

# Indian Opinion

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## AN INTERESTING BLUE BOOK

IT wants a *gilded* person to adequately praise the magnificent services rendered by Mr. C. F. Andrews to the Indian community. He came as a torch bearer to this country and from the moment he landed he has set to his unenviable task. He has been able to do what no European or Indian has done. He found the country in darkness. The people were totally ignorant of the Asiatic question. He found that many had not studied nor even read the Asiatic Bill; and yet they were just blindly following the cry of the selfish anti-Asiatics and being misguided by the misleading headlines of the papers that supported them.

Ever since his arrival Mr. Andrews has been working incessantly. He is an early riser and from the moment he rises his work begins and it goes on until he retires, scarcely ever before midnight, and then it does not actually cease for Mr. Andrews' mind works as vigorously if not more than his hand, as he is absorbed in thinking until he actually falls asleep.

Thus Mr. Andrews has succeeded in enlightening the Church and the thinking section of the people of South Africa to the real situation, to the pledges given over and over again by the South African Government and how they were now prepared to flagrantly break those pledges and to do a grave injustice to, by no means, an unimportant section of the Union's population. That his efforts have not been fruitless has been amply proved by the fact that the Cathedral was offered by Dean Palmer of Johannesburg to advocate the cause of Indians and by the outspokenness of the Bishop of Pretoria and the Bishop of Natal on the Indian question.

Although Mr. Andrews cannot be said to be enjoying good health physically one is really amazed to see the inexhaustible energy with which he does his work.

The latest and most useful service Mr. Andrews has rendered to the country is that he has placed before the country in the form of a Blue Book a record of invaluable documents relating to the Asiatic Bill and the alleged breach of faith. This is a bare record of facts collected together after very careful and deep research and study, and in order that the mind of the public may not be prejudiced Mr. Andrews has refrained from making any comments whatsoever, leaving it to the thoughtful reader to judge with his own intelligence and sense of justice the merits and demerits of the case. The Indian community can never be sufficiently thankful to Mr. Andrews for what he has done for them.

We give below a review of this interesting Blue Book written by "B R." in the *Cape Argus* dated March 8:—

To those who are not thoroughly acquainted with the Asiatic problem in this country and the proposed legislation to cope with it, I can wholeheartedly recommend this clear and concise pamphlet, entitled "Documents relating to the New Asiatic Bill" obtainable for 1s. from all booksellers. Mr. C. F. Andrews has no foreword, nor does he give his own convictions. He is confident that anyone who carefully examines the facts he has so carefully and honestly collated, will have his sense of justice stirred as his own has been.

The first ten pages give the full text of the Areas Reservation and Immigration and Registration (Further Provision) Bill. Suddenly in Section 10 one becomes aware that for all the easy circumlocution of legal terminology, something startling is proposed—this is the thirty mile coast belt in Natal, within which it is proposed to confine the Indian population. For the convenience of the reader there follow four pages of parallel columns giving the various clauses as at present existing in the 1913 Immigrants' Regulation Act, and alongside the proposed alterations, additions and deletions which will come into force with the passing of the proposed new Bill. Then follow twenty pages divided into Appendices A, B, C, D, E and F.

To those who are not *au fait* with the proposed legislation, I confidently recommend the study of these twenty pages before the sections of the Act are examined.

Dr. Malan's speech last July is given in full. This speech preceded the motion for leave to introduce the Bill, which was put and agreed to.

There follows after this the correspondence between General Smuts and Mr. Gandhi, which constituted the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914. Appendix F contains a third letter of Mr. Gandhi's which has often been quoted and used as being part of the agreement. This is a most essential document, but by what carelessness or unscrupulousness it has been identified with the Smuts-Gandhi agreement it is difficult to understand. The wording of the whole letter makes it patent to any honest intelligence that this letter, written a week after the agreement was signed, is merely a quick summary of Mr. Gandhi's attitude towards the "Gold Law and Townships Amendment Act," and his remarks on the vexed question of vested rights apply only to their application in connection with this particular Bill, and that they in no way affect or bear upon the principles affirmed in the agreement, which deals with a different situation and different facts.

So we find as the kernel of the Smuts-Gandhi agreement an "assurance that the existing laws, especially affecting Indians, will be administered with

due regard to the vested rights" as defined in that agreement.

In a further appendix, which contains General Smuts's speech at the Imperial War Cabinet in 1917, I was struck by this definite pronouncement: "The fear which formerly oppressed the settlers (i.e., Natal) has been removed; the great principle of restricting immigration, for which they have contended, is on our Statute Book with the consent of the Indian population in South Africa and the Indian authorities in India; and, that being so, I think the door is open now for a peaceful and statesmanlike solution of all the minor administrative troubles which have occurred and will occur from time to time. I, for one, do not consider that amongst the multitudinous problems which confront us in our country the question of India will trouble us much in the future." In a later speech in Durban in August, 1919, General Smuts stated: "There was a great feeling in England in favour of India's aspirations. With the improvement of the status of India the position of Indians in other places will be better."

Appendix D consists of extremely relevant letters bearing on the Indian question, which date back as early as 1850. It becomes apparent that it was the need of the settlers in Natal that first sought the presence of the Indian in Africa, and finally the prospect of cheap mine labour that was behind the movement to induce him to come to the Rand. In this connection there is a characteristically emphatic despatch from Lord Curzon, 1904, the Viceroy of India. "He (Lord Milner) regards it as deeply to be deplored that the Government of India should refuse to permit its subjects of the labouring class to come to this country. The fact is that we are not in the least anxious for Indians to go to the Transvaal at all. The relief thereby given to our Indian problem is infinitesimal, and we only lay up for ourselves a crop of trouble in the future. Outside the Government of India itself, where the Imperial sentiment is strong, I know of no class, community, or individual in India who wants the Indian to have anything to do with the Transvaal. The bitter example of Natal is before them." Most instructive, too, is a long extract from the Report of the Economic Commission, 1914, and the evidence given by Sir Benjamin Robertson before the Lange Commission on the Government of India's position, together with Lord Reading's speech of December 26 last year.

Mr. Andrews has presented facts relative to the problem in a clear and fair-minded summary. Not only is the study of this pamphlet a happy intellectual exercise, it is to the true South African a duty which he should not ignore. Far behind the present day problems looms the overwhelming danger of a cleavage between East and West. Already the Californian attitude towards the yellow races, and the South African attitude towards the Indian races, are indications of the enormous dangers that await the statesmen of the future. If western and white civilisation is to be preserved, without the appalling cataclysm of a conflict between East and West, it is well that the less enlightened eastern political mind should not have the seeds of suspicion and distrust scattered indiscrimi-

nately in its growing constitution. Ignorance and selfishness may prevent just solutions; they may give a temporary sense of security; but they will leave a ghastly legacy for future generations.

This pamphlet helps a clear mind to form a just estimate of the problem which so vitally concerns not only South Africa's present, but its future, and the future of the Commonwealth of Nations on whose prosperity that of white South Africa must inevitably depend.

## Notes and News

THE South African Indian Congress Executive met last Monday at Durban to discuss the form in which evidence should be given before the Select Committee on the Asiatic Bill. Transvaal was represented by Messrs. A. A. Mirza and N. A. Camay and the Cape by Mr. Chetty of East London. It was decided that a written statement be submitted to the Select Committee.

Dr. Abdurahman the leader of the Congress Deputation to India who is returning by the *s.s. Karoo* has at the special request made by the general Secretary of the S.A.I.C., consented to land at Durban on the 24th instant when a mass meeting of the Congress will be held at the Rawat's Bio Hall to welcome him.

An outspoken Lenten address was delivered at Potchefstroom recently by the Rev. Noel Roberts, M.C., vicar of St. Mary's. The preacher emphasised the dangers of present day conditions. "A decade ago," he is reported to have said, "many men and women were afraid of the sin of being found out, but to-day even that fear is disappearing." Mr. Roberts thought that the time was approaching when a call would have to be made on the lines of that addressed to the vice-ridden city of Corinth by St. Paul, and when people would have to be asked to separate themselves from practices which were opposed to the spirit of Christianity. Christianity to-day was practised really by few only, and its enemies were becoming bolder every year. Mr. Roberts went on to speak of the evils arising from dancing, quite an innocent amusement in itself, if under proper control; unchaperoned motor car rides; patronage of sexual and sensational bioscope films; and the reading of unclean literature.

An Anti-Asiatic League was formed in Ventersdorp on March 3. At a mass meeting on that date it is reported to have been resolved:—

"This meeting of inhabitants of Ventersdorp and district requests the Minister of the Interior to make the Class Areas Bill law during the present session; but that the Bill be altered so that all Asiatics who came into this country after 1914 be repatriated in accordance with the Gandhi-Smuts agreement; and that the remainder be put in bazaars in terms of the Act of 1885."

The Potchefstroom Municipality has received the following reply to a request made by them to the Minister of the Interior of their strong desire to send delegates to give evidence before the Select Committee on the Asiatic Bill:—

"Regret the time limit at the disposal of the Select Committee is too short to allow of evidence being heard on conditions obtaining in any particular municipality. Only evidence from corporations and associations and other bodies typically representative of interests as a whole for and against the general principles of the Bill is taken."

Our Newcastle correspondent writes :—

At the requisition of a few members of the Indian community, the leading lights assembled at the residence of Mr. I. M. Mathir to decide upon a long felt want in the political life of the community. Mr. Ismail S. Vawda was provisionally elected to the Chair and Mr. A. M. Ephraim acted as Secretary pro tem. After the Chairman explained the purpose of the meeting, the following officials were unanimously elected: Chairman Mr. Ismail S. Vawda, Hon. Treas. Mr. Ismail M. Mathir, Hon. Secty. Mr. A. M. Ephraim to constitute with an enrolment of members the Newcastle Branch of the Natal Indian Congress. It was unanimously decided that at the next meeting, the constitution and rules and regulations of the present body be adopted.

## The Asiatic Bill Likelihood of Postponement

There is some doubt whether the Select Committee on the Asiatic Bill, which is at present working at high pressure, will be able to present its report to the Assembly by April 1 as instructed by the order of the House, says the Capetown political correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

Most of the evidence submitted to date has been given by Indians, including the official representatives of the Government of India; and rebutting evidence has still to be heard before the committee can draft its report.

The testimony of the Indians, it is understood, has been of a highly important and particularly convincing character, and has withstood the searching analysis of cross-examination.

Its effect on the committee has been to modify considerably many preconceived notions regarding the real extent of the Asiatic menace.

Replying to the Rev. W. Wilkinson Rider (S.A.P., East London) in the House recently, Dr. D. F. Malan, Minister of the Interior, showed that 29,725 Asiatics had left the Union since 1914 under the scheme of voluntary repatriation, which is not regarded with much favour by the Indian Government.

It is being borne in on the minds of the many members of Parliament, that if some system of repatriation that had the goodwill of the Indian Government were devised by mutual agreement, the rate of repatriation would be materially accelerated.

The evidence given by the Indians before the Select Committee is believed to have greatly strengthened this conviction. They have, it is stated, succeeded in proving that the Asiatic menace is to-day much less than it was before the South African war, that there are, in fact, fewer Indians in the Transvaal at the present time than ten years ago, and that in towns like Maritzburg and Dundee, in Natal, where the Asiatic trading shoe was commonly believed to pinch the hardest, there were less than half-a-dozen shops in the principal streets, and in the Natal capital only one shop.

There is, therefore, a disposition to believe that the whole problem can be solved, and the apprehensions of white South Africa removed on the basis of a compromise acceptable alike to Indians and Europeans. Such a compromise, it is believed by competent authorities, would be taking the form of postponing further consideration of the Asiatic Bill for another year without necessarily surrendering any principle already enunciated.

Meanwhile, a deputation from South Africa should visit India in the same friendly spirit as the Indian deputation has visited South Africa, and that after that a scheme of repatriation can be drafted with the goodwill and active co-operation of the Government of India, which will ensure the return to India of at least all India-born subjects,

This would be but one step further than was suggested in the official correspondence between the Union and Indian Governments recently published, and is believed in well-informed quarters to offer the basis of the compromise. If carried out, it would ultimately result in leaving a residue only of the present Asiatic population of between 60,000 and 90,000 Indians, most of them South African-born subjects, who could scarcely be regarded as in any sense a danger to European supremacy, though it is a solution that would doubtless be resisted by the Arab trading class of Indian.

It is on such lines as these that the Select Committee is expected to draw up its recommendations.

## Khwaja Kamaluddin and Lord Headley

Khwaja Kamaluddin and Lord Headley the two distinguished visitors from Europe who are at present touring the Union arrived last Sunday afternoon at Durban accompanied by Mr. J. M. H. Gool of Capetown. They were met by a huge concourse of Indians at the Central Station and were taken in a carriage drawn by four gray horses to the Albert Park, the crowd following, where the guests were formally welcomed. Khwaja Kamaluddin and Lord Headley thanked the gathering and made eloquent speeches on their mission.

The visitors are the guests of Mr. E. M. Paruk.

Lord Headley, we understand, will be leaving for England in the beginning of April while Khwaja Kamaluddin will prolong his stay in this Colony.

A reception meeting in honour of the distinguished visitors will be held at the Durban Town Hall on Saturday the 20th instant.

### Visit to Verulam

Al Haj Khwaja Kamaluddin and Lord Headley visited Verulam last Tuesday. A meeting was held in the Town Hall. The hall was not large enough to hold the gathering, which included not only Indian Moslems but Hindoos and Natives together with a number of Europeans, a few of whom were ladies. The meeting was under the auspices of the Verulam Young Moslem Society, and presided over by the Molvi Fazlehaque, who on behalf of the gathering welcomed the two distinguished visitors in an appropriate address, and garlanded them.

On behalf of the young Moslem Society Mr. Kathrada read and presented to Lord Headley and Khwaja Kamaluddin framed address on vellum.

## Mr. Gandhi's Statement On Smuts-Gandhi Agreement

Mr. Gandhi has addressed the following statement regarding the Smuts-Gandhi agreement of 1914 to the papers in India :—

"Mr. Andrews has sent me a cable inviting me to make a statement on the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement of 1914, as it has given rise to a controversy in South Africa. I observe too that two South African divines have supported my contention.

Let it be remembered that the agreement is a matter of record. It closed a struggle that had lasted for close on eight years, and covered many intermediate and interlocutory arrangements and agreements. Let it be also noted that the Government of India was not unconcerned with the agreement. It supplemented the Indian Relief Measure that was almost simultaneously passed.

As is common in all such arrangements, the correspondence between the parties is previously seen and approved by them. So was this correspondence mutually seen and accepted. My letter to General Smuts refers to the disabilities not covered by the Relief Act and expresses the hope that even those

disabilities which were not then dealt with would be removed in course of time.

It is not to be supposed that after eight years of solid suffering Indian settlers were satisfied with an arrangement that might lead not to further amelioration of their status but to their further degradation ultimately resulting in extinction. But I do not wish to labour the point. There is the Indian offer—to go to arbitration, on the point. Let the Government of India ascertain for themselves the meaning of the agreement and invite the Union Government to accept the principle of arbitration.

It is not for the first time that the South African Ministers have repudiated arrangements and promises made by themselves. They repudiated the promise made to Mr. Gokhale about the £3 tax which as a point of honour was added to the objects of the Passive Resistance struggle and which ultimately the Union Government had to repeal. So it is an old trick now repeated. It is a matter of honour for India to insist upon the fulfilment of the agreement of 1914.

## The Natal Provincial Council

The third session of the fifth Provincial Council of Natal opened in Maritzburg last Tuesday. This is the last session of the present Council. Among the important ordinances introduced are the new Townships Ordinance, the Motor-car Ordinance and a new Education Ordinance.

In the course of his opening speech the Administrator referred as follows to the Townships Law:—

During the last session of the Council an Ordinance was introduced to consolidate and amend the various laws relating to local townships. It was referred to a Select Committee, whose deliberations were not completed when the Council was prorogued. A new Ordinance has been drafted, which includes amendments suggested in Committee.

Our original Township Law dates back 45 years, and was passed at a time when the conditions of local government were very different from what they are to-day. It is generally recognised that there is urgent need for the amendment and consolidation of the existing laws.

The legality of the Natal Ordinance No. 7, 1923, under which Public Health Committees were constituted in areas adjoining the Borough of Durban, was challenged in the Natal Division of the Supreme Court, on the ground that it was not competent for the Provincial Council to enact such legislation. The Court upheld this contention and the Ordinance was declared to be *ultra vires*. An appeal was lodged against this decision, and in the month of November last the Appellate Court decided that the validity of the Ordinance could not be maintained, but on different grounds to those on which the Judges of the Natal Court had based their decision.

The result of this litigation has been to annul the Ordinance of 1923 and subsequent amendments, and to render powerless the position of the Local Health Committees. In order to bridge over the interval until such time as Parliament adjusted the position by legislation, the Governor-General-in-Council appointed me, as Administrator, to be the authority to administer the provisions of the Public Health Act in the areas in question. An Act of the Union Parliament has now been promulgated which amends Section 5 of the South Africa Act, 1909, by extending the powers of the Provincial Council to establish bodies for public health and local government purposes. It also validates acts done by the Committee under the Ordinances and by persons in good faith under the authority of such Committees or by regulations framed under the Ordinance. All rates or charges imposed by the Committees are declared to have been lawfully imposed, and amounts remaining

unpaid to be debts due to the Administrator. This legislation does not validate the Provincial Ordinance, and as regards the Committees it operates only as an indemnity. It became necessary, therefore to recast the Ordinance and introduce it afresh. A few weeks ago I invited the members of the various Health Committees to meet me in consultation with members of the Executive Committee, for the purpose of discussing the general situation arising out of the decision of the Supreme Court and the consequent legislation of the Union Parliament. The provisions of the new Draft Ordinance were discussed in detail, and every opportunity was afforded those present to bring forward points for consideration. The Ordinance has been prepared in a form which it is thought will serve the needs of the particular areas from the point of view of public health, as well as from the ordinary aspects of local government.

It is unfortunate that the present position should have arisen. The work of the Committee was well in operation, and with every prospect of successful administration when this bolt from the blue came upon us. However carefully our legislation is scrutinised, there is always the possibility that we may unwittingly exceed our powers, a difficulty which cannot arise in the case of the Union Parliament, which possesses the full legislative power of the whole Union.

The Townships Draft Ordinance and the Motor Traffic Ordinance passed through their second reading last Wednesday and have been referred to a Select Committee.

## Indians in Natal Consequences of Indenture

### III.—A SUGGESTION

[From a Natal Correspondent to the "Capo Times"]

In insisting on the promises made to the indentured Indians when they were brought to Natal as an essential part of the case for more favourable treatment of Indians in this country, the advocates of the Indians have presented South Africa with a weapon which may be very useful if judiciously employed. They have justified us in making discrimination between those Indians who, in their own persons or by inheritance, are entitled to any benefit that may be held to accrue from such promises and other Indians who came to Natal uninvited, or are descended from those who came uninvited.

An answer to the Indian case as a whole on this point—an argument which the advocates of the Indians have never yet met squarely—is that both classes of immigrants came under British protection. But for the "Pax Britannica" there would have been no possibility of either Madras coolies or Bombay traders settling in Natal. If all the Europeans left the country to-morrow, the Natives would relapse speedily into barbarism, and he would be an extremely rash man who would insure the life of any Indian remaining in the country, unless as the slave of a Native chief.

### Line of Demarcation

Waiving that argument, however, but without prejudice to the general case, why should not South Africa accept the principle of discrimination thus indicated? It corresponds, as those who have read the preceding articles must realise, with the line of demarcation between those classes of Indians which are less objectionable in the eyes of the Natal extremists. A more important point, except to the ephemeral politician, is that it corresponds, roughly at least, to the line of division between those who regard themselves as South African Indians, South Africans by nationality, and those who regard themselves merely as Indians exiled in South Africa for

the time being. It means discrimination not against Indians as Indians, but in favour of South African Indians as South Africans. It even gives Indians of South African birth a privileged position as compared with other Asiatics who happen to be resident in South Africa.

It is not suggested that the privileges of Indians descended from the indentured labourers should be increased. On the contrary, such enactments as the Natal Townships Ordinance should stand for the time being at least. But in imposing new restrictions special consideration should be shown to those sections of the Indian community in South Africa who claim the benefit of the promises made, or alleged to have been made, to the indentured labourers. In practice this would mean that special consideration would be shown to those among the Indian community who, so far as they are politically minded at all, are content to regard themselves as South Africans and to contemplate the prospect of their descendants working out their destiny in South Africa.

### A Three-fold Method

The suggestion to which this article is directed is threefold. Firstly: No fresh transfer of land to an Asiatic should be recognised unless it can be proved that the transaction is a bona fide purchase by an ex-indentured Indian or the descendant of one; evasion should be penalised by the confiscation of the land. Secondly: Similar conditions should apply to the granting of new trading licences, but not to the renewal or transfer of existing licences. Thirdly: It should be at once established in principle, so far as the present can bind the future, that in any revision of the franchise laws, national or municipal, the same principle of discrimination will be applied.

Even in these democratic days the connection between land ownership—"a stake in the country"—and the suffrage has some validity. India has acquiesced in the restriction of further immigration into South Africa, the underlying principle of which is that a State is entitled to determine the character of its own population and exclude immigrants of unassimilable types. It is a reasonable corollary that she should be asked to recognise that where unassimilable alien elements are present in considerable strength—as they are in the Natal Province of South Africa, but not in other Dominions—they should be denied such an influence on the destinies of the country as is implied in the possession of the vote or an unrestricted right to the ownership of land. India feels, however—whether reasonably or otherwise need not be argued here—that this involves a "breach of faith" towards those who came, or whose progenitors came, to Natal at the invitation of the Government and people of Natal under certain expressed or implied conditions. Without admitting or denying the soundness of that view, it may be admitted that on other grounds the section of the Indian community in South Africa to which this applies is deserving of more consideration than other sections.

### Differentiation

The special merit claimed for this proposal is that it does not involve discrimination against anyone merely on the ground that he is an Indian. It creates a system of differentiation in favour of certain groups on the ground that they can be regarded in the mass as being good South Africans: a term which certainly cannot be applied generally to the Bombay traders who regard India as their home, draw all their political and other ideas from India, and sometimes (it is said) maintain two families—one in South Africa and one in India.

If this solution of the problem of the moment were adopted, the Bombay trader would be a

stationary factor in Natal. Without any interference with his "vested interests," any chance of his developing into a real "menace" to White South Africa would be done away with. The ex-indentured Indian and his descendants would find a place for themselves in the economic structure of Natal society between the European and the Native: a place roughly corresponding to that occupied in the Western Province by the Malays and the Cape coloured people, elements of the population which are numerically insignificant in Natal. Socially they would be, for as long a period as we need look forward, a separate people, retaining their own religion and customs, possibly even their own language for use among themselves. They would keep themselves apart and would rarely, if ever, inter-marry with whites.

The favourable development, physical and mental, referred to in the first article of this series as having occurred sporadically, would probably continue to occur sporadically; but ethnological considerations suggest strongly that the capacity for such improvement depends upon the presence of a strain of Aryan or Brahman blood; and if that is so it need cause no alarm. Occasional individuals of outstanding ability would be thrown up; but they would find abundant scope in ministering to their own people as physicians, surgeons, dentists, lawyers, accountants and so forth. The great mass would remain hewers of wood and tillers of the soil, as their ancestors have been for scores of generations. There would be no fear of any real "Asiatic menace" (domestically speaking) to be dealt with, unless by our remote descendants under conditions which it would be folly for this generation to attempt to foresee.

(Concluded.)

[ Previous articles appear in our issues of the 12th and 26th February last. ]

## Colour Bar Bill

### Memorandum By Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives

The Joint Council opposes the Colour Bar Bill on the following grounds:—

1. The principle of a Colour Bar in industry is economically unsound, morally unjust and without precedent in any civilised country.
2. In spite of assertions to the contrary there is no evidence that the "Hildick Smith" judgment has been followed by the substitution of Natives for Europeans on the Gold mines (vide Majority Report of the Economic Commission).
3. So far as the opening up of new places for Europeans is concerned the number of Natives employed even in semi-skilled occupations is small (on the gold mines, are primarily concerned, only a matter of hundreds.) To replace these by Europeans will do very little to relieve European unemployment and that little at an absurdly disproportionate cost.
4. The argument that a colour bar is necessary to insure safe working machinery is trivial. The certificates of competence required by law afford protection whatever the race or colour of the holder.
5. The Bill will adversely affect the relations of Europeans and Natives. By creating obstacles to the progress of capable Natives it will create a sense of grievance. If opportunities of development are denied to Natives all sections of Native opinion will inevitably be drawn together on anti-European and extremist lines. The Natives have, as yet, no reason to feel confident that such opportunity will be afforded within Native reserves where today there

are few if any openings for skilled workers. The Bill not only denies opportunity but will displace Natives from their present employment. Such displaced Natives are powerless but will cherish a sense of injustice and resentment against their white rulers.

6. If the Bill becomes law, beliefs most damaging to European prestige will inevitably arise in the Native mind. Such as

- (a) That the European is afraid of the Native.
- (b) That European labour is unable to compete with Native labour however uncivilised without unfair extraneous aid.
- (c) That in discriminating between the Native and Coloured labour the Bill is a conscious though clumsy application of the Imperialist principle "*Divide et impera.*"

7. Despite responsible rejection of this view, the Colour Bar Bill can properly be considered only in relation to the whole scope and trend of Native policy. There can be no justification for this one-sided application of a policy of industrial segregation by measures imposing serious restrictions upon Natives without any compensating privileges. It is no answer to this objection to point out that in the past there has been piecemeal legislation covering similar ground.

8. Even were the measure unobjectionable on other grounds the injustice of excluding Natives from wide fields of industrial employment without providing adequate opportunity for agricultural and industrial development in Native reserves is obvious. Existing reserves are inadequate. Further reserves are promised. They should be provided before the restrictions proposed by the Bill are even thought of let alone sanctioned and applied.

9. No provision has been made whatever for Natives already displaced in pursuit of the Government's "civilised labour" policy—nor for the relief of Natives suffering from severe economic pressure in congested Native areas. The moment is singularly inopportune for legislation which must tend to aggravate the seriousness of the situation.

10. Failing an adequate policy of segregation the only sound protection for legitimate white interests is to raise Native standards till they approximate to those of Europeans and thus to eliminate the unfairness inherent in competition between civilised and uncivilised labour. The Colour Bar will tend to depress the Native standard and so aggravate the evil.

11. The continuance of a depressed standard of living among Natives reduces the "National Dividend" and circumscribes a most important market for the products of South African agriculture and industries.

12. The Bill is the expression of the fear that our children will be unable to find employment in South Africa. The solution of the problem lies in assisting industrial expansion and so creating a demand for the services of European workers. By blocking the chief source of labour, industry is stifled and the scope for European employment correspondingly reduced. The Bill is an acknowledgement of a pessimistic view of the future of South Africa—a view that there will be no industrial or economic progress. A progressive industrial policy will assure the safety of our children's future and will result in the material prosperity and advancement of South Africa. Such a policy is incompatible with a Colour Bar.

13. It has been argued that a colour bar is justified by the fact that the law imposes some restrictions on Europeans in Native Territories. The argument is obviously unsound:—

- (1) The principal restriction upon Europeans in

Native areas relates to the ownership of land. Much land in Native territories is however owned by Europeans. Natives are, under the existing law, prohibited from owning land except in Native reserves and locations.

Other restrictions, e.g. on the grant of trading licences, are largely for the benefit of Europeans who are already in the reserves and not for the protection of the Natives. The number of European traders allowed is governed by the limited demands of those Native communities, and a large number would mean useless competition, and probably lead to unrest followed by increased cost of administration.

(2) A submission by Europeans to restrictions which they themselves in Parliament can remove cannot justify the imposition upon Natives of restrictions which Natives are powerless to remove.

(3) There is no parallel between the position of Europeans in Native areas and of Natives in European areas:—

- (a) The Native reserves and locations are quite incapable of supporting the Native population of South Africa. A large proportion of the Native population does not and cannot live in Native reserves.

*There is no land for these Natives.* Natives are compelled to live and work for and among Europeans. Europeans are not forced to live in Native areas.

- (b) Europeans who live in Native areas are not prevented from exercising their skill. The Bill will prevent Natives in European areas from acquiring or exercising skill.

- (c) The Native territories are unable to support their present populations. The facts show that to maintain their families and to pay their taxes large numbers of Natives are compelled to leave the territories each year to earn wages. The converse is not true.

(4) There is in fact no scope for skilled workmen in the reserves. What little skilled work there is, is performed by Europeans. The Bill will prevent Natives from acquiring skill and will perpetuate this condition.

(5) The Prime Minister stresses the importance of making Native areas attractive. Their attractiveness will mainly depend upon their offering to their inhabitants opportunities for the exercise of skill, and advancement in standard of living. If the Native is debarred from obtaining this skill and from earning the wages that will enable him to improve his standard of living these areas cannot be made attractive.—*Umlaleli Wa Bantu.*

## Welcome To Dr. Abdurahman

A Mass Meeting under the auspices of the South African Indian Congress will be held at the Rawat's Bio Hall, Durban, on Wednesday, the 24th instant, at 5 p.m. to accord a hearty welcome to Dr. Abdurahman, leader of the Congress Deputation that went to India.

All are invited to kindly attend.

A. I. KAJEE,  
Gen. Secretary S.A.I.C.

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