Only Hope

For East Africa" The chairman of the Royal Commission on East Africa, Sir Hugh Daw, arrived id London by air on Monday night from Nairobi ofter three-and-a-half months' tous of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. At London Airport he said: "The main conclusion we have reached is that the communities no longer believe in government on the basis of the superiority of one race over another. The only hope for East Africa is a complete partoership of the three races-African, Indian and European. Sir Hugh sold the eight members of the Royal Commission had travelled many thousands of miles, and the bulk of their report had already been flown home in the form of memorands. H: did not know when the complete report would be published.

Ban On African National Congress President

Mr. A. J. Lathali, presidentgeneral, of the African National Congress, bas been served with notions signed by the Minister of Justice banning him from all public gatherings and from being in any of 21 magleterial districts, including Durban, Johannesburg and the Cape-The grounds of the notiges were the same as those in the oskes of Dr. G. M. Noisker, president of the South African Indian Congress, and Mr. M. B. Yengwa. secretary of the African National Oongress (Natal)-engendering "feelings of bostility" between Egropeane and non Egropeane.

Congress Denies

The secretary of the South African Indian Congress has sent a denial that the Congress met anyone on high level to set up the Liberal Party se

THE QUEEN'S BROADCAST

N a broadcast on Tutsday night after the Coronation the Queen soid: When I spoke to you last at Christmas, I asked you all, whatever your religion, to pray for me on the day of my Coronation—to pray that God would give me wisdom and strengt' to carry out the promises that I should then be making.

Throughout this memorable day I have been uplifted and sustained by the knowledge that your thoughts and prayers were with me. I have been aware all the time that my peoples, spread far and wide throughout every continent and ecean in the world, were united to support me in the task to which I have now been dedicated with such solemnity.

Many thousands of you came to London from all parts of the Commonwealth and Empire to join in the ceremony, but I have been conscious too of the millions of others who have shared in it by means of wireless or television in their homes. All of you, near or far, have been united in one purpose.

It is hard for me to find words in which to tell you of the strength which this knowledge has given me.

The ceremonies you have seen today are ancient and some of their origins are veiled in the mists of the past. But their spirit and their meaning shine through the ages, never, perbaps, more brightly than now.

I have sincerely pledged myself to your service as so many of you are pledged to mine. Throughout all my life, and with

stated by Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane in his article in a previous issue. The statement, he states is totally incorrect and misleading. A detailed statement from the Congress is to follow.

Customs Regulations Of India

It has some to the notice of the Natal Indian Congress that passengers proceeding from South Africa to India sometimes experience difficulties because of their ignorance of Oustoms regulations. Anyone wishing to acquaint themselves with the regulations covering baggages that are allowed to be taken to India may obtain the necessary information from the offices of the Natal Indian Congress who have a copy of the latest Import Baggage Rules from the Onstorne Department of the Government of India.

all my heart. I shall strive to be worthy of your trust.

In this resolve 1 have my husband to support me, He shares all my ideals and all my affection for you. Then, although my experience is so short and my task so new, I have in my parents and grandpatents an example which I can follow with certainty and with confidence,

There is also this: I have bebind me, not only the splendid traditions and the annuls of more than a thousand years, but the iiving strength and majesty of the Commonwealth and Empire: of societies old and new; of lands and races, different in history and origins, but all by God's will united in spirit and in aim.

Therefore, I am sure that this, my Coronation, is not the symbol of a power and a splendour that are gone, but declaration of our hopes for the luture and for the years I may, by God's grace and mercy, be given to reign and serve you as your Queen.

I have been speaking of the vast regions and varied peoples to whom I owe my duty. But there has also spring from our island home a theme of social and political thought which constitutes our message to the world and through the changing generations has found acceptance both within and far beyond our realms,

Parliamentary institutions, with their free speech and respect for the rights of minorities and the inspiration of a broad tolerance in thought and its expression—all this we conceive to be a precious part of our way of life and outlook.

During recent centuries this message has been sustained and invigorated by the immense contribution in language, literature and action of the nations of our Commonwealth overseas. It gives expression, as I pray it always will, to living principles as sacred to the Grown and Monarchy as to its many Parliaments and peoples.

I ask you now to cherish them, and practize them, too: then we

"ALL IS WELL WITH SOUTH AFRICA"

all men.

ON his arrival in England last week out Prime Minister, Dr. D. F. Malan, in a public statemenus, as reported by Sapa said, "All is well with South Africa, ...we have no unemployment problems and no industrial untest.

"The defiance movement, which was started and engineered and largely financed from outside, is dead, and the seemi-military political organisation which so largely seemed to have stirred the imagination of credulous people in other countries is discredited and on the verge of disintegration.

"South Africa has now a stable Government. Orderly conditions are safeguarded and the two White groups, which in general outlook are fundamentally at one with each other, are bound to draw closer together in future.

"This process will be greatly assisted if the Press and the people of the United Kingdom would decide once for all to investigate throughly and impartially their sources of information about South Africa.

"These, to an overwhelming extent, are contaminated by political bias and, worst of all, by an undying batted of anyone and everything which is anything else than purely British.

"There is nothing wrong with South African Nationalism-as little as there is with that of any other self-respecting nation, in cluding that of Great Britain herself. In fact, nationhood, especially severeign independent nationhood, presupposes it.

South African Nationalism is intended to include, basically and in its practical application, both language groups on a footing of equality.

"To represent it otherwise is untrustful and an indication of a still-presisting racial animosity which aceks a last refuge in the creation of bugbears and unfounded fear."

"The language and political rights of the English Language group in South Africa are and will continue to be 23 fully safeDR. MALAN

guarded as those of the Afrikaansspeaking group.

"The people of Great Britain should not allow themselves to be trapped unawares into assisting or countenancing the creation in South Africa of another Ulster, be it territorially or psychologically, which the great bulk of South Africans, of whatever political complexion, would not tolerate, and which would certainly not be conducive to the maintenance of the good relations between South Africa and the United Kingdom."

Dr. Malan then made his appeal for a more "critical approach" by the people of Britain to their sources of information.

He said that they should cutb their book and article-writing emissaries who rushed from Britain and burried through South Africa for no other purpose than to collect any material, teal or imaginary, which they though might substantiate their illconceived prejudices.

"Apart from this, we have only one rather annoying trouble," said Dr. Malao. "This is the host of busybodies everywhere, and not least in Britain herself, who, forgetting to sweep their own doors, imagine they can manage our domestic affairs better than we can."

"I am afraid that this malady in the world at large is fast becoming one of the worst afflictions of our age," said Dr. Malan. saying that "this system of ignorant and often malicous "busybodyism" was "very bad."

Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund

We wish to thank an anonymous donor for the donation of f_2 -2-0 towards the Mahatma Gandhi Memorial Fund.

R. VITHAL

Bookseeper, Writing up Sets of Books, Balance Sheets, Income Tax Returns, Apply:

9 Adams Arcade, 40 Market Street, Johannesburg.

can go forward together in peace,

seeking justice and freedom for

As this day draws to its close,

I know that my abiding memory

of it will be not only the solema-

ity and beauty of the ceremony,

but the inspiration of your loyalty

and affection. I thank you all

from a full heart. God bless you

all .- Sapa-Reuter.

5th June, 1953



THE UNITED FRONT—(I) WHICH WAY NOW?

By C W. M. GELL

Reprinted from 'The Forum' (Johannesburg)

IF the election taught us one lesson it was that there is no future along "the traditional South African way ? This has been a more grievous shock to many people than it should have been. In the first place, once a major political party has chosen to make explicit in its policy all those underlying assumptions about white superiority and black inferiority that were implicit in the old way, its unabashed herrenvolk ideology will always be able to outbid the muted version of the same theme on which the United Party fought the election. Secondly, the small non-European intelligentsia, finally confronted with the full implications of "white supremacy with justice," will inevitably react; and, whatever form that reaction takes, it will stampede our notoriously short-sighted white electorate further into the arms of the out-and-out white racialists. Once this drastic polarisation of white and black nationalism has begun, there is no place for more moderate parties based substantially on the same principlys. This is a fact the U.P. mult now face with complete frankness. It will never recover power along the old road, its majority of the total poll notwithstanding.

Its great and fatal weakness has been lack of clearly-defined principles. It has offered its supporters a moderately tempered and moderately good administration based on the conciliatory wisdom of a. few outstanding personalities. When these left the scene, the party was stranded without personalities or policies and, in the meantime, the "purified" Nationalists had had the good political sense to develop to their logical conclusion such social principles as were tacitly assumed as the background of the U.P. attitude. Dr. Molan thus had the edge in consistency and coherence, once it was more or less admitted that the basic principle of both Nationalist and U.P. policy was the preservation of the white community's monopoly of privilege and power. One of the more conservative dailies in its post-election leader said that "policies not parties prevail," We fought as a party whose principle the Nationalists have appropriated and somewhat perverted.

Many of us, however, do not like the implications of this principle when it is stripped of 'its trimmings and reservations. We

feel that we cannot justify it morally, cannot square it with our professions of religion or with what we know of the principles underlying Western civilisation, do not even consider it expedient since we fear it must quickly divide the Union into implacably opposed white and coloured na. tionalisms with the former outnumbered four to one (without reckoning on the proportions just over our frontiers) and on the defensive before our own consciences and the accusations of the world.

This article is, therefore, e plea to those who cannot stomach the racial basis of Nationalism to stop thinking wistfully back to a past that died with Malao's victory in 1948 and the death of General Smuts in 1950, and, instead, to re-examine the whole foundation of their political philosophy so as to formulate a sound and consistent policy for the new South African era that lies ahead of us.

I think we shall nearly all agree with the Nationalists that "white civilisation" is something worth preserving. The phrase is unfortugate and (as used in this country) often deliberately misleading, implying that civilisation and skin | colour are in some way connected. The only historical justification for this complacent view is that "white civilisation" was brought to Southern Africa by Europeans. What they brought, however, was European or Western civilisation-a cultural, ethical and technical heritage which was evolved among the mixed European, Asian and Afriand peoples inhabiting the European geographical area. It has, therefore, no uni-meial basis. Apart from its technical -aspects, which are comparatively superficial, the essence of civilisation consists of its system of cultural standards and moral values. Without these, its material inventions merely enable it to perpetrate bigger and better barbarities. until the decay of morality and the cult of force have brought us to the brink of the extinction of the human race by atomic and bacteriological warfare. On its much smaller stage the white community of South Africa similarly exploits its monopoly of physical power to perpetuate a morally and rationally indefensible situation.

Now the moral and cultural values of Western civilisation derive from three primaty sources.

Asian religions, Greek philosophy and Roman law. None of these was uni-racial; none was specifically "European." Each had its roots in a past embracing the spiritual and intellectual legacy of three continents. And the fundamental principle on which the whole of European civilisation precariously stands today-the intrinsic value of the free and independent individual personality as the link between the divine and the human and, therefore, as the only possible creator of the higher ethical and cultural values that constitute civilisation-is shared in slightly varying degrees by all the great spiritual traditious and is the basis of the great liberal-humanistic tradition which is the most important single element in Western civilisation. Thus the latter is no exclusive possession of one race or one geographical area. Its roots are as wide as mankind and, while its present distinctive form was shaped by the astonishing technical energy and inventiveness of the European peoples during the last 400 years, even these were originally sumulated by the recovery of techniques and intellectual processes from the ancient world through the Afric-Asian channel of Islam and lately have

racial continent of America. ... The Nationalist distortion of the traditional South African view that "white civilisation" depends for its survival on the perpetual domination of one race group is, therefore, historical nonsense and directly contrary to the basic precept of that very civilisation itself. However small the civilised minority of our non-Europeans may be, any political philosophy which identifies the boundaries of civilisation with those of the race or colour groups is using standards of judgment alien to Western civilisation. Whenever in their histories European peoples have forsaken their ideals and standards, they have paid the price in the decay of civilisation and the loss of freedom, as in the Nazl and Communist experiments. With the Swart Acts we seem to be setting a similar course.

owed much to the new multi-

We have, therefore, to decide whether in our inescapable multiracial setting we are going to apply the tests of Western civilisation or something else—something which, however fervently we hay repudiate the charge, is indistinguishable from herrenvolkism. The nationalists have made their decision. And, with all respect, most of us who supported the Oppostion at the election agreed with the Nationalists in our bearts to put race first and civilisation second, whenever there was a clash of colour. We did not disagree so much about principles and strategy as about tactics and methods of application. Now we must be utterly bonest with ourselves. Let those who in their hearts stand for the permanent retention of exclusive white power privilege, either as good in itself or because they imagine that it is the road to self-preservator, go over to the Nationalists and accept the full implications and dangers of harrenvolkism. The rest of this article is for those who feel that that way leads to moral ruin and national suicide in the headon collision of mutually exclusive nationalisms.

I will make one reservation, however, Total apartheid (i.e., territorial partition with exchange of populations and complete racial segregation) need not conflict with our basic civilised principle, if it is achieved by mutual consent or neutral arbitration, thus ensuring our surrender of sufficient land and resources to create a viable Bantustan. If the Nationalists use their unexpectedly large majority to come out in favour of this sort of apartheid, we must consider it as a morally defensible solution of our racial impasse, despite the emppling material sacrifices it involves. But to be applied in a just manuer it requires a humbling of white arrog-Foce and a willinguess to treat as betweeen equals, which Nationalists seem unlikely to attain in the foresceable future.

WANTED a healthy fairlooking Protestant Tamil Bride from a good family for a Young man holding good position in Portuguese East Africa. Must speak fluent Tamil and English and should be below 22 years old. Apply to: c'o 'Indian Opinlon,' Phoenix.

 HANNON'S DETECTIVE AGENCY (PTY.) LTD.
Managing Director: O. HANNON, seventeen year's Royn) Itish Constabulary and Criminal Investigation Department, S.A. Police.
Manager: MINDEN PLUNLEY, 'ex-Hendan Police College and Criminal Intestigation Department. New Socilard Yard, London.
Criminal, Commercial and Matrimonial Investigations Curried Out In Strictest Confidence.
11/12 Pasteas Chambern, Jepps Street: P.O. Box 5199 Johannethery 'Phones: - Office: 22-7771. Alter hoers: 24-4544.

5th June, 1953

LATEST MATERIALS!	SAREES!	BABY WEAR!					
DOUBLE BORDER PAISLEY CREPE-DE-CHINE 45" 5'6 yd.	ENDROIDERED GEORGETTE SAREES.	INFANTS KNITTED WOOL SHAWLS 17/6 (0 30'- rach.					
	_ ali ahades £3/15/0 rach.	INFANTS COT BLANKETS Plok & Dive 6/3 & 12/6 each.					
ENIBOSS GEORGETTES Bill shades AST 10.6) d.	WHITE COTTON SAREFS 22/6 esch	INFANTS GEORGETTE DRESSES SMOCKED	LIGHS				
OPAL GEORGITTES	GEORGETTE JARI WORK SAREES 45-10-0.	18/11 cscb.	A AND				
45" all shades 12:6 3d.	ENTROIDERED SUEDE SILK	DIDS, PILCHERS, all one price 2/11 costs					
VELVET CITENILE GEORGETTES 45" 15/6 J.d.	SAREES with borders 631- each.	HOUSE - HOLD					
		Bedsheets 15/6 to 25/- each.	Sum 3 F				
44" PRINTED GEORGETTE Spot & Floral Designs 45" 4 11 3d.		Pillow Cases piala 3/6 each.	0				
	Huge mage of SLIPS, NIGHTIES, PANTIES, BLOOMERS etc. Now unpacked.	Pillon Cases Embroidered 4/11 each.	SIL				
44" COLOURER GUORGETTES 4/11 yd.	l	Towels from 2/11 to 15/6 each.					
	Serve Borders, Juri Triamings Always In Stock.	Table cloths & Satla Bedsoreads at Reduced Prices.					
CHAMPALS! Ladies Lotest Plastic Champals		MENS & BOYS					
all sbades sizes 3 to 7 1 G/6 pair.	CHAMPALS	SHIRTS, PYJAMAS, SOCKS,					
Colaurs: Green, While, Red, Nonn, Blue and Whie,	Ladies Leather Champals Six 3 to 7 11/9 pair.	TIES, HANDKERCHIEFS Etc. Specially reduced.					
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·					
I have a second							
JAYBEE SILK HOUSE P. O. Box 516.							
	39ª MARKET STREET	JOHANNESBURG.	Phone 33-6229.				
	-						



INDIAN

BRITAIN'S COLOUR BAR IN AFRICA

By JULIUS LEWIN

Reprinted by courtesy of the Union of Democratic Cantrol, London, which first published this material in pomphlet form

Continded from May 22

THE second matter mentioned was effective political rights. In the British colonies in East and Central Africa white people and Africaus and Indians have separate forms of political representation. Each racial group is represented on the Legislative Council by members of that group. But the representation is nowhere in proportion to the numbers in each group, as the following table indicate:-

African Population: Northern Rhodesia 1,660,000, Kenya 5,218,000, Tanganyika 7,332,539, Uganga 4,914,211; African reprepresentative in Legislative Council: 4, 6, 4, 8 respectively.

European Population: Northern Rhodesia 18;700, Kenya 29,660, Tanganyika 10,648, Uganda 3,448; European representatives in Legislative Council: 10, 14, 7, 4 respectively.

Asian Population: Northern Rhodesia 11,117, Kenya 114,702, Tanganyika 55,322, 33,767; Asian representatives in Legislative Council: 9, 8, 3, 4 respectively.

The table of figures shows that the white people, who are in each dependency the smallest group, have much the strongest representation. In fact, the representatives elected by the small minority of white people dominated the Legislative Councils in Northern Rhodesia and in Kenya. In Uganda, where the European population is very tiny, its representatives, together with those of Asians, are equal in number to those of Africans. In Tanganyika, a tsust territory whose administration is supervised by the United Nations, equal representation has recently been proposed for each of the three groups. But the white community has fiercely opposed the adoption of this principle of equal representation. At the time this is written (October, 1951), it is not known whether the Colocial Office will support the principle or abandon it and face severe criticism in the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations. In comparable circumstances in 1946, the Colonial Office abandoned the principle after having first itself proposed it as the basis of the constitution of the federal assmbly that now exists in East Africa.

The problem of political representation in a mixed society is a

real one. The pattern adopted by Britain to East and Central Africa follows the lines of commugal representation. The white people, the Indians, and the Africans are regarded an three separate communities which must always be treated differently. This policy has the effect of accentuating those very differences and hostilities which are usually deplored as an obstacle to interracial co-operation. It makes each racial group approach every public question solely from the angle of its own group interest. It means that everyone is encouraged in strong loyalty to his own racial group and none in loyalty to the country as a whole. The British Government and the local administration do nothing effective to build bridges between these communities to bring them closer together in the hope of developing a common society in which all civilised men and women, regardless of their race or colour would enjoy equal political rights.

If this aim were accepted as the mainspring of British policy, there is an alternative method of providing political representation in a mixed society. It is the one that the Cape Colony adopted in 1954 and retained until 1936. It is to have a common voters' roll to which anyone can gain access if he can satisfy certain personal qualifications. In the Cape these qualifications included a literacy test and either minimum annual cornings or the possession of some property. This electoral system worked well for upwarde of a century. Its advantage is that it offers a means whereby Africans, as they acquire more education and a larger share of western civilisation, acquire also full citizenship in their awn country. Under such a system the test of fitness to exercise political rights is not the colour of a man's skin but the degree of education or civilization he has attained measured by objective legal standards. These standards could be set at an agreed level. Whatever level is chosen, such as passing a certain form of school and/ or earning, say, £50 a year-for the low standards prevailing in the colonies must be kept in mind -the great majority, probably over 95 per cent. of the African people would at present fail to

qualify. But the small minority who did qualify would realise that in time others would follow them in increasing numbers. And shis realisation would do much to prevent inter-racial bitterness and antogonism from growing in the minds of Africans, as it does under the present system of separate representation. For many years white voters would greatly outnumber the non-whites, but the latter might soon hold the balance of power in the constituencies which are usually very small. In time the non-whites on the roll would increase until they ultimately formed the majority. There is nothing to fear in this development. Black people who are educated and civilised should exercise the same rights 23 white people. The real danger lies not in pursuing such a policy but in rejecting it in favour of the present policies, based on colour, under which no black person, however well quatified, can have the same rights as a white man.

Such a policy would, however, enfranchise only the educated middle-class Africans, mostly living ic urban areas. It is important and urgent that this sbould be done, but it does not solve the whole problem of political representation in a racially mixed society. The mass of illiterate Africans, living under tribal conditions, and other rural people, such as farm labouters, must also be granted some voice in the government of their country. It is possible, as South African experience since 1936 shows, to devise an electoral system based on inditect voting which would go some way to meet the needs of this large section, actually a majority of the population. Under this system, electoral units cast a block vote equal in value to the number of taxpayers in their area. These units are teibal chiefs, local councils, and ad hoc committees of form labourers. The South African system on these lines is open to criticism" but. improved upon and reformed, it could offer a practical means of providing representation, during a period of transition, for the mass of uneducated people. Moreover, under British rule, the autocratic element represented by the chiefs smoog the electoral units will be diminished to the extent that "Native Authorities" become genuine local authorities.

There is no reason why the educated urban middle class Africans and the rural tribesman should not both enjoy political representation by different means at the same time, the first on the common roll and the second by indirect voting. Hitherto, the existence of the majority of Illiterate tribesmen has been assiduously emphasised as an argument against the enfranchisement of the minority of educated Africans.

When the old Cape system of an equal franchise for Africana was aboliabed in South Africa In 1936, some of us South Africans protested strongly and did all we could to oppose its abolition. Its abolition was, however, made easier by the fact that the quite different pattern of separate racial representation had already been adopted in British colonies to the north of the Union of South Africa. Our opponents demanded to know why South Africa should pursue a policy that Britain, with its liberal traditions had rejected.

The last vestige of a non-racial franchise was abandoned in South Africa last year (1951) when the coloured people (who are not Africans) were also removed from the common voters' roll. The Britsh Press was again full of sharp protests against this disenfranchisement. British politicians said nothing. They knew that there has never been a common roll in their own African colonies, although social conditions there are more favourable to the idea of equal citizenship than they are in the Union. While Britain rejects the principle of equal rights for all civilised men and women, on what grounds can Englishmen criticise South Africa for pot retaining it?*

*Its defects were discussed by me in the booklet Political Representation of Africans in the Union, pablished in 1942 by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

""Equal rights for all civilised men" was historically the slogan used to defend the non-racial franchise in the Cape Colony in the 19th century. In revising this principle in these words, I mean by civilisation to imply here a certain standard of education. No other test of civilisation has ever been seriously suggested.



OPINION INDIAN

AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

A NEW BRIDGE BETWEEN INDIA AND AFRICA

By JORDAN K. NGUBANE

RECENT issue of 'India A News' contained the report of a function in Eirs in which the Indian Ambassador preseated prizes to Eircann children won in a world competition organised for the children of the world by the Indian weekly, 'Shanker's Weekly."

The prizes themselses were quite alright for the children. But what struck me about the whole competition was that it was one of the fibest contributions to world peace. The young of all races were brought togother and bad awakened in them the consciousness of Man's common origin and Sinn's common destiny. We need more and more activities which bring together the children of the world. For children who bave grown up understarding their equals in other lands will not be readily susceptible to indoctrination by the acce-baters of the world. We can save our children from the porils which threaten us in our times by enabling them to hoow and appreciate the oblidgen in other lands. Anything which caables our children to row up in an atmosphere of buman brotherliness deserves the support of all men of goodwill. I trust, for this reason, that when pert 'Shankar's Weekly' organises another world competition it will include South African children of African, Indian and European descent.

This gives me an idea. The fact that the adults in South Africa have been brought up on racial suspicion or batred does not mean that nothing should be done to break down the parriers which divide us. Some years ago the Government of India started the practice of setting aside certain funds every year for the purpose of giving a few Africans professional training in India, This was nothing more than a gesture of Indian goodwill towards the people of Africa. But Malan's Government does not believe in goodwill. He who tries to bring together men with dilferent racial backgrounds is regarded as an enemy, As a result the scholarships lie upused to this day-because of the ban imposed by Donges against Africans Atlending Indian universities.

Why not use these funds to set up a trust whose job would be to build good will and friendship between the people of . India and the people of Africa?

Thomoro we, of Africa, understand India's real intentions in Africa, the better we shall understand the Indian in our midst and, as a result, the stronger will be the boads between us an South Africans. With that, the day will come pearer when we and the Indian shall be free men and women in the land of our birth.

I should like to see sleps taken to defeat the Donges ban in a more positive and more creative way-and in a field where no dictator can have his way: in the intellectual tield. For example, there would be something like the Nebru Prize of Peace Between India and Africa. It would be awarded preiodically to men and women of every race who would have done the most within a given period to better Afro-Indian relations. There should be no colour bar in it; everybody should be eligible.

Such a prize among other things, would create an atmosphere of intellectual amity between Alrica and India. That, in itself, is a very valuable bridge to build. It would awaken African interest in the true significance for the world of India'a culture. At the moment we hear a lot about India's culture. Certainly there must be something in a culture which can present the world with as potent a method for making our world freer as satyagraba. But beyond that, India's culture is very much like a light put under a vessel-instead of being put on a bill-top to radiate light in a darkened world, very much in need of light.

We, non-whites of the world, have to accustom ourselves more and more to the concept of a common political destiny for the man of colour in the world as the first prerequisite to convince the West that colour is an unreliable criterion by which to judge human values. The people of Africa are not free to.day. They and their lands are being exploited by the West for purposes which are largely dangerous to the African, That is the fate of men who are not free. But India herself is not as yet liee; she is not as yet accepted as an equal among the nutions of the world as long as a man of Indian descent can be humi-liated in countries like South Africa just because Indian blood couries in his veins.

To the extent that this Indian cannot be free, no matter what he does, as long as we are not free, be and I have a common political destiny in the world. Both of us are called upon to fight an evil which , works for our destructionsimply because we happen not to have while skins. He is our best friend and a true lover of humanity who will help us to build our alliance on very firm foundations. That is why I propose a Nebru Prize for Peace Between Africa and India. It will be a lasting bridge to seal the bonds which link us with

Most people in this country do not as yet realise that the

India.

alliance between ourselves and the indian is becoming an issue of life and death for the man of colour in this country. The road we have taken with the local indian allows of no lurning-back. We just have to keep on marching forward, until victory. If we part in the way, disaster will come our way and the only man who will be helped by that will be Malao. I think all of us should at all times worry ourselves over how best to devise ways and means to strengthen the bonds that the us. The Malanites are not asleep. They Malanites are not asleep. work day and night to make us quarrel and to spresd misunder-standing. If they do that, let us always reply by using tu-perior weapon—libo intelleciual amity.



B. I. S. N. Co. Ltd.

S.S. Karanja arriving June 28. Salling July 3 via Karachi and Bedibunder for Bombay

Passengers must conform with the Vaccination and Yellow Fever innoculation requirements and obtain certificates from their nearest District Surgeon. Innoculation by and certificates from private Medical Practitioners will not be accepted.

FARES : DURBAN TO BOMBAY					
First Class	single	witho	ut food	£75150	
Sacond "	57	51	**	50130	
Inter-Class	**	**	**	34-3-0	
Unberthed	(Deck) v	vithout	food	21-30	
Muslim Special	Food £11	-10-0	Ordinary	Food £4-17-6	
Hindu Special	Food £10	<u>_3_0</u>	Ordinary	Food £4-5-6	
	A 1 T				

Bookings for 1st, 2nd, Inter-Class and Upberthed (Deck) can be effected by communication with us by telegram or letters. Under no circumstances will unberthed passengers be permitted to keep on deck with them more than ane bed-ding roll and one trunk for use during the voyage.

For further particulars apply to-SHAIK HIMED & SONS (PTY) LTD.

390 PINE STREET, Telephone 20432, DURBAN. Tel. Add.: "KARAMAT."

DHIRUBHAI P. NAIK

Tratel, Insurance & General Acant

Book with us for your travelling by Alr, Sea or Land either to India or to any part of the world.

All types of Jasurance-Life, Fire, Burghary, Riot, Storm, Accident, Plate Glass, etc.

Consult Us Free of Charge For Your Income Tax, Personal Tax, Writing Of Your Books, Trade Licences, Revenue Clearance Certificate, Passports And Immigration Matters.

Representative: National Mutual Life Asso, Of Australasia, Yorkshire Insurance Co. Ltd.

Telephone: 33-9033. 296 Commissioner Street, JOHANNESBURG.

Things In General

At Liver Brother's Factory

At a ceremony held recently at the Durban factory of Lever Brothers (S.A.) (Pty) Limited, two members of the Company's Indian staff received Good Service Awards for 25 years, unbroken service and six others received Good Service Awards for 15 years' unbroken service from the Company's Chairman, Mr. A. D. Gouricy. The 25 years' service awards, which took the form of framed certificates, were awarded to Mr. J. Virabadranand and Mr. Jinku Balohi. Inscribed watches for 15 years' service went to Mr. F. Subramoney, Mr. R. Thanjappen, Mr. Ponnusamy, Mr. R. Subramoney, Mr. Munsamy Naidoo, and Mr. B. Ramanab. The custom of presenting Good Service Awards to employees of Laver Brothers was started by the Company's founder, the first Lord Leverbulme, in 1905, are these tokens of recognition are extended to all members of the staff, irrespective of colour or creed.

Book On South African Non-European Cricket

The long felt need for an suthoritytive relerence and record book, on "non-European" Cricket will be met in the near future. The book will be modelled on the lines of the famous "Winden"-the Cricketer's bible. The Almanach will cover all the important Non-European National Tourpament matches. A resume of the South African Federation matches, with detail scores etc. The honour of being chosen as the Cricketers's of the year, will be bestowed fittingly upon five outstanding Non European Oricketer's in South Africa. Statistics apart, the volume will contain a number of articles of absorbing interest, The Almanach will be edited and compiled by Mr. D. N. Banda and Mr. S. Reddy. Both are well-koown Cricket administrators in South Africa. Mr. Bansda is the Secretary of the South Alrican Indian Cricket Union and Western Province Cricket Federation. Mr. Reddey is the Secretary of the Eastern Province Cricket Board of Control and President of the Eastern Province Indian Cricket Union, Besides their adminstrative duties both have played representative cricket. An appeal is made to all Cricket adminstrators in South Africa, for their co-operation in presenting the first and only

reference and record Book on Non-European Cricket, Publishers: South African Non-European Cricket Almanach, P.O. Box 644, Port Elizabeth. P.O., Box 4643, Cape Town. Cape Province.

Wedding In Limbi

The marriage ceremony of Pushpaben sister, of Mr. Manu-bhai Amia, of Limbi and Natvarlal Amin of Neirobi, tool place at the premises of Messes. Amin and Patel in Blantyre on May 21, in the presence of a large crowd of friends and relalives. The wedded couple were the recepients of many blessings and valuable gilts. A tea party was given in banour of the wedded couple by Sbri Patel Seva Samej at the Indian Sports Club, Limbi when Mr. K. P. the or-Patel on behalf of ganisation welcomed the Amin family of Nairobi and expressed a sense of prolound joy at the bappy union of the two families.

At Port Elizabeth The Feather Market Hall in Port Elizabeth was the scene of much activity, when four newly wedded couples jointly celebrated the occasion of their weddings which was followed by a tea party. The wedded couples were Mr and Mrs C. D. Raga, Mr and Mrs R. Merchant, Mc and Mrs D. N. Madhoo, and Mr. and Mrs. S. Parsholam. About 500 guests including many Coloureds were present at the function, Mr. C. Daya acted as M.C. Among the speakers at the function were Messes, R. G.Varma, Bhottay, Dr. Appa-voo, Manilall Ranchhod and R. Mr. N. Umley moved in Kara. vote of thanks.

WANTED

An English educated, Hindu Tamil teacher (married person) possessing at least a Matriculation Certificate in Tamil, with a sound teaching knowledge of the Tamil language, its literature, and religious philosophy, to act as a Principal of the H.Y.M.A. Free Tamil School.

The applicant will be required to serve for a term of three years on a service contract, at a flat monthly salary of £22/10/0 (inclusive of costs of living), no in. crements. The service contract may be renewed on fresh .approved terms and conditions. Free quarters (including electric lights) are provided. Applicants to state gualifications and enclose copies of testimonials and certificates.

Please apply to :

S. Muthray Pilly & T.S. Rajah, Jt. Hon. Secretaries, H.Y.M.A. Educationi Trust.

P.O. Box 290. Pietermaritzburg.

Death Of Mr. Gaugaram Dava

The death after a prolonged illness of Mr. Gangaram Daya, a well-known resident of Durban took place on Thursday May 28, at his residence. The late Mr. Gargaram who was 59 years of age was one of the first class tailors. He was re5th June, 1953

spirited. No one who had been at his door for subscription in a public cause was turned out empty banded. By his amicable nature he had gained friends among all sections of the community. He leaves behind community. He leaves behind his widow and five grown up sons and daughters to moura their sad loss. May his soul rest in peace.

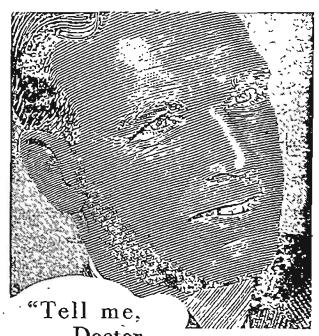
DUFFS ROAD INDIAN TOWNSHIP DON'T DELAY ONLY 14 RESIDENTIAL SITES LEFT ALSO VALUABLE TRADING SITES

Now proclaimed for Indian Occupation & Ownership. Transfers can be obtained immediately. All permits granted. Within easy rail and bus transport to Durban.

Only to miles from City Hall. All on easy terms.

15% DEPOSIT. BALANCE SPREAD OVER 5 YEARS. GOOD ROADS. LOW PRICES.

VOSEY, BOSHOFF & CO. (PTY.) LTD., 291 Smith Street, DURBAN. PHONE: 28954.



Doctor . . . How am I to tell if an antiseptic is reliable and safe?"

During the past ten years, in Hospitals, in surgical and materalty wards, and in accident clinics, the dependability and safety of 'Dettol' have been proved beyond doubt in literally millions of cases. In minorseeldent, and major operation, indeed, whenever infection directors, doctors, surgeons and nurses, in Southern Africa and throughout the Commonwealth, protect their patients, und themaclyce, with e THE MODERN ANTISEPTIC

RECKITT & COLMAN (AFRICA)LTD, P.O.BOX 1097, CAPE TOWN

(Prop: Premier Silk Barnar Lid.) Direct Importers Drapery, Outfitting, Fancy Goods, .

UMTALI, S. Rhodesia. P.O. Box 111. Telegrams: "Promsilk" Phone: 2523.

Orlantal Curlos Etc. Etc.

WHOLESALERS PREMIER

(Members of the Mashemland Wholesalars Association) Everything for the African Trade. Prints, Khaki, Callcos, Blankets, Shoes & Fancy Goods.

P.O. Box 319. Phone: 2523/Extn I. UMTALL. S. Rhodesia

RHOD-INDIA LIMITED

Exporters, Importurs & Manufacturers Representatives Piece Goods, Hoslery, Jute Goods.

Enquiries Solicited. Prompt Attention.

"Aryan Mahal" 6th Floor, Plot 43, "C" Road, Churchgate Reclamation, Cables "Indorhod." BOMBAY, INDIA.

Phone Day 24169

Night 833549 L. RAJKOOMAR' (PTY.) LTD.

14. CROSS STREET, DURBAN. Funeral Directors and Manufacturers of all classes of

Coffins and Wreaths Contractors to the INTERNATIONAL FUNERAL

COMPANY, LIMITED.

Res. Office: 14 CROSS STREET, DURBAN

Country Orders for Coffins and Wreaths, accopted by phone and despatched by rail at the shortest notice.

Cable & Tel. Add.: "HARGYAR". Phone 29388.

P. HARGOVAN & CO. (PTY.) LTD.

WHOLESALE MERCHANTS AND IMPORTERS.

> P.O. BOX 1250. 155|7 Warwick Avenue DURBAN.

WHOLESOME PURE READTHY

APPETISING-

- ✤ DISTINCTIVENESS of Flavour.
 - * Combined with INGREDIENTS of the PUREST QUALITY go into the making of our SWEETMEATS.
- + Made by our experts whose knowledge and experience of the delicate art of preparing these Ociental DELICACIES.
- * Assure YOU of the most PALATABLE SWEETMEATS money can buy any where in SOUTH AFRICA.

અમે દરેક નતના માઠાઈએઃ બનાવીએ ડીએ નદાર ગામના એડ'રાને સંભાવથી હાયદતું ધ્યાન આપીએ છીએ.

* Great care is exercised in the PACKING and DISPATCHING of country and foreign orders. WE assure you of PROMPT, HYGENIC SERVICE with the GUARANTEE of SATISFACTION.





We specialise in:

. Birthday Cakes, Wedding Cakes, High Class Fruit Cakes, Pastries, and Naan etc.

(Cnr: Grey & Victoria Streets,) Phone 24965 _ DURBAN.

Phone

Phones: 29121/3 (Splitchboard) 24179 (Manager)

Cables & Tel. Add: "PROSPERTIY" (All Branches) (Established 1927

Premier Produce Co. (Pty) Ltd.

General Wholesale Merchants **EXPORTERS AND IMPORTERS**

Buyers and large Stockists of all kinds of Indian and European Grocerics, Provisions, Soaps, Oils, Graine, Beans, Peas, Kaffircorn, Malt, Maize, Maize Products, Wheat, Wheaten Products, Crockery, Hardware and also Coal of all types.

All enquiries for Export and Import to the Head-Office.

Head-Office: "PREMIER HOUSE" 364 Pino Street, Durban.

also at

JOHANNESBURG Phones: 34-3554/5 Fordsburg, Johannesburg.

Benoni Coal Site P.O. Box 200, Fordsburg, Phone 54-1813, 82, Crown Road, Rangeview Coal Sites-54-2205 Phone 54-1813, P.O. Box 392, Benoni.

BENONI

Proprietors : C. L. Patel, D. K. Pato) V. B. Patel, H. J. Patel V. B. Patel, H. K. C. Patel

The Star Clothing Factory

Wholesale Merchants

CLOTHING MANUFACTURERS

P.O. Box 237. Phone 514. Jameson Road, Livingstone, NORTHERN RHODESIA.

Our S.A. Representative:

H. L. Hompes & Co., (Pty.) Ltd. Durban, P.O. Box 1301. Johannesburg, P.O. Box 3480. Capetown, P.O. Box 824.

Full range of men's sud boys' hinki shirts aud clothing. To khold gabe, opfcale, 9ertora SHORTS AND SLACKS TRADE ENQUIRIES UNION OF S. AFRICA, SWAZILAND, BASUTOLAND, SOUTH WEST AFRICA, SOUTHERN BECHUANALAND. DENTON TRADING CO. Phone 34-438) P.D. Box 3565 N. RHODESIA FEIGENBAUM BROS. BULAWAYO Phone 2758 P.O. Bas 154 SOUTHERN RHODESIA MASHDNALAND, P.E.A. & N. BECHUANALAND W. F. NEUMAN W. F. NEUMAN ADDM 2-1219/2-4924 SALISBURY P.O. Bot 143 Phones 2-1219/2-4924 P.O. Box 1492 BRITISH EAST AFRICA VAN BRUSSEL & CO. (E.A.) LTD. Trat Manairos Phase 4010 NARGER BULAWAYO CLOTHING FACTORY LTD. Southern Rhodesia. P.O. Box 427, Phone 2410. Bolawayo,

wphove 40

NEW TYPEWRITERS

POPULAR MAKES

Remington, Smith-Corona, Olivetti, Hermes, R. C. Allen.

PORTABLE & STANDARD MODELS AVAILABLE AT:

NATIONAL OFFICE SUPPLIES (PTY. LTD.)

(Directors: N. V. MEHTA, J. P. GOKOOL, K. V. MEHTA) LEGAL & COMMERCIAL STATIONERS OFFICE EQUIPMENT SPECIALISTS

76 Victoria Street, Durban.

PHONES 22622 63535

P. O. BOX 1317 Tel. Add. NOSLIMITED.

For Quality Printing Consult :--

UNIVERSAL PRINTING WORKS

Commercial Printers & Calendar Specialists

9 Bond Street, Durban, Phone 25295.

P.O. Box 2197